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The American Journal of Sociology

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THE AMERICAN

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Volume LXVII JULY 1961 *Number 1*

ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY IN TAIWAN

ROBERT M. MARSH AND ALBERT R. O'HARA

ABSTRACT

Some modern (Western) attitudes toward marriage and the family have gained almost as universal acceptance among Chinese university students in Taiwan as among American students. But from 30 to 50 per cent of the Chinese also profess other attitudes, favorable to the traditional family arrangements. The explanation is sought by way of the functional prerequisites of the modern patterns. Both the demographic and the institutional preconditions for modern patterns of family life are inadequately developed in Taiwan.

It is hypothesized that Chinese students in Taiwan are less likely to profess "modern" attitudes to the family than are American students. The basis for this hypothesis is the fact that industrialization and urbanization are less advanced in Taiwan than in the United States. What is striking is not so much that Chinese students' attitudes are changing from traditional to modern but rather that the change is highly uneven.

Patterns of the family and marriage in traditional (i.e., pre twentieth-century) China are relatively well documented in the sociological literature. The following six traditional patterns are pertinent.

1. Parental control of the selection of a spouse
2. Separation of the sexes, from puberty to marriage, in formal education and other spheres.
3. Absence of dating, courtship, and engagement as the institutionalized transition from the family of orientation to the family of procreation.
4. Irrelevance of romantic love as an institutionalized basis of selection. (It might develop later in marriage, between a man and his wife or a man and his concubine [1])
5. Patrilocal residence, as an ideal
6. Subordination to the husband's parents and family, and especially of the wife to her mother-in-law.

The contrasting patterns, found in the United States and in other Western industrialized societies, which will be referred to as "modern" are

1. Greater freedom from parental control in choice of spouse though not necessarily the disappearance of parental control
2. Increasingly frequent intimate, and open interaction between the sexes
3. Dating, courtship and engagement and their gradual diffusion to progressively younger groups [2]
4. Romantic love institutionalized as the basis of marriage, limited in practice by race, social class, religion, propinquity, etc

[1] William J Goode, "The Theoretical Importance of Love," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (February, 1959), 38 47

[2] Dating appears to begin progressively earlier as industrial society develops Thus, while the age at marriage in the United States has gone down, the duration of the typical participation in dating may have remained relatively constant

5. Separate local residence of each couple, both ideally and actually.
6. The couple's relatively greater independence of the husband's parents and family and the wife's of her mother-in-law.

Earlier empirical studies show the contemporary Chinese family as neither fully traditional nor fully modern, in the above senses. P'an Kuang-tan showed in a study in 1927 that compromises between the traditional and modern extremes were the most typical.[3] Lang, who in 1946 identified as China's rapidly changing modernized strata: "middle- and upper-class intelligentsia, professionals, upper-class officials and high-level employees, and owners of modern industrial, commercial and banking establishments, living in the more industrialized cities of China,"[4] showed, however, that even they exhibit the remnants of the old "at every step." Levy recognized that Chinese patterns of the family are often transitional. "The vast majority of those who have been affected [by the West] combine the old and the new, and all degrees of such combination are present."[5]

METHOD AND SAMPLE

A questionnaire, consisting of questions both open ended and of the poll type and concerning the six aspects of marriage and family attitudes and patterns already mentioned, was administered to undergraduate classes in two universities in Taipei, the capital and largest city of Taiwan (Formosa). A total of 651 students filled out the questionnaire.[6] We were not able to control for the fact that this sample was drawn from classes in a somewhat biased segment of the curriculum: Western literature, labor problems, and sociology. A second possible source of bias was that the percentage of females in our sample (44 per cent) overrepresented the percentage of females in the two universities (27 per cent). By eliminating every second female respondent, we reduced the proportion of females in the sample to 28 per cent. Reanalyzing our findings with this corrected sample, we found no important difference was introduced by the overrepresentation of females in the original sample and therefore report our findings on the basis of the full sample of 651 students.

We classified the respondents by their own and their parents' geographic origin, as shown in the accompanying tabulation.

	Per Cent
Respondent and both parents born in Mainland China	44
Respondent and both parents born in Taiwan (Formosa)	35
Respondent and both parents born in Hong Kong, Macao, or Southeast Asia (overseas Chinese)	7
Mixed: respondent and parents born in different places	7
No answer	7
Total	100

In order to test the hypothesis that Chinese students would be less likely to profess modern family attitudes than would American students, the questionnaire was filled out in class by 238 American undergraduates in "Introductory Sociology" and "Introductory Psychology" at the University of Michigan in 1959. They included 42 per cent males, 57 per cent females, with 1 per cent giving no answer. This

[3] P'an Kuang-tan, *Chung-kuo chih chia-t'ing wen-t'i* ("Problems of the Chinese Family") (Shanghai: Hsin-yueh shu-tien, 1929). See also Ai-li S. Chin, "Some Problems of Chinese Youth in Transition," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (July, 1948), 1–9.

[4] Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 101 and *passim*.

[5] Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 289.

[6] The students filled out the questionnaires outside of class, and returns were obtained from 71 per cent of them. Conditions did not permit the comparison of respondents with a random sample of non-respondents. The respondents constitute a self-selected sample, but, though our findings cannot be generalized, they were highly consistent from one year to the next during four years (1954–58) in which the questionnaire was administered to successive classes.

sample overrepresented the proportion of female students in the university as a whole —41 per cent—to almost exactly the same extent as did our Chinese sample—16 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively; but, again, correction revealed that no bias had been introduced by the sex ratio. Of the parents of the Michigan students, 81 per cent of the fathers and 88 per cent of the mothers were born in the United States, the remainder in Europe, Canada, or elsewhere.

FINDINGS

Table 1 shows the extent to which the 651 Chinese and the 238 American respondents expressed modern attitudes toward marriage and the family.

The hypothesis that Chinese students would be less likely to express modern attitudes than would American students is, in general, supported, but is less well supported in items 1–7 than in items 8, 9, and 10. As would be expected, modern attitudes were expressed by 93 per cent or more of the Michigan students to each of the ten questions. The responses of the Chinese sample to items 1–7 were almost universally modern—84 per cent or more gave clearly untraditional answers to each of the 7 questions. Chinese and American students, then, are virtually equally modern with respect to love as the basis of choice of mate, the desire to choose one's mate independently, preference for the new (Western) style of marriage, interaction between the sexes at social gatherings, coeducation at the primary school and university level, and engagement before marriage.

The almost universally modern responses of the Chinese students to these seven questions may be explained as follows: In recent decades, important changes in nonkinship subsystems have begun to gain momentum in China—changes which, in the West, have been associated with the development of modern family and marriage subsystems.[7] In Taiwan, the proportion of farmers has declined in the labor force, with increasing industrialization and urbanization and the decline of the traditional monopoly of formal education by males.[8] There have also been changes in ideology and law: during much of this century, ideological attacks on the old patriarchal system of the extended family and proposals for equality of the sexes, freedom in selection of mates, etc., have circulated among the middle- and upper-class intelligentsia.[9] The Family Code of the Nation-

TABLE 1

ATTITUDES OF TAIWAN AND OF MICHIGAN STUDENTS TOWARD MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

	Taiwan	Michigan
	(Per Cent)	
1. Marriage should be based on love; there should be love before marriage	92	98
2. I want to choose my mate independently	87	*
3. The new (Western) style of marriage is better than the old-style Chinese marriage	87	*
4. Sexes should not be separated at social gatherings	87	96
5. Sexes should not be separated at a university	87	94
6. Sexes should not be separated in primary school	84	94
7. Young people should be engaged before marriage	84	93
8. Newlyweds should not live with parents	50	99
9. I expect to be able to choose my mate independently	58	98
10. Sexes should not be separated in middle school (grades seven through twelve)	45	95
N for each question	651	238

* [illegible]

[7] See Norman Bell and Ezra Vogel, *A Modern Introduction to the Family* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), Introduction.

[8] Provincial Government of Taiwan, *T'ai-wan sheng wu shih i nien lai t'ung chi t'i-yao* ("Statistical Abstract of Taiwan for the Last 51 Years") (Taipei, 1946), Table 53; Arthur F. Raper *et al.*, *Urban and Industrial Taiwan* (Taipei, 1954); *Human Relations Area Files Subcontractor's Monograph on Taiwan*, I, 75–77; United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* (New York: Statistical Office of the U.N., 1958), pp. 550, 553; *World Survey of Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1958), pp. 243–52.

[9] Lou T'ung-sun, *Fung tang tsa chih* ("Past and Future of the Chinese Family"), XXVIII (1931), 13–25.

alist government, promulgated in 1930,[10] gave, on paper at least, official legal sanction to the newer patterns of marriage and family; in it, article 972 stated: "An agreement to marry shall be made by the male and female parties of their own accord." No engagement was to be binding without the consent of the parties.

Why should as many as 51 per cent of the Chinese respondents favor separation of the sexes in middle school? Why should 40 per cent not expect that they would in fact be able to choose their mates independently, and 30 per cent oppose newlyweds' living apart from their parents? (The combined percentage giving modern and traditional answers to each question does not equal 100 per cent because of the categories, "no answer" and "don't know.")

Our initial hypothesis provides a partial explanation of these facts: None of the changes in non-kinship subsystems, external to but affecting the family, has proceeded as far as in Taiwan, or is as well institutionalized among large segments of the population, as they all are in the United States.[11]

RESIDENCE

Female students in our sample were more in favor of a separate home for married couples than were male students—69 per cent of the females in contrast to 51 per cent of the males. This difference is quite easily explained. Patrilocal residence isolates the wife from her relatives, while the husband finds himself in the midst of his sympathetic kinsmen, which gives him the advantage over his wife.[12] It would be even harder for an educated Chinese girl to live with an old-fashioned mother-in-law than for one with less education, for the traditional antagonism would be intensified by conflict over styles of life.[13]

Again, 65 per cent of the respondents whose parents each had chosen mates independent of their families as opposed to 55 per cent of those whose parents' mates had been chosen for them, favored separate residence. (This difference is significant at the .02 level.)

Murdock has argued that increasing personal freedom in the choice of mates leads to a shift from patri- or matrilocal residence to neolocal residence.[14] Parental choice of mates had the manifest function of selecting a new female member of the patrilocal family who would be satisfactory to the elders. When patrilocal residence gives way to living apart from parents, parents need not continue to control choice of mates, for the parents have no direct stake in the bride as an addition to *their* household.

The closely related hypothesis, that students who say they will be able to choose their mates themselves will favor separate residence, while those who do not expect to choose their own mates will favor living with their parents, was not supported. Of the "free mate choice" group, 68 per cent favored separate residence, but 64 per cent of the "parental choice" group did so also. In this sample, then, the obvious pattern is not the actual pattern. One may expect to choose one's mate freely but still as strongly favor living with parents as do those who expect their parents to choose their mates. But this compromise does imply

[10] Chin-ling Hsia *et al.* ("The Civil Code of the *Republic of China*") (Nanking, 1931), Books IV and V, articles 967-1225.

[11] Of Taiwan's labor force in 1953, 61 per cent were farm workers; the United States has not had this large a proportion of farm workers since 1860. Similarly, in the United States there is a larger proportion of the population living in cities of 100,000 and more population (29.5 per cent in 1950) than in Taiwan (21 per cent in 1952); and in Taiwan there is still a greater monopoly of higher education by males than in the United States (84 per cent males v. 67 per cent males in 1957, respectively). See Donald Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959); United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* (New York: Statistical Office of the U N., 1958), p 550.

[12] George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York Macmillan Co , 1949), p 202

[13] Lang, *op cit* , p 235.

[14] Murdock, *op cit* , p. 203.

a change: that of the respondents who will subsequently marry and live with their parents, perhaps as many as 59 per cent will choose their mates, themselves. Conversely, of course, it implies that as many as 38 per cent of those marrying and living in separate establishments will have mates who were chosen for them by their parents. It becomes especially clear here that social change is not a matter of all or nothing. Ranking the four logically possible responses according to the frequency with which they are given, yields the following:

	No	Per Cent
1. Choose mate independently and live in separate house	230	41
2. Parents choose mate but live in separate house	139	25
3. Choose mate independently but live patrilocally	110	20
4. Parents choose mate and live patrilocally	77	14
Total	556	100

The fully modern pattern (1) is considerably more prevalent than the fully traditional (4) among our sample of Chinese students. But the combination of the two compromises (2 and 3) is slightly more prevalent than is the fully modern.

CHOICE OF MATE

In contrast to the expectation of 60 per cent of the students, 37 per cent of their parents had chosen their own mates. Such proportions of modern marriages among our respondents and their parents are considerably higher than those for the general Chinese population in the two generations.[15] At this point a more interesting finding emerged. One might expect virtually all the respondents whose parents had chosen *their* mates freely to anticipate the same freedom themselves; in fact, however, 35 per cent of the respondents whose parents had had freedom of choice do not themselves expect to choose their own mate. There is no significant relationship between the parental pattern of marriage and the respondents' expected pattern of marriage: while 65 per cent of those whose parents' marriages were modern expect to do likewise, so do 56 per cent of the children of parents traditionally married. Is it because the parents who chose their own mates experienced such difficulties after marriage that they wish their own children not to follow their example? More probably it is because the institutional preconditions for widespread free choice of mates are lacking.

We saw earlier that 87 per cent of our Chinese respondents wanted to choose their mates themselves. But only 58 per cent said they expected to be able to do so. Thus, of the respondents who preferred freedom to choose their mates, 33 per cent implied that ultimately they would have to yield to their parents' choices.

Respondents from Hong Kong and Macao are most likely to expect to choose their own mates (70 per cent); Mainland Chinese are next most likely (63 per cent); and Taiwanese are the least likely (54 per cent).[16] But respondents whose parents were educated at college are not significantly more modern in their expectations than those whose parents had less schooling. We may hypothesize that cross-pressures are at work: parents who went to college have been more exposed than less-educated parents to Western norms of free choice of mate, but, on the other hand, parents who went to college presumably have a greater hold over their children and can deprive them of more advantages of status, and the like, as punishments for disobedience. Traditionally, it was the parents of higher socioeconomic class who exerted the greatest control over their children in the selection of spouses; their children were betrothed at younger ages than youth of

[15] Raper, *op cit*, p 268

[16] For an excellent analysis of why traditional patterns should persist most strongly in Taiwan see George W Barclay, *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan* (Princeton, N J Princeton University Press, 1954) The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong and the Portuguese colony of Macao are, of course, more Westernized than Taiwan and (at least most parts of) Mainland China

low status. Our respondents have much more to lose by cutting themselves off from college-bred parents than do the offspring of the less educated.

An explanation of the discrepancy between desire to choose one's mate (87 per cent) and the expectation of being able to do so (58 per cent) may be that certain institutional preconditions are absent which must exist before the desire for free choice can be realized as a normal pattern. These preconditions either do not exist at all or are inadequately developed in modern Taiwan. One of these is dating.

Free choice of mate presupposes at least some form of dating and courtship. At present, however, easy, informal introductions to members of the opposite sex, casual relationships with them, dating without the specific aim of marriage, sufficient spending money to finance dates, and so on, are barely developed in Taiwan. Dating, to the extent that it exists at all, is secretive and hidden—one rarely sees a couple walking together on campus. Only in the evening, in the relative seclusion of the courtyard of the university dormitory, may one see couples standing and talking, but, of course, this is only a tiny minority of the student population. According to the student code, Freshmen and Sophomores should not date, but Juniors and Seniors may date, though they may be thought somewhat "different." Only graduate students may date freely, if they so desire. In general, overseas Chinese students from more modern areas, such as Hong Kong, are freer, but it remains difficult to "go with" a member of the opposite sex without being defined as virtually engaged.

This suggests an important hypothesis for future research. Most American analyses have assumed the existence of the pattern of dating and have focused upon couples of different ages, involved at different points in an already full-blown institutional pattern. The stages of development of the dating pattern itself have typically been ignored.[17] Our hypothesis is that in the transition from none at all to a developed pattern of dating, an early stage may be observed, in which the individual begins dating only in the late teens or early twenties and seriously defines the first dating as marriage-oriented. Only at a later stage in the development of the society's pattern of dating do individuals begin dating in their early teens, or earlier, date several different persons in time, become emotionally involved with more than one, subsequently "break up" with each of them, and so on. Chinese society is generally in a very early stage in this development. If individuals date at all, they date only one or a very small number. Chinese informants in America point out that often flowers, letters, and poems follow the first date and quickly thereafter a proposal of marriage.

Among unmarried government employees in Taiwan, as among our own student sample, love is taken quite seriously: 55 per cent of the male and 61 per cent of the female government employees reported that they had been in love.[18] Only 14 per cent of the females and 45 per cent of the males said they had never been in love—25 per cent of the females did not answer. Despite the rather high proportion who claimed to have been in love, when asked, "What do you do in your leisure time?" neither males nor females mentioned dating. When asked what obstacles to marriage they encountered, they replied as follows: 32 per cent of the males and 75 per cent of the females declared they had not found the "suitable"

[17] If at no time in the past has American society been like China today, with regard to dating and romantic love, then these two societies have had substantially different, not a unilinear development. For example, even in Colonial days in America the pattern of chivalry justified, at least ideally, love marriages; but chivalry seems to be completely absent, even in romance, in China Despite all the seeming tyranny of Colonial days, young American women expressed considerable independence in love affairs, nor were parents supreme legally over their children's selection of mates. In these and other ways, the United States and Taiwan are not strictly comparable, and comparisons must therefore be made cautiously.

[18] *New Life Daily* (newspaper), Taipei, March 16, 1959.

or the "ideal" partner; 40 per cent of the males said they had neither the income nor the house for a wife and family; 15 per cent of the females professed "no interest" in marriage.

There is an excess of unmarried males over unmarried females in the marriageable ages[19]– particularly among Mainland Chinese. Therefore, it cannot be the shortage of males that accounts for the fact that 75 per cent of the female government employees find no ideal partners; rather, it is the absence of institutional means for meeting and dating. Even in American society, with a highly evolved dating pattern, informality of introductions, and the like, urban bachelor males and females, but especially the latter, commonly complain there are not enough places or situations for meeting desirable members of the opposite sex. For Chinese in Taiwan, how much more constricted the opportunities must be!

The desire to choose one's mate one's self is forfeited by many Chinese, then, because: taking this prerogative away from parents may force the youth to incur all the expenses alone; it is difficult to meet the right person and to date him (her) long enough to ascertain that this is "the right person," therefore, both sexes often have no particular preference and willingly accept any suitable mate chosen by their parents; males who seek to find their mates independently run the risk of being refused, which is extremely ego-damaging to the Chinese male, who must then start the difficult search all over again; the first enthusiasm of choosing one's own mate may be sobered by the realization of the many difficulties involved, while, on the other hand, there is a certain easy security in the parental arrangements. The old system, after all, guaranteed marriage for everyone except the disabled or destitute.

When Chinese students come to America to study, they often fail to assimilate American norms and values in dating. A study of 250 Chinese students in Chicago, the majority of whom had been in the United States for three to four years, reveals that adaptive mechanisms develop, for example, two or three or more couples may date together, thereby easing the problem of solo-dating; Chinese girls, desiring to prolong the dating period, often date American boys, even though they may intend, ultimately to marry a Chinese.[20] This is possible because Americans are less likely to date with the primary motive of marriage.

There are Chinese youth who may select mates independently but live with parents after marriage, or parents may choose mates but youth live apart. Parents may arrange the match but ask their children's consent; or youth may choose their mates but ask for parents' approval. None of these arrangements is fully traditional or fully modern.

Even in Mainland China, in 1952, two years after its promulgation, the Marriage Law of the People's Republic, sanctioning modern marriage had been implemented successfully in only three out of the 2,086 *hsien* (counties); by official Communist estimate at the end of 1953 only 15 per cent had accepted the law, 60 per cent were described as reluctant and 25 per cent as having not yet been touched.[21] And of modern urban Japan, Dore observes, "Despite the acceptance of the love-marriage ideal,

[19] The 1956 Census Report of Taiwan of Mainlanders and Taiwanese is shown in the accompanying tabulation

Age Group	Unmarried Males (In Thousands)	Unmarried Females (In Thousands)
25–29	81	17
30–34	48	6
35–39	27	4
40–44	21	3
45–49	11	2
50–54	7	1

[20] Lucy Huang, "Dating and Courtship Innovations of Chinese Students in America," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVIII (February 1956), p. 25.

[21] W. W. Rostow, *The Prospects for Communist China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1954), p. 159, and *China News Analysis*, CCLVIII (January 2, 1959), p. 2.

there are no established patterns of courtship. Group-mixing is now accepted, but unchaperoned pairing-off is still disapproved, particularly in the middle class. And those who do pair off unchaperoned often experience embarrassment, guilt-feelings, and frustrations."[22]

SEPARATION OF THE SEXES IN MIDDLE SCHOOL

Only 45 per cent of our student respondents said coeducation in middle school (grades seven to twelve) was desirable; 51 per cent still approved of the traditional separation of the sexes.[23] In Taiwan's middle schools there is virtually no such thing as coeducation. The striking thing is that, while our respondents have rejected separation as ideal in the university and the primary schools and at social gatherings, half of them feel it should be preserved in middle school.

What is the function of this traditional belief in separation of the sexes? Those subscribing to it believe it helps them in competing for educational placement. Admission to colleges and universities in Taiwan is through competitive academic achievement tests taken after graduation from middle school. Competition for admission, especially to the better schools, is extremely great. It is said that the major hurdle is to get into college; after this, "the going" is relatively easy. There is thus great pressure to study during middle school years, and social and romantic diversions are regarded as undesirable.

What circumstances are associated with the conflicting responses? First, 84 per cent of the Hong Kong, Macao, and overseas Chinese students ($N = 44$) favor coeducation in middle school, in contrast to 42 per cent of the students from Taiwan and Mainland China ($N = 483$). This is one of the strongest relationships encountered in this study. Second, while in the United States it is often said that the female is the major supporter of plans to bring the sexes together, in our Chinese sample only 37 per cent of the female respondents favored coeducation in middle school, in contrast to 51 per cent of the males. Males remain more in favor of coeducation even when geographic origin is held constant. This suggests that in Taiwan neither sex has a monopoly on modernity: more females may favor separate residence than do males, but more males favor coeducation in middle school than do females. Attitudes toward coeducation in middle school are virtually independent of parents' education, religion, type of marriage arrangement, Christian affiliation in the family, and the degree of religious change as between the respondent and his parents.

The possibility of teen dating is largely eliminated by the students' adherence to the traditional separation of the sexes in middle school. Apart from the little opportunity they enjoy of meeting the opposite sex at social gatherings, the sexes are not even in daily physical proximity until college. And in college, physical proximity does not automatically and immediately break down the immaturity and inexperience. Just as immaturity of the American male child in comparison to the female may be related to the fact that he has less contact with adult male role models than she has with adult female role models, by the same token, the immaturity of Chinese youth of both sexes may be a result of their lack of early socialization.

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[22] Ronald Dore, *City Life in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), p. 170.

[23] The *locus classicus* for the Confucian precept that the sexes should not mingle is the ancient text, *Meng Tzu, Li Lou*, Part I, chap. 17: "Shun-yu k'uan said, 'Is it the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving or receiving anything?' Mencius replied, 'It is the rule'" (James Legge translation of the *Four Books*).

COMMUNITY GROWTH, DEPRESSIVE DISORDERS, AND SUICIDE[1]

HENRY WECHSLER

ABSTRACT

A study of the relationship of population growth to the frequency of hospitalized mental illness and suicide in fifty Massachusetts communities indicates that rapidly growing communities tend to produce significantly higher rates of hospitalized depressive disorders and suicide, but not of schizophrenia, alcoholism, or other mental disorders. Alternative explanations of the findings are that (1) the higher rates of depression and suicide are a factor of the social disorganization associated with rapid growth of small intimate communities and/or (2) these rates can be accounted for by selective migration of depression prone individuals.

To date, ecological studies of mental illness have been concerned primarily with the relation of social conditions to the incidence of schizophrenia. Despite the lack of total agreement about the meaning of the findings,[2] higher rates of schizophrenia have been found in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods and in the central high mobility areas of cities.[3] Many of these studies have failed to associate depressive disorders with the same social factors as schizophrenia. Faris and Dunham, noting the total absence of any pattern in the distribution of manic-depressive cases in the Chicago study, offer the explanation that these psychoses are caused by certain precipitating factors which "occur in all social and economic levels of life and consequently are not so likely to have a definite connection with the community situation but rather with the interplay of personality and psychological factors of family relationships and intimate personal contacts. Such a theory tends to connect the manic-depressive disorder with extremely intimate, and intense social contacts."[4]

More recently, Hare[5] obtained similar findings in England. Other studies have consistently noted the distribution of depressive disorders among higher socioeconomic strata than is the case with schizophrenia.[6] Commenting on these differences, Arieti suggests that manic-depressive psychosis is connected with "a structured, well-organized . . . milieu, removed from the disorganization or relative looseness of organization that we find . . . in low economic or socially unstable elements of the population."[7]

Faris and Dunham and Arieti appear to base their explanations on the generally ac-

[1] Data reported in this paper were collected under the auspices of the Anti Depressant Drug Study, Massachusetts Mental Health Center, supported by a grant from the Psychopharmacology Service Center of the National Institute of Mental Health. The author would like to thank George H Grosser and Elliot G Mishler for their contributions in the formulation of the study. A condensed version of this paper was presented at the 1961 Eastern Sociological Society meetings

[2] For a discussion of the alternative causal and "drift" interpretations in the ecology of schizophrenia see Rema LaPouse, Mary Monk, and Milton Terris, "The Drift Hypothesis and Socioeconomic Differentials in Schizophrenia," *American Journal of Public Health*, XLVI (1956), 978–86.

[3] For a review of these findings see Paul K Benedict "Socio-cultural Factors in Schizophrenia," in Leopold Bellak (ed), *Schizophrenia* (New York Logos Press, 1958), chap. xvii Also, e g , see Robert Faris and H Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1939); and E H Hare, "Mental Illness and Social Conditions in Bristol," *Journal of Mental Science*, CII (1956), 349 57, see also Hare, "Family Setting and the Urban Distribution of Schizophrenia," *ibid.*, pp 753–60.

[4] Faris and Dunham, *op cit*, pp 172 73

[5] "Mental Illness and Social Conditions in Bristol," *op cit*

[6] See Benedict, *op cit* pp 719-29

[7] Silvano Arieti, "Manic Depressive Psychosis," in Silvano Arieti (ed), *American Handbook of Psychiatry*, I (New York Basic Books, Inc , 1959), 443

cepted assumption that depression is related to an ambivalent dependent relationship which has been severed or is threatened with termination. Individuals who become accustomed to and require constant supplies of self-esteem from their social environments would become subject to depressive disorders when the source of the supplies is viewed as threatened.[8]

Such an etiological conception of depression was viewed as leading to the following hypothesis about the ecological distribution of depressive disorders in the community: Stable communities, where close, intimate interpersonal relations foster dependency, will exhibit high rates of depression when rapid change alters or threatens to alter their social organization. When a small community is undergoing rapid growth in population, the pattern of close interpersonal bonds is threatened. Rapidly growing suburban communities, therefore, would be expected to have disproportionately high rates of depression. In addition, the disorganization associated with the sudden growth should also be related to high rates of suicide.

A recent study by Gordon and Gordon[9] tends to support this hypothesis. In investigating psychiatric disorders, suicides, and divorces in four large Middle Atlantic counties, they found the highest rates in the rapidly growing suburban county, particularly among women of childbearing age. Although the study dealt with emotional disorders in general, and not specifically with depression, it is particularly suggestive, since depressive disorders are usually prominent among women of this age group. The major defect in the study is the use of such large geographical units as counties and the assumption that four counties differ only in respect to growth and the rural-urban-suburban dimension. Gordon and Gordon interpret their results to mean that persons in a mobile suburban area are particularly susceptible to emotional disorders because of their upwardly mobile orientation and unrealistic striving for pseudo-independence. In another study,[10] they found high proportions of geographically, economically, and culturally mobile individuals among private-office patients of psychiatrists.

The present study concerns fifty Massachusetts communities, located within a radius of twenty-five miles from Boston and served by three state mental hospitals. Data were available from the state hospital records and from Massachusetts and United States population statistics.

COMMUNITY GROWTH

The community's growth was computed on the basis of per cent change between 1950 and 1960 United States census populations[11] and the communities were rank-ordered and pooled into quartiles on the basis of it. Fourteen communities were placed in the fastest growing quartile, with twelve in each of the other groups. The fastest growing Quartile (I) had a pooled 104 per cent increase between the 1950 and 1960 populations; Quartile II, a 52 per cent increase; Quartile III, a 19 per cent increase; and the lowest Quartile (IV), a 4 per cent decrease. As might be expected, in addition to varying in rates of growth, the quartiles also differed as to actual population. The group of greatest growth was the smallest, since a community that doubles itself within ten years must have been small initially. Each successive quartile was approximately double the preceding one in size of population.

[8] For theoretical statements about the etiology of depression see Arieti, *op. cit.*, chap xxii, and O. Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (New York W. W. Norton Co , 1945), chap. xvii.

[9] Richard E. Gordon and Katherine K. Gordon, "Social Psychiatry of a Mobile Suburb," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, VI (Summer, 1960), 89-106.

[10] Richard E. Gordon and Katherine K Gordon, "Psychiatric Problems of a Rapidly Growing Suburb," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, LXXIX (1958), 543 48.

[11] *1960 Census of Population, Advance Reports, Final Population Counts*, Pc(A1)-23 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census).

HOSPITALIZED MENTAL ILLNESS

Records of three state mental hospitals were studied for the fiscal year 1957-58. Information was gathered as to the residences, ages, sexes, and diagnoses of all patients admitted to the acute treatment services during that period, multiple admissions during the year being counted only once. A total of 1,800 individuals were admitted to the three hospitals and information was available on all but 47. Since the hospitals legally serve fifty communities, only persons with last residences in them were studied. One hundred and eighty patients (10 per cent of the total sample) resided outside these fifty communities and were eliminated from the study, leaving a total sample of 1,573 patients. Patients were divided into three age groups: 16-34; 35-49; and 50 and over, and they were classified into four diagnostic categories on the basis of the final hospital diagnoses: depression (including manic-depressive, involutional, psychotic, and psychoneurotic depressive disorders), alcoholism, schizophrenia, and other psychopathology.

SUICIDE

Reported cases of suicide in the fifty communities for 1957 and 1958 were obtained from available state vital statistics.[12]

INCIDENCE RATES

Incidence rates for hospitalized mental illness and suicide were based on 1955 populations, specific as to sex and age,[13] since detailed 1960 figures were as yet not available. In all these rates, a correction was made to eliminate residents under 16 years of age, since the mental hospitals do not admit them.

A. HOSPITALIZED MENTAL ILLNESS

Distribution of patients by community growth, diagnoses, and ages.—Table 1, which presents the distribution of populations and patients within the four growth groups by age, indicates that there is a higher concentration of depressed patients, particularly in the 35-49 age group, in the faster-growing quartiles than would be expected on the basis of population distributions. The pattern of distribution of alcoholic patients, although fluctuating somewhat within the different age groups, appears to be very similar to the distribution of general populations. The number of schizophrenic patients in the four growth groups is almost identical with the distribution of populations. The distribution of other psychiatric patients tends to be slightly more highly concentrated in the slower-growing quartiles than general populations would warrant.

A chi-square analysis of the distribution of patients by diagnostic category and quartiles of community growth indicates statistically significant results only in the case of depression (Tables 2 and 3). Here the proportion of depressed patients of the total number of patients from each growth quartile is positively associated with growth at the .01 level. In the case of patients between the ages of 35 and 49, the result is significant at the .001 level.

Rates per 100,000 of hospitalized mental illness and community growth.—When the numbers of patients within each diagnostic category for the four growth groups are converted into rates per 100,000, an even more striking difference emerges. Table 4 indicates that only in the case of depression is there a progressive decrease in incidence rates as the community declines in rate of growth. The rate changes from 42.3 in the fastest-growing quartile to 20.6 per 100,000 in the slowest. In the case of the other diagnostic categories, no such proportionately large differences may be seen. In alcoholism there is a very slight change, in schizophrenia, almost no change; and in other psychopathology, a change in the opposite direction.

Table 5 permits a closer inspection of rates of depression by age and sex. Here it may again be seen that the strongest relationship between growth of population and

[12] *Annual Report of the Vital Statistics of Massachusetts*, Public Document No. 1, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Office of the Secretary, Division of Vital Statistics, 1957 and 1958.

[13] *The Decennial Census*, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1955, Table 16.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Populations and Patients by Growth Quartiles, Diagnostic Categories, and Age

	I No.	I Per Cent	II No.	II Per Cent	III No.	III Per Cent	IV No.	IV Per Cent	Total
Population:									
Ages 16–34 . . .	21,417	7	48,945	15	82,108	25	169,790	53	322,260
35–49. . . .	16,716	6	40,383	15	71,690	27	132,926	51	261,715
50 and over	16,249	5	41,785	13	90,796	27	181,781	55	330,611
Total.	54,382	6	131,113	14	244,594	27	484,497	53	914,586
No. Depressed:									
Ages 16–34.	3	9	7	21	12	36	11	33	33
35–49. .	13	20	14	22	15	23	22	34	64
50 and over	7	5	22	16	43	31	67	48	139
Total.	23	10	43	18	70	30	100	42	236
No. Alcoholics:									
Ages 16–34	6	12	8	16	12	24	24	48	50
35–49 . . .	7	5	18	12	45	29	85	55	155
50 and over	9	7	28	21	33	25	63	47	133
Total.	22	7	54	16	90	27	172	51	338
No. Schizophrenics:									
Ages 16–34. . . .	12	6	29	15	48	25	102	53	191
35–49	12	7	25	14	47	27	91	52	175
50 and over	2	2	13	14	23	25	53	58	91
Total.	26	7	67	15	118	26	246	54	457
No. Other:									
Ages 16–34. .	8	5	23	15	38	25	81	54	150
35–49 . . .	4	5	8	9	24	28	49	58	85
50 and over	12	4	41	13	94	31	160	52	307
Total.	24	4	72	13	156	29	290	54	542
Total:									
Ages 16–34. .	29	7	67	16	110	26	218	51	424
35–49	36	8	65	14	131	27	247	52	479
50 and over	30	5	104	16	193	29	343	51	670
Total.	95	6	236	15	434	28	808	51	1,573

TABLE 2

Chi Square: Depressed and Non-depressed Patients by Community Growth

Quartile Growth	No. Depressed	No. Non-depressed	Total
I	23	72	95
II.	43	193	236
III	70	364	434
IV .	100	708	808
Total. .	236	1,337	1,573
		χ^2 3 df=13 05	P= 01

TABLE 3

Chi Square: Depressed and Non-depressed Patients Ages 35–49 by Community Growth

Quartile Growth	No. Depressed	No. Non-depressed	Total
I.	13	23	36
II. . .	14	51	65
III. . .	15	116	131
IV. . .	22	225	247
Total. . .	64	415	479
		χ^2 3 df=22.28	P= 001

depression occurs in the 35 49 age group, and particularly in women. Quartile I has a 77.8 rate per 100,000 for both sexes, while Quartile IV has a rate of only 16.6. In women, Quartile I has a rate of 147.4, while for Quartile IV, it is 23.5.

Correlation of rates of hospitalized mental illness per 100,000 and per cent of community growth.—Thus far, the statistical analysis has dealt only with pooled quartiles and not the individual communities. When correlation coefficients were computed between percentage of growth of community and incidence of the different diagnostic categories in the fifty communities, the following results were obtained: growth and depression $r = .23$; growth and alcoholism $r = .12$, growth and schizophrenia $r = -.10$; growth and other illness $r = .11$; growth total illness $r = .05$. None of these correlations were significant at the .05 level. However, in the case of growth and depression, the relationship was significant at the .10 level.

When the relationship of the community's growth and incidence of depression among persons aged from 35 to 49 was analyzed, a correlation coefficient of .42 was obtained. This relationship was significant at beyond the .01 level.

Leading category of patients from a community and community growth.—When the fifty communities were analyzed to find whether depression is the leading category of illness in each, it was found that in communities with great growth: depression was more often the major diagnostic category than in communities with less growth: in 48 per cent of the communities above the median growth, depression was the leading category of mental illness while it was the leading category in only 16 per cent of those below the median. A chi square of 4.50 indicated that this relationship was significant at the .05 level.[14]

TABLE 4

RATES PER 100,000 OF HOSPITALIZED MENTAL ILLNESS BY COMMUNITY GROWTH QUARTILES

	I	II	III	IV	Total
Depressed	42.3	32.8	28.6	20.6	25.8
Alcoholics	40.4	41.2	36.8	35.5	37.0
Schizophrenia	47.8	51.1	48.2	50.8	50.0
Other	44.1	54.9	63.8	59.9	59.3
Total	174.7	180.0	177.4	166.8	172.0

TABLE 5

AGE AND SEX SPECIFIC RATES PER 100,000 HOSPITALIZED DEPRESSION BY COMMUNITY GROWTH QUARTILES

	I			II			III			IV			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All ages	32.8	51.9	42.3	22.4	42.5	32.8	12.4	42.6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ages 16 34	18.4	9.5	14.0	8.5	19.8	14.5	7.5	21.5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ages 35 49	11.7	147.4	77.8	25.5	43.6	34.7	6.0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ages 50 and over	72.3	12.1	43.1	36.6	66.2	52.7	22.4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

B. INCIDENCE OF SUICIDES AND COMMUNITY GROWTH

The number of suicides for the communities in each growth quartile was computed for the years 1957 and 1958. Incidence rates per 100,000 (Table 6) reveal that for both years the fastest-growing quartile has a rate almost three times as high as the slowest-

[14] This analysis was based on whether depression, alcoholism, or schizophrenia was the leading category of patients in a community. In the case of ties between depression and one or more diagnostic categories, credit was given to depression.

growing one; thus, apparently, the distribution of suicides by growth of community is similar to the distribution of hospitalized depression.

All the results appear to indicate that the frequency of hospitalized depression and suicide is positively associated with a community's growth. A number of methodological points, however, may be raised concerning the data.

1. The use of hospital diagnoses may be questionable. However, the three hospitals here used are in the same state system, and all employ the American Psychiatric Association's diagnostic categories. Furthermore, the hospitals are currently co-operating in a large research project on depression, and indications are that there is a substantial amount of agreement as to diagnoses. There is no reason to suspect that diagnoses of mental illness are differentially made of patients on the basis of the rates of growth of their home communities.

2. The study does not cover the incidence of mental illness, or even of all hospitalized mental illness. Patients from the fifty communities may go to other pubic or private hospitals, but for hospitalized cases of mental illness there is a limited number of other hospitals to which they may be sent. The admissions to the largest private psychiatric hospital in the area and to the local Veterans Administration Hospital include a very small number of patients from these fifty communities admitted in the same fiscal year. The acute treatment psychiatric wards of several general hospitals may have more patients from these communities. However, in view of the lack of geographical patterns of community growth, there is no reason to suspect that these facilities are more easily accessible to residents of fast-growing communities than to others.

3. Incidence rates were computed on the basis of 1955 age-corrected populations, These figures may consistently overestimate cases from fast-growing communities. Two counterarguments may serve to limit this possible source of error. First of all, incidences for several diagnostic categories were emplyed, which should have raised rates for all diagnostic categories in the faster-growth quartiles. This did not occur. Second, a number of statistical tests were employed which did not depend on the size of the growth quartiles but only on the distribution of psychiatric patients. The potential overestimation of incidence rates in the rapidly growing communities is a greater danger in the case of suicides. Here, however, even if 1960 population bases are used to compute the rates, the faster-growing communities would still have rates twice as high as the others.

TABLE 6

INCIDENCE RATES OF REPORTED SUICIDES BY COMMUNITY GROWTH QUARTILES

	I	II	III	IV
Population	54,382	131,113	245,813	183,218
No. suicides, 1957	11	15	29	33
Incidence per 100,000, 1957	20.2	11.1	11.8	6.8
No. suicides, 1958	14	17	24	43
Incidence per 100,000, 1958	25.7	13.0	9.8	8.9

Although the findings have pointed out an apparently stable relationship between depression, suicide, and growth of community, questions may be raised about the interpretation of the results.

a) The fastest-growing communities also happen to be the small towns. Are higher rates of depression and suicide related to small populations, to high rates of growth, or to both? Unfortunately, the sample of fifty communities does not permit large enough statistical cells to arrive at a definite conclusion.[15] It is suspected, however, that

[15] Only one of the communities in the slowest-growing quartile had a population of less than 10,000. The fastest-growing quartile had 5 communities with more than 10,000 persons and 9 with

both size and growth may have influence.

b) Are there alternative explanations? Geographical patterning of the growth quartiles is absent and may be eliminated. The only other factor that was investigated was social class,[16] which was found not to be significantly associated with growth. Table 7 indicates that the communities of the highest social class were randomly distributed among the four growth groups. There is some tendency, however, for the slowest-growing communities to be also the lowest socioeconomically. An analysis of the relationship of social class to incidence of mental illness[17] reveals significant negative correlations between all categories of mental illness except depression. This would indicate that growth is not related to incidence of depression through social class.

TABLE 7

COMMUNITY GROWTH AND SOCIAL CLASS

Community Growth Quartiles	Social Class Quartiles I		II		III		IV		[illegible]
		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
I	3	27	4	40	3	25	1	10	3
II	2	18	4	40	1	8	2	20	3
III	3	27	2	20	3	25	3	30	1
IV	3	27	0		5	42	4	40	0
Total	11	99	10	100	12	100	10	100	7

PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION

The hypothesis which led to the finding of a significantly higher distribution of depression and suicides in rapidly growing communities was based on the assumption that the depressive disorders were a function of the social disorganization of stable intimate communities. However, another explanation, analogous to the drift hypothesis in the ecology of schizophrenia, may account for the findings: that there may be a selective migration of depression-prone individuals to the rapidly growing suburban areas. Several papers have reported that individuals moving to the suburbs may be characterized by a high degree of homogeneity in terms of "background experiences, stage in the family cycle, and occupational roles"[18] as well as in predisposition to "neighboring."[19] Highly mobile persons desiring close contacts in the community may be particularly depression-prone at the time of the disruptive experience of moving to a new area.

The unresolved question which could differentiate between the explanation of causal and of the selective migration is: Who becomes hospitalized for depression in the fast-growing communities—the original residents affected by the change in the nature of their community or the depression-prone newcomers? The present study was not set up to differentiate between these hypotheses. However, to accept the theory of selective

fewer than 10,000, according to the 1960 census. When these two groups within Quartile I were compared as to proportion of depressed patients of all patients, a slight tendency appeared for the *smaller* towns of rapid growth to have a higher proportion of depressed patients than the *larger*. However, this trend was not significant at the .05 level (χ^2 1 *df* = 1.90).

[16] Social class was computed for each community by rank-ordering per cent with high-school education and per cent in managerial, professional, and white-collar occupations and applying the weighted Hollingshead two-factor index of social class.

[17] These findings are currently being prepared for publication in a separate paper.

[18] Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (1956), 446–53.

[19] Sylvia F. Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (1956), 34–37.

migration, one would have to assume that newcomers to the fastest-growing suburbs are more depression-prone than newcomers to the slower-growing suburbs. At any event, a future study has been planned to investigate the patterns of movement and length of stay of the depressed patients from fast-growing communities.

Despite the lack of a single explanation of the findings, the phenomenon which has been revealed has important consequences for the ecology of mental illness. If growing suburban communities are producing higher rates of depression and suicide, the current decentralization of urban areas and the growth of the suburbs should cause this trend to continue for at least some time. The depressive disorders, which have lately been reported to have decreased in proportion to other psychiatric illnesses, may once again become a prominent category of mental illness. As a consequence, it is suggested that social scientists in the field of mental health should attempt to study the currently neglected field of depression, and some of the numerous research efforts in the area of schizophrenia should be diverted to that end.

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THE PUERTO RICAN SPIRITUALIST AS A PSYCHIATRIST[1]

LLOYD H. ROGLER AND AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

ABSTRACT

Preliminary study of schizophrenia in the lower class in San Juan, Puerto Rico, suggests that spiritualists often serve as psychiatrists and that spiritualism functions as a therapeutic outlet for mental illnesses. A mentally afflicted individual, alienated from his social groups by his deviant and enigmatic behavior may find that a group of spiritualists accepts his behavior. Participation in a spiritualist group serves to structure, define, and render the aberrant behavior institutionally meaningful. Spiritualism serves the afflicted without the stigma of attending a psychiatric clinic.

In recent years social scientists have made a number of studies of interrelations between the social system and mental illness, some of which discuss the role the psychiatrist plays in society.[2] This paper focuses on the therapeutic role of a quasi-professional group only rarely thought of as being in the medical sphere—the spiritualists.[3]

Currently, we are doing research on mental illness in the lower classes of the San Juan metropolitan area of Puerto Rico. Early in our study we learned that persons afflicted with mental illness frequently come into contact with spiritualist mediums before, during, and after their visits to psychiatrists. Local psychiatrists are aware of these folk therapists. Likewise, spiritualist mediums have some understanding of the functions of psychiatrists. In some cases, a psychiatrist and a medium may share a patient: one psychiatrist, for example, told us that relatives brought a patient to him for a "special" purpose—they wanted him calmed so that he could be taken to a "genuine" therapist, a spiritualist medium. Psychiatric clinics in the San Juan area are known to have been used surreptitiously by local mediums to treat ambulatory patients. Furthermore, outpa-

[1] Expanded and revised version of a paper read before the Section on the Sociology of Medicine at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association held in New York City, 1960. The research reported here is being done by the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico and is supported in part by a research grant, M-1750, from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service. We wish to acknowledge our debt to the members of the staff responsible for the interviews: Eugenia D'Acosta Ruiz, Francisca Santos de Limardo, Esperanza Acosta, Ricardo Márquez Rivera, Elsa Torres de Dávila, and Juan Muñoz Valentín. We would like to thank Dr. Charles Rogler, Mrs. Margot P. de la Cruz, and Mrs. Ann Richardson for reading and criticizing this article.

[2] Ivan Belknap, *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 205-7; G. Morris Carstairs, *The Twice Born* (London: Hogarth Press, 1957); Elaine Cumming and John Cumming, *Closed Ranks* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 36-44; Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorders* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955); August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), pp. 161-67, 353-55; Melvin L. Kohn and John A. Clausen, "Parental Authority Behavior and Schizophrenia," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXVI (April, 1956), 297-313; Alexander H. Leighton, *My Name Is Legion* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959); Alexander H. Leighton, John A. Clausen, and Robert N. Wilson, *Explorations in Social Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1957); Jerome K. Myers and Bertram H. Roberts, *Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959); Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1954), pp. 14-44; Marian Radke Yarrow, Charlotte Green Schwartz, Harriet S. Murphy, and Leila Calhoun Deasy, "The Psychological Meaning of Mental Illness in the Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, XI (September, 1955), 12-24.

[3] Joseph Bram, "Spirits, Mediums, and Believers in Contemporary Puerto Rico," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1957, pp. 340-47; also Morris Siegel, "A Puerto Rican Town" (unpublished manuscript).

tients at one psychiatric clinic have been heard to refer to psychotherapy as *pases*. (*Pases* are the symbolic gestures performed by mediums for curative purposes; the term is rich in connotation.)

Our experiences have led us to the tentative conclusion that persons in the lower class rely upon spiritualist beliefs and practices as therapeutic outlets for mental illnesses. We hope to furnish here illustrative materials on the interrelations between the culture of the lower class and the identification and treatment of mental illnesses by non-medical practitioners. The materials are drawn from systematic interviews with mentally ill persons, ranging from mild neurotics to severe psychotics, with their spouses, and with a series of individuals diagnosed by qualified psychiatrists as having "no mental illness." In addition, we have interviewed spiritualist mediums and participated in many of their sessions in order to observe their patients acting and being reacted to in these settings.

Spiritualism is the belief that the visible world is surrounded by an invisible world populated by spirits. The latter are "good" or "bad."[4] Spirits have the power to penetrate the visible world and to attach themselves to human beings. They may manifest themselves as a reincarnation of some other person or thing. As metaphysical beings they are able to coerce and influence human affairs, often very dramatically. Persons may develop special faculties (*facultades*), "mystical antennas," which enable them to communicate with spirits. In this sense the person with *facultades* has gained a measure of control over the spirits. Consequently, an individual with *facultades* may influence human affairs by commanding the obedience or favor of the spirits.

The beliefs and practices of spiritualism are distributed throughout the society with, perhaps, a relatively pronounced tendency to concentrate in the lower classes. However, spiritualists and their followers in the upper classes are careful to distinguish their type of spiritualism from that of the lower classes. Upper-class spiritualists insist on the scientific and experimental character of their beliefs, arguing that lower-class spiritualism is irrational and superstitious.[5]

Spiritualism actively provides social meanings to its troubled participants. In the lower class, it is coterminous with social life, woven into the intimate trials, strife, and personal turmoil that enmesh the members of a socially and economically deprived stratum, where its function is to discharge the tensions and anxieties generated in other areas of social life. For example, when, as often happens in spiritualists' sessions, a married woman complains of the infidelity of her husband, the medium may call upon the spirit of her rival and assume her role. The medium indicates this change in her personality by gesticulating, changing the quality of her voice, and in general acting "como una mujer de la calle" (like a woman of the street), it being assumed that that is the kind of woman that would lure married men from their spouses. The troubled wife then attempts to convince the spirit that she should leave the husband alone and cease causing untold suffering. The effect of the dramatic exchange appears to be that the wife believes she has begun to cope with the problem.

"Crazy" (*loco*), "bad in the mind" (*mal de la mente*), and "weak in the brain" (*debil del cerebro*) are common expressions for mental illness in the vernacular of the persons studied. The words denote unusual and idiosyncratic behavior. One of our schizophrenic subjects said:

> A mentally ill person is one who has no control and can kill someone else. It is a person who is irrational, like an animal, one who does not use his mind. Such a person can do any

[4] See Allan Kardec, *El libro de los espiritus* (Mexico City: Editorial Orion, 1951), pp. 147–80.

[5] The type of data required to determine the prevalence of spiritualism and its class distribution is unavailable.

horrible thing. They must be treated like children, otherwise they may fall upon you like a ray of lightning. Would I marry such a person? Absolutely not. Why would I want to bring a piece of worthless furniture into my house? It would be best to put such a person in a hospital where she could die.

I am uncomfortable when I speak to [friends] about my illness. They may misinterpret what I say about my illness. They will laugh at me. They will not trust me. They will avoid me.

This man, and others, realize that the very act of going to a psychiatric clinic may be the first step in the assumption of this feared role, for the psychiatric clinic is known as a place where *locos* go.

The spiritualist, as believer and participant, takes the stigma from an afflicted person. The spiritualist may announce to the sick man, his family, and friends that the patient is endowed with special psychic faculties, a matter of prestige in this social class. Spiritualism is a form of folk psychiatry. It serves its believers without their suffering the stigma associated with psychiatric agencies.

Spiritualism claims competence in the interpretation and treatment of pathological symptoms. Does the individual report hallucinations? This clearly indicates to the believer in spiritualism that he is being visited by spirits who manifest themselves visually and audibly.[6] Does he have delusions? He is told that evil spirits are deceiving him about himself as well as others. His thoughts are being distorted by interfering bad spirits. Or, through the development of his psychic faculties, spirits have informed him of the true enemies in his environment. Is his talk incoherent, rambling, and cryptic? This indicates that he is undergoing a test, an experiment engineered by the spirits to see if he is of the right moral fiber. Does he wander aimlessly through the neighborhood? He is being pursued by ambulatory spirits, unmercifully tormenting him. To illustrate: a thirty-seven-year-old woman, subject, according to the psychiatric diagnosis, to "hysterical hyperkinetic seizures," stated:

Yes, I went to consult a spiritualist to see what the attacks meant. The medium told me that there was a young man who was in love with me. The mother-in-law of this young man bewitched me through an evil spirit. This evil spirit takes me over in a violent way.

Did I believe the medium? Of course I did. She described many events in my life that were true. When I would see the mother-in-law of this young man I would get an attack. This proves that she [the medium] was right.

The basis for the medium's claims of competence is the assumption that all individual problems are material, or spiritual, or a combination of both material and spiritual things. The latter may have little or nothing to do with the outstanding complaint; rather, it classifies the source of the problem. Consequently, if the etiology of the illness is traced to the invisible world, it is a spiritual problem and, as such, within the control of the medium. Material problems, in contrast, have their causes in the visible world of "hard" facts. These, consequently, fall within the competence of doctors, druggists, nurses, and other professionals.

Few behavioral or medical problems have a conspicuous "material cause," immediately apparent to the subject, to the medium, or to others; therefore, problems are classified invariably as spiritual by the medium. Thus, the spiritualist medium effects a rough division of labor, relegating to herself (mediums are usually women) therapeutic competence to deal with a vast range of problems, many of which are disorders of personality in the broad, nontechnical sense of the term.

The contacts between the medium and a patient take place variously in, to mention two possibilities, a private consultation or a session involving, usually, from fifteen to twenty participants. These meetings are organized explicitly to serve the

[6] Allan Kardec discusses the different ways in which the spirits may communicate and the corresponding *facultades* that spiritualists may have in *El libro de los mediums* (Mexico City: Editorial Orion, 1951), pp. 183-224.

participants; social interaction, consequently, is channeled toward the solution of problems they bring.

The room in which the session is held may be decorated with portraits of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mahatma Gandhi, and banners of "Charity and Humility." A sober-faced, almost life-sized figure of a cigar-store Indian with arms crossed, looking ominously to the ceiling, may be a part of the setting. The odor of burning incense may pervade the room. The head medium opens the session with a long prayer, frequently from one of Allan Kardec's works,[7] directs herself to the auxiliary mediums, and asks them to concentrate. Preparations are designed to develop the "correct" mood to welcome the spirits. As the session develops, the head medium may direct her attention to the participants' order of seating as they face the table where she and the auxiliary medium(s) are seated. The head medium then proceeds to probe, interpret, treat, and prescribe for the ills and maladies afflicting the individual. Prescriptions include a variety of herbs, ointments, medicated hot baths, massages with symbolic meaning, and prayers. The session generally requires intense participation by the members, which the medium frequently relieves by joking.

Participants who have developed psychic faculties show through their contortions, spasms, screeching, babbling, and deep breathing that they have been possessed: the behavior varies in accordance with the kind of spirit that has communicated with the one possessed.

The group meeting then is structured around four social roles: those of the head medium, the auxiliary medium(s), and participants with and those without faculties,[8] the four being arrayed according to the participants' alleged degree of influence over spirits. The roles are differentiated and co-ordinated by the charisma imputed to the incumbents: we have observed psychiatrically diagnosed schizophrenics effectively play each role.[9] Moreover, their performance was enthusiastically received by the others at the session.

Although we lack direct evidence bearing on the therapeutic effect on mental illness of participation in spiritualist sessions, we have abundant information describing the manner in which participation served to cope with specific problems. To illustrate: the wife of a paranoid schizophrenic described to us the disrupting effect her husband's incessant and pervasive suspicions were having on her. Were she to get up during the evening to take one of their children to the outside toilet, her husband would accuse her of conspiring to see a lover, waiting outside. Were she to leave the house to feed the chickens, a similar charge would be made. In short, she had to be within the radius of her husband's vision or suffer accusations of unfaithfulness. As she says:

> Then I decided to take him to see a spiritualist medium since his suspicions had created an impossible situation. She [the medium] and the other people in the session advised him. He has not been suspicious since then. They explained to him that it was a test that he was undergoing since he was in the process of developing *facultades*. They told him that he should devote himself to charity and to the

[7] For an official biography of Kardec see Henri Sausse, *Biografia de Allan Kardec* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Victor Hugo, 1952). This biography contains its own review (pp. 138–39), allegedly provided by Kardec's spirit, which spoke through one of the participants in a session attended by the author of the biography.

[8] This fourfold role structure has been derived from observations of problem-oriented sessions in small spiritualist groups; other spiritualist groupings may be different.

[9] Lee R. Steiner, who has made the same observations in New York City, says: "I've encountered psychopathic personalities with Jehovah complexes, at the lowest rung in both integrity and knowledge, who have effected emotional cures. It is my very definite impression that there is not very much correlation between validated knowledge and emotional cures. And I feel that this same condition obtains, at the moment, in professional therapy as well as in the occult" ("Why Do People Consult the Occult?" *The Humanist*, XIX [January–February, 1959], 27).

good and that he should concentrate on the development of his *facultades*. My husband is now a medium, and when he does not feel well he performs *pases* on himself in front of the mirror. He feels better afterward.

Another schizophrenic reports that, when he feels restless and fearful inside, dissatisfied with himself and others, and not wanting to see anyone, he turns to the spiritualist for help:

> I go to sessions because they make me feel good and rested inside. They bring me peace. I go to them because the medium is the maximum authority in knowing how to rid one of those evil spirits and demons that upset one inside.

Another with a severe psychotic illness reports:

> Before I go to a session I feel very unhappy. When I get to the group I talk to the medium and the others, and I feel good. When the others begin to talk about their problems I feel as if I am not alone. They [the group] make me feel sure of myself.

Such reports so often come from the mentally afflicted individuals in our study that we are led to the conclusion that attending group sessions serves, at least, to ease and alleviate personal stresses.

We do not have the research design to test the proposition that spiritualist sessions alter the personality of the mental patient in the direction of mental health. However, we believe that spiritualist sessions have a good many of the therapeutic advantages of group psychotherapy.[10] In addition to the presumed advantages of group psychotherapy as practiced in clinical settings, spiritualist sessions are coterminous with the values, beliefs, aspirations, and problems of the participants: no discontinuity in social contacts is required of participation. Little social distance separates the afflicted person from the medium, but, in contrast, visiting a psychiatrist involves bringing persons together who are separated by a vast social gulf. The others in the session are often neighbors, and so the spiritualist and her followers form a primary group where problems are discussed in a convivial setting, classified, interpreted, and rendered understandable within a belief system that is widely accepted even by those who profess not to believe in it.[11]

Persistent hallucinations to the believer in spiritualism are not symptoms of a deranged mind experiencing things unperceived by others—a definition which serves to isolate the sick. Rather they demonstrate the development of psychic faculties that may eventually put the lucky person in more permanent contact with the invisible world. Thus, participation in a spiritualist group serves to structure, define, and render behavior institutionally meaningful that is otherwise perceived as aberrant.

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[10] On the therapeutic advantages of group therapy see Marvin Opler, "Values in Group Psychotherapy," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, IV (Spring, 1959), 296.

[11] "If you ever talk to a Puerto Rican who says he doesn't believe in spirits, you know what that means? It means you haven't talked to him long enough" statement attributed to a Puerto Rican in Dan Wakefield's *Island in the City* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959), p. 59. Though an exaggeration, it offers a very valuable hint to the interviewer. Often respondents will deny their belief in spiritualism when first questioned. However, once the interviewer has established a warm relationship with the respondent, the latter may not only admit his belief but may describe incidents that substantiate it dramatically. It is our impression that members of the upper class are more hesitant to admit to such beliefs than are lower class individuals.

MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT TO CITY LIFE: THE EGYPTIAN CASE[1]

JANET ABU-LUGHOD

ABSTRACT

One third of Cairo's population are village migrants. Their pattern of settlement within the city is explored to reveal significant differences between types of migrants and to identify the kinds of adjustment they are called upon to make to the new physical, economic, social, and ideological requirements of city life. Certain anticipated difficulties in adjustment are found not to materialize, whereas others, often ignored by sociologists, assume greater importance.

One of the most dramatic phenomena of recent decades has been the urbanization of large segments of the world's peasant folk, particularly in rapidly industrializing countries. In few places has this urban growth been as vigorous as in Egypt--at first spasmodically in the 1940's stimulated by a war economy, then more gradually in the 1950's in response to the indigenous demands of a developing economy[2]—until, at present, one out of every three Egyptians lives in an urban place having 20,000 or more persons.

Migration from rural areas has been chiefly responsible for Egypt's soaring rate of urbanization, even though natural increase, still as high in cities as in rural areas, accounts for half the annual rate of urban growth. This migration has favored the very largest cities of the country, bypassing those of moderate and small size. Therefore there has been a tendency for cities to conform to the principle of allometric growth, with high growth rates correlated positively with rank as to size.[3] Indeed, for the last three decades, cities of highest rank size have sustained average rates of growth which are more than twice the rate of natural increase, while smaller towns, of between 20,000 to 30,000, have failed to keep pace with rates of natural increase, i.e., have actually experienced net losses of population.

Migration, then, has had its prime impact on the largest cities, and the towering giant of Cairo, with a present population of close to three and one-half million, has been the most important recipient of the newly urbanizing population. This paper, therefore, concentrates on the adjustment of Egyptian villagers to life in Cairo, inquiring into its nature and exploring the elements which mediate any dramatic transition between rural and urban life.

I. THE RURAL AND THE URBAN IN CAIRO

Sociologists studying the adjustment of rural migrants to city life have been trapped in a dilemma of their own making. Even after the replacement of the rural-urban dichotomy by the more reasonable continuum, the sequence and dynamics of adjustment have still been deduced as though the dichotomy were valid; the unconscious assumptions have led many students to an oversimplified image of a one-way adjustment of rural man to a "stable" urban culture, despite lip service paid to feedback and mutual assimilation.

This adjustment is assumed to be disorganizing in the extreme. Physically, it is envisioned as drastically altering the dwelling, changing the accouterments within the home as well as the neighborhood surrounding it,

[1] This article is a revised summary version of a paper presented to a conference on "The Emerging Arab Metropolis" (Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Egyptian Society of Engineers, co-sponsors) in Cairo, December, 1960.

[2] Expulsion from supersaturated rural environment ranks as an equally important element in this growth.

[3] See Charles Stewart, Jr, "Migration as a Function of Population and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (June, 1960), 347-56; George Zipf, *Human Behavior and the Principle of the Least Effort* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1949). Application of hypothesis to Egyptian data prepared by present writer.

transforming the appearance and dress of the migrant himself. Economically, the migrant is seen as adjusting to changed occupations and rhythms of work, to a new division of labor within the family, and to different relationships between work associates. Socially, it is hypothesized that the migrant weans himself from the intimacy of the village to the harsh superficial relationships inherent in urban life, adapts himself from the homogeneous peer group to the diversified reference groups of the city, and suffers a reduction in proximity-centered social life and neighboring. Culturally, he is assumed to undergo a revolution in motivation, values, and ideology. In short, according to the rural-urban dichotomy, a hypothetical villager is to be dropped, unarmed, into the heart of urban Cairo to assimilate or perish. He is to be granted no cushions to soften his fall.

It is our contention here that the dichotomy is as invalid in Egypt and in many other newly awakening nations as it is in the Western nations, but for a somewhat different reason. In these cases the dichotomy has not yet sharpened due to the continual ruralization of the cities.[1]

Only one fact need be cited to support this allegation: More than one-third the permanent residents of Cairo have been born outside the city, that is, one out of every three Cairenes is a migrant of one sort or another, and the overwhelming majority are from the rural hinterlands within Egypt.[2] To speak about one-way assimilation to a stable urban culture when so large a minority comes equipped with needs and customs of rural origin is folly. Numbers alone should alert us to the probability that migrants are shaping the culture of the city as much as they are adjusting to it.

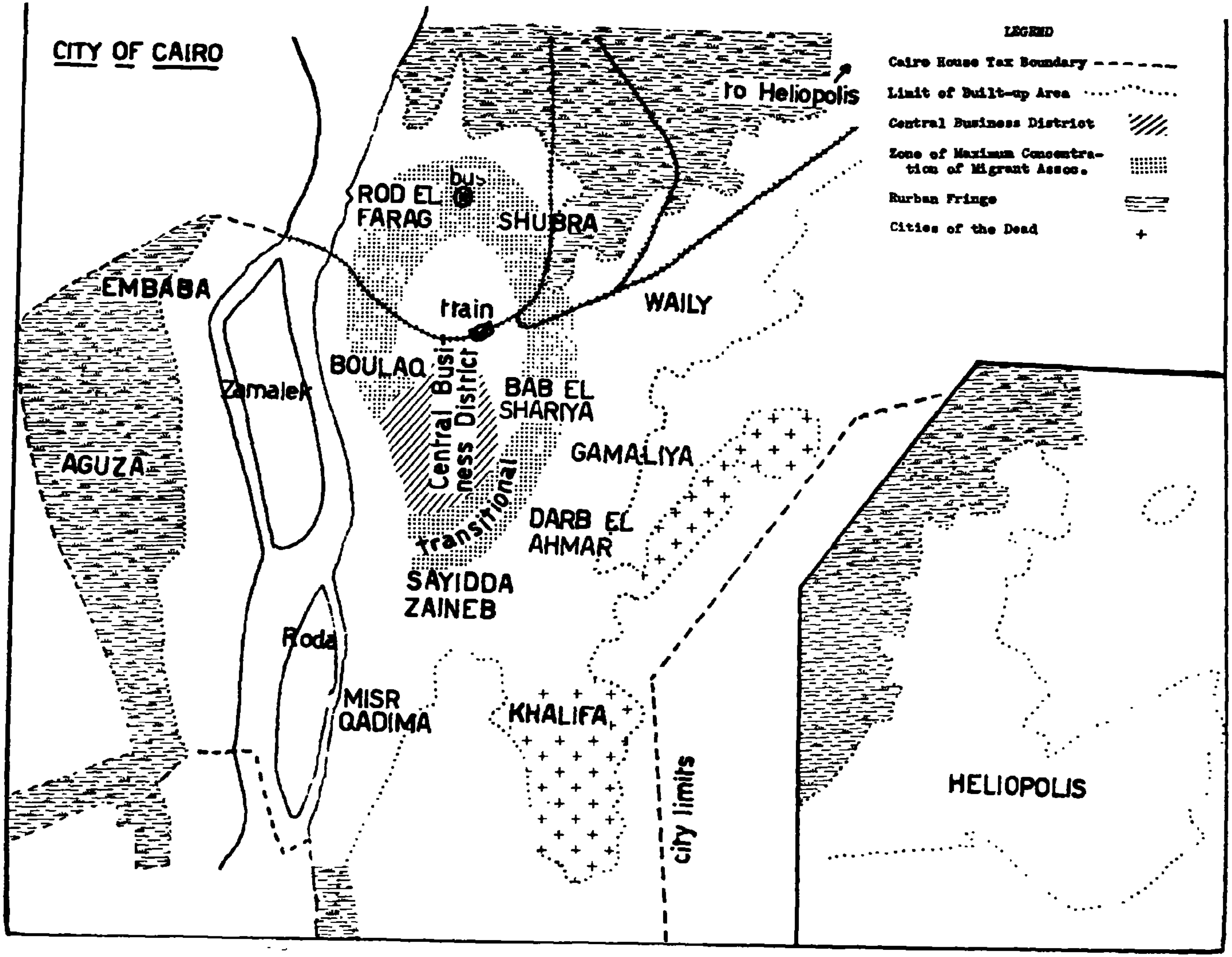
These rural migrants are drawn from two extreme types which face basically different problems of adjustment. One type, qualitatively the cream but numerically the less significant, consists of bright youths who migrate in search of education or wider opportunities. These have both the drive and the facility for rapid assimilation into the culture of the city. This paper ignores their real but different problems. The second type, referred to here as the "non-selective" migrants, are drawn primarily from the have-nots of the village. Numerically dominant, they are as much driven from the village by dearth of land and opportunity as they are attracted to the city.[3] With a lower capacity for assimilation, they tend to build for themselves within the city a replica of the culture they left behind. They are the subject of this article.

A second circumstance which has kept Cairo more rural than would be expected is the continual incorporation into the built-up metropolitan region of pre-existing villages. While some of these villages go back into history, such as Mataria, the pharaonic town of On (Greek, Heliopolis), some are of fairly recent origin. It would take a keen observer indeed to distinguish between a village within Cairo and one located miles beyond its fringes. In fact, the city of Cairo contains within its boundaries an extensive rural-urban fringe which stands juxtaposed against modern villas on the west, intervenes on the alluvial flats between urban Misr Qadima and suburban Maadi on the south, dips deep into the very heart of the city from the north, and, in somewhat different fashion, encircles Medieval Cairo on its eastern border. As can be seen from Figure 1, there are vast quarters within the mosaic of Cairo where, physically and socially, the way of

[1] It probably *never* will sharpen to the same extent as it did in the West because simultaneously with this ruralization of the cities is occurring an urbanization of rural areas (extension of roads, education, and social services). These processes were temporarily distinct in Western development.

[2] The *1947 Census of the Governorate of Cairo* shows that, of a total population of little more than 2 million, only 1.3 million had been born within the city, 51,000 were born in other governorates (large cities); 59,000 were born outside Egypt. Thus more than 630,000 residents of Cairo came from more or less rural sections of Egypt.

[3] See the unpublished findings of two American sociologists, Karen and Gene Petersen, who have made a sample study of 1,250 migrant families from five Delta villages.


CITY OF CAIRO
LEGEND
Cairo House Tax Boundary
Limit of Built-up Area
Central Business District
Zone of Maximum Concentration of Migrant Assoc.
Rurban Fringe
Cities of the Dead
To Heliopolis
ROD EL FARAG
bus
SHUBRA
EMBABA
train
WAILY
BOULAQ
Zamalek
Central Business District
BAB EL SHARIYA
AGUZA
GAMALIYA
transitional
DARB EL AHMAR
SAYIDDA ZAINEB
Roda
MISR QADIMA
KHALIFA
city limits
HELIOPOLIS

life and the characteristics of residents resemble rural Egypt.

While full proof of this contention lies outside the scope of this paper,[7] a few figures may illustrate this point. High literacy is associated in Egypt with urbanism. In the largest urban centers, literacy rates in 1947 ranged between 40 and 45 per cent, while smaller towns and villages had literacy rates of under 25 per cent. Yet, in one out of eight census tracts in Cairo, the literacy rate was less than 25 per cent. As might be expected, the rural-urban fringe had the lowest literacy rates (5 and 7 per cent), but, surprisingly enough, even some of the more inlying zones contained populations no more literate than the rural. Similar comparisons made for other urban variables, such as refined fertility rates, religious and ethnic homogeneity, and condition and type of building, reveal the same inescapable fact that within the city of Cairo there exist numerous subareas whose physical and social characteristics closely approximate the villages of the countryside.

II. WHERE MIGRANTS SETTLE IN CAIRO

It is therefore possible for migrants to live in any of the large sections of the city which retain basic similarities to the village. To what extent do they actually select such areas as their ports of entry into the city's structure? Since our hypothesis is that one of the major cushions in the assimilation of rural migrants is the nature of the subcommunity to which they gravitate, our concern will be with the areas of first settlement of "non-selective" migrants.

Direct evidence of where migrants settle in the city is not available in the Cairo census.[8] In our attempt to approximate their ecological distribution, however, we are aided by several circumstances: First, small sample studies made in Egypt and other industrializing countries indicate that a fairly typical pattern of initial settlement is followed by many rural immigrants.[9] The typical migrant, here as elsewhere, is a young man whose first contact in the city is often with a friend or relative from his original village, with whom he may even spend the first few nights. Later, more permanent lodgings are found, usually within the same neighborhood. This process, in the aggregate, results in a concentration of migrants from particular villages within small subsections of the city, far beyond what would be expected by chance. Second, migration to Cairo has tended to occur in major spurts, the most important of recent times occurring in the early 1940's. Therefore, not only did the typical migrant gravitate to a small area of the city already containing persons from his home village, but he was not the only newcomer at the time of his arrival.

These two factors, operating together, resulted in the formation of small conclaves of ex-villagers sharing a common past in the village and a similar and often simultaneous history of adaptation to the city. A parallel between this and the ethnic ghettos of large American cities at the turn of the century readily suggests itself. While the congregations of villagers from Kafr Bagour and Garawan are smaller than were the Little Sicilies and although villagers are segregated (and segregate themselves) from the main stream of urban life by less powerful barriers than language and Old World customs, they also have developed the protective pattern of physical proximity and certain social institutions which help mitigate the difficulties of transition.

The formal associations founded for and

[7] It is presented in full detail in a book on Cairo, prepared by the writer, to be published by the Social Research Center of the American University at Cairo

[8] A table showing place of birth by census tract of current residence has, unfortunately, never been included in any Cairo census.

[9] See H. Saaty and G. Hirabayashi, *Industrialization in Alexandria* (Cairo: Social Research Center, 1959); "Demographic Aspects of Urbanization in the ECAFE Region," in *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East* (Calcutta: Research Center on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, 1957), a variety of papers in UNESCO, *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara* (Paris: United Nations, 1956), among others.

developed by migrants are important, directly, in the dynamics of rural to urban adaptation, but are even more important indirectly, since their location and distribution in the city offer the *only* evidence as to where migrants settle in Cairo. Before analyzing the locational pattern of these institutions, however, some explanation of their nature is essential.

The *Directory of Social Agencies in Cairo*[10] lists more than 110 village benevolent associations. The Garawan Benevolent Society is typical. Garawan, a village of 8,000, is located in the heart of the Egyptain Delta some forty miles northwest of Cairo. Population pressure resulted first in the formation of several daughter villages, but eventually many of the men had to seek work in Cairo. (The village has a heavy excess of females.) The Garawan Benevolent Society was founded in 1944 to "extend aid to members" and to "provide burial facilities." Self-supporting, it sustains its activities through the dues contributed by "320 Egyptian Muslim adult males from Garawan," according to the directory's entry. Using a most conservative estimate of size of family (two dependents per adult male), one estimates that approximately 1,000 persons are to some extent involved in the core community of ex-Garawan residents.

One must make two basic assumptions if the locations of these societies are to be used as indirect evidence of migrant settlements. First, it must be assumed that migrants from specific villages are not distributed randomly throughout the city but that the processes described above result in aggregate settlements of persons from the same village.[11] Second, it must be assumed that the office of the migrant association is located in or near the subarea of the city which contains the maximum concentration of members. While this would not be true in every case, one might reasonably expect some relationship between office and clientele.

Even if these assumptions were absolutely beyond question (which they are not), an analysis of the locations of the associations would be irrelevant if they were scattered capriciously throughout the entire city. This, however, is fortunately not the case. When the addresses listed in the directory are located on a spot map, a definite, although not simple, pattern emerges which indicates in rough fashion the areas where rural migrants seem to be concentrated. Most associations fall within the elliptical belt around but never within the central business district. The arc contracts both east and west to a bare quarter of a mile from central business district and expands north and south to more than a mile from city center, thus conforming to the general contours of the city.

NORTHERN SETTLEMENT

One-third the migrant associations cluster in the segment of the city which radiates northward from the central business district, circumscribed south and east by major rail lines, and bounded by the Nile to the west and an agricultural zone to the north. This section contains two subareas of densest concentration: the first in the vicinity of the Khazindar bus station; the other in Al Sharabiya, northeast of the main train terminal.

The Khazindar bus station has served since the twenties as the terminus of bus lines connecting Lower Egyptian provinces (the Delta) with Cairo. Within a radius of one-fourth of a mile of this station are eight village associations, all representing Delta villages; within half a mile are sixteen associations, ten actually concentrated in a four-by-six-block area just northeast of the station. This area has a strange mixture of urban and rural features. Behind the main street on which the station stands, narrow unpaved streets and alleys harbor prema-

[10] Prepared by Isis Istiphan and published by the Social Research Center, American University at Cairo, 1956

[11] Obviously, not all ex-residents would be found in the Cairo settlement of maximum concentration, since some, probably the most successful economically, may have already moved to other sections of the city, while others never did follow the typical pattern, for example, the selective migrants or those with intervening experiences, such as army service.

turely aged, badly deteriorated, urban housing interspersed with the rural type of structure. The two- and three-story buildings contrast markedly with the six- to eight-story structures which dominate the main street. A cluster of black-garbed women squat to gossip; old men sit in doorways; a sheep bleats; children swarm in packs. When this area received its major influx of migrants, it was an outpost of urban settlement. As recently as 1940 there were farms just to the north. By now, however, the city has swept beyond it.

The second concentration of migrant associations is located in the tiny quarter of Al Sharabiya, where seven associations almost all from Delta villages are located within four blocks. Occupationally, many residents are bound to the rail yards that virtually surround it. Despite its geographically central location, this section presents a distinctly rural aspect and retains a close functional tie to the rural fringe, since farms bound it where rail lines do not. Lower buildings, some of mud brick, predominate. Commercial establishments are those of the large village or small town. Al Sharabiya and Khazindar areas contain most of the migrant associations of the city's northern quadrant. (The remainder are scattered within the belt shown on Fig. 1.)

Most of the associations in this quadrant represent Lower Egyptian villages. Hence many migrants have presumably settled close not only to their point of origin but, even more specifically, to their point of entry into the city, i.e., the bus terminal. Moreover, the migrants settling in this part of the city selected areas which were, at the time of settlement at least, on the outer edge of the built-up city.

SOUTHERN SETTLEMENT

Another third of more of the migrant associations are clustered directly south of the central business district, quite distant from the southern rural-urban fringe. The densest concentation is found in the transitional business district--a curved interstitial belt buffering the Western-style commercial zone north and west of it from the native market and residential quarters to its south and east. Twenty-five associations are located in this zone, while the remainder are scattered farther south toward Old Cairo.

Most striking is the fact that the majority of these associations represent villages of Upper Egypt. Thus the principle of least effort seems to determine migrant distribution. Villagers coming from north of the city favor the northern quadrant of the city, while those coming from the south prefer location in the southern quadrant. But, whereas the former have their associations in family residential zones near the city's fringe, the latter have theirs in a marginal commercial district characterized by a heavy excess of unmarried males.[12] Further examination reveals that the latter are primarily in rented offices, whereas the former are frequently in the home of the association's president.

What accounts for the remarkable difference? One hypothesis can be offered here. Migrants from Delta villages follow a different pattern of migration and hence make a different type of adjustment to the city than do migrants from Upper Egyptian villages. First, migrants from the Delta move primarily in family groups, while those from the south either remain single or leave their wives and children in their home villages. In Cairo in 1947, of the 400,000 migrants from Lower Egypt, half were males and half females, but 200,000 out of the 250,000 migrants from Upper Egypt were males. Thus the sex ratio of Delta migrants was remarkably well balanced, while there were four men for every woman among Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo.

Second, significant occupational differences between the two migrant groups affect both adjustment patterns and spatial distribution. Upper Egyptian migrants go primarily into domestic and other personal serv-

[12] The sex ratio here is 129 in the ages most likely to be imbalanced by migration, 15 to 49, in the northern section it is only 104. Forty per cent of males of marriageable age are unmarried here, while only 25 per cent are unmarried in the northern section (computed from 1947 census)

ices or work in unskilled labor gangs, while the occupations followed by Lower Egyptian migrants are both more varied and less likely to include housing as a part of wages.[13]

In the light of this the major differences between the location of migrant associations representing Upper and Lower Egyptian villages become more comprehensible. The associations of Upper Egyptians are located in an area which serves as a leisure-time focal point as well as a residential area catering to single men. This is both cause and effect of the character of Upper Egyptian migrants. The associations play a more active role in their lives, in part because their members are denied access to the alternative social unit, the family.

CENTRAL ZONE, EAST AND WEST OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

The remaining associations are divided between Boulaq, which forms the western quadrant of the ellipse, and Bab al-Shariya and Waily, the eastern portion of the belt. Ten associations are located within the former zone, while twenty have addresses in the latter. Just as the ecological position of these areas is midway between the northern concentration of Delta village associations and the southern concentration of Upper Egyptian associations, so, sociologically, they lie midway, containing associations from both regions of the country in roughly equal proportions. They share still other similarities. Both are close to the central business district; both rank low in socioeconomic status (below both shubra and the transitional business zone); both are primarily family areas; and both contain the densest slums of the city: densities of up to 900,000 persons per square mile are recorded for small subsections of Boulaq, and the overall density of the community area of Bab al-Shariya is the highest in the city. Of the two, Boulaq is the older and hence the one retaining more rural qualities in its buildings and streets, but even Bab al-Shariya, despite its uniformly high apartment buildings looming above narrow access alleys, contains a population more rural than urban in its ways.

These, then, are the areas to which migrants have gravitated within the city. That they are relatively scarce in the highest rental zones of the city is attributable to their low socioeconomic status. Migrants are relatively absent, also from the rural-urban fringe proper which would, as we have seen, provide them with the most familiar and protective environment. The lack of rental housing in these areas (privately owned farms with villages for laborers only), the dearth of public transportation, and their desire to live close to their new jobs are undoubtedly important reasons for their rejection of these areas. A second area surprisingly overlooked in the search for "near-the-fringe" living is Medieval Cairo, that rectangular belt of oldest structures toward the eastern edge of the city. The complete absence of new housing in these districts, coupled with a low turnover rate (the population works at traditional crafts and trades where production, selling, and living quarters are often in the same structure), have probably prevented mass invasions by new migrants.

III. HYPOTHESES CONCERNING MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT

Earlier, the hypotheses of migrant adjustment were broken down into four classes: physical, economic, social, and ideological. In light of the locational material presented above, plus observations of both rural and city life in Egypt,[14] these will be defined here

[13] The *Directory of Social Agencies* lists the dominant occupations of members of each association. Government and manual workers are listed most frequently for Lower Egyptian associations, while servants, porters, and messengers are the most frequently mentioned occupations for Upper Egyptian associations.

[14] The author has spent more than three years in Egypt, one and a half at a UNESCO project in a village area and two years in Cairo studying the structure of that city. Many observations have been further authenticated by anthropologists and social workers with longer and more intimate experience in both areas, to whom the author expresses gratitude.

in an attempt to describe the peculiarities of migrant adjustment in Egypt.

PHYSICAL

We have already suggested that many migrants gravitate to areas lying close to the rural-urban fringe, while others settle in areas which have at least a cultural resemblance to semirural areas. In these sections, interior streets and alleyways are seldom used for wheeled traffic, leaving undisturbed the rural functions of the street as pathway, meeting place, playground, and tethering area for animals.

Greater adjustments are required with respect to both the dwelling and the physical neighborhood. Housing occupied by the majority of migrants is more urban than rural in style. This results in functional overcrowding more severe than in the villages. The village home minimizes the number of inclosed rooms in order to maximize private open space (a ground-level interior courtyard or a protected roof courtyard in a more commodious two-story home). This cherished space is eliminated in the multifamily flats of the city. While many of the tasks assigned to the courtyard are no longer performed in the city (drying dung cakes, storing crops, tethering animals), other social uses such as cooking, eating, and just sitting are driven indoors or to the streets in the city.

Not only is the home more compressed due to the loss of outdoor "overspill" space, but the neighborhood is also more concentrated. While residential densities in Egyptian villages are surprisingly high, they nowhere approach the densities of Cairo's poorer districts. Many families using a common stairwell and public utilities means, paradoxically, more intensive contact with neighbors than in the village; and adjusting to the inadvertent intimacy may be extremely difficult for people new to the city, particularly for women.

Within the home itself are other changes, of which the loss of the overroom is perhaps the most important. In the rural home one full room is devoted to the massive flat-topped oven in which bread is baked daily and which, during the winter months, heats the adjacent areas and provides a snug bed for a blanketless family. That its loss is viewed with distress by at least some migrants is evidenced by the fact that some seek the top floor of an urban dwelling to construct a village oven and advise newcomers from their village to do the same.[15]

Other changes in the home are viewed more favorably, since they conform to the aspirations of villagers. Among the objects high in status found in the most prosperous rural homes are small kerosene burners instead of dung-cake fires for cooking, wardrobes and china closets to store a growing stock of consumption items, and the high four-poster bed with its black wrought-iron frame embellished with gilt, which remains, in the city as in the village, the *most* important sign of status. These are items with which migrants tend to crowd their urban homes, as soon as they can afford them.

The dress of migrants changes little in the city. Only the selective migrants change completely from the *galabiya* (long loose robe) to pants and shirts; for non-selective migrants the change is rarely required to conform to the urban pattern, and it is occupation rather than status per se or place of birth which dictates appropriate attire. It is perhaps because of this that the change is more frequently attempted by Delta than by Upper Egyptian migrants.

Change in dress presents more difficult problems for the women. The universal dress of village women is a high-necked, long-sleeved printed gown which is then covered by a black one of similar cut. A kerchief and then a black mantilla completely cover the hair. While many village women retain this attire in the city (as do many old city residents), some of the younger of them first discard the black garment and later may adopt a modified urban version of the printed gown with cutout neckline and daring three-quarter-length sleeves.

The foregoing remarks apply best to

[15] Reported by Hind Abu el Seoud, an anthropologist studying a small Delta village and its ex-residents in Cairo.

Delta families making a relatively permanent adjustment to the city. They do not apply with equal force to upper Egyptian migrants working as domestic servants or in other occupations where housing is provided or to those who remain unmarried or leave their families in the village. Paradoxically, this group, exposed most intensively to a completely new physical environment, is least assimilated to Cairo. A lifetime spent in sections of the city which contrast sharply with the village environment affects a superficial sophistication unmatched by the manual laborer from the Delta living in a quasi-rural district. It seems, however, that the very lack of gradual transition and of the mediating influences of family and neighborhood has the reverse effect of prolonging the period when one is a stranger. This type of migrant often completely rejects urban life, confining his periodic social contacts to co-villagers often in his own profession and his "real" life to infrequent sojourns to his village family.

ECONOMIC

In their villages of origin, migrants were engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. Men worked long and hard during the three sowing and harvesting periods in the Delta and the two crop-change periods in Upper Egypt, these periods of intense activity being followed by slower seasons of maintenance and community sociability. The basic rhythm of rural life thus dictated large finite jobs alternating with lighter routine work. The length of the work day varied with the stage of the cycle.

Women's work was more evenly distributed, with child care, the preparation of food and bread, the making of dung cakes, and the tending of livestock performed daily. Work in the fields was done during the early morning hours, except during the busy seasons, when it absorbed a greater portion of the day. Labor was communal within the extended family home and, when outdoors, was usually performed in company.

Laundry is a case in point. In the village, washing is done in the canal or now, increasingly, at the communal water taps. It is never a solitary activity. Contrast this with how laundry is done in Al Sharabiya, a migrant area described above.[16] Water is also secured from communal taps, but a man guards the tap, effectively discouraging women from washing at the site. Women carry their water home to wash in solitude within their dwellings. Other functions are similarly driven indoors or eliminated altogether. Thus the ex-village woman experiences a reduction in her work load (except where outside employment is taken), but, at the same time, she experiences an even greater reduction in the social life which formerly attended her labors.

The experience of migrant men, on the other hand, is often the reverse. The work of a city manual laborer is probably more taxing, certainly more evenly distributed over time, and usually *less* solitary than rural work. Exceptions must be made for migrants working as itinerant peddlers, shoe-shiners, tea-makers, etc., and, of course, for those working as domestic servants. These occupations are both more independently regulated and somewhat more isolating from contacts of a primary nature.

To what extent do migrants working at steady jobs in the company of others come into contact with associates from different backgrounds? Social heterogeneity is one of the distinguishing characteristics of urbanism, but for this to create the mental counterpart—cultural relativity—heterogeneous persons must come into intimate contact with each other. While in large-scale factories the mixing of diverse people undoubtedly occurs, the overwhelming majority of commercial and industrial firms in Cairo employ only a few persons, often within the same family. Furthermore, migrants often depend upon their compatriots to guide them to their first jobs. Sometimes, migrants seek out well-known "successes" from their village to give them employment. Thus migrants cluster together not only residentially

[16] Account provided by Abdel Monem Shawky, former social worker in the district for fourteen years.

but also on the job as well. In the smaller firms of Cairo, then, a far greater homogeneity of the work force exists than would have been expected by chance. Far from isolating the migrant from his fellow villagers, his job may actually consolidate his village ties.

SOCIAL

The hypotheses presented by Louis Wirth in his logical statement[17] of the differences between the rural and urban ways of life have been misused, as if they were facts, and many of the concepts almost self-evident to sociologists studying American cities have proved less valid when applied to the growing body of data about non-Western and preindustrial cities. While isolated refutations have appeared,[18] as yet there has been no major reformulation of the theory.

Wirth hypothesized that the ecological determinants of a city (large numbers of heterogeneous people in dense, permanent settlement) would have certain social consequences, notably anonymity, dependence upon impersonal relations and sanctions, sophistication, and tolerance of change. To what extent do the social relationships in Cairo conform to these predicated types, and, further, how much does the rural migrant really have to adjust his personality to become a functioning member of urban society?

While these questions are too ambitious to be answered here, two propositions are suggested. First, the culture of Cairo fails to be characterized chiefly by anonymity, secondary contacts, and the other attributes of urban life. Second, migrants to Cairo are active creators of a variety of social institutions whose major function is to protect migrants from the shock of anomie.

Middle Eastern culture places a high value on personal relationships, even at a sacrifice of privacy and internal development. This, combined with a system of relationships based on the extended kinship group, serves to increase the number of primary ties far beyond what Western sociologists, reasoning from their own experience, dare to assume possible.[19] This network of personal associations enmeshes not hundreds but thousands of individuals.

Were Cairo merely an amorphous mass of individuals, this network, large as it is, might account for but a small fraction of the individual's contacts. However, Cairo is not one community but, rather, many separate social communities. Functional sections of each community may be geographically separated—residence in one section, business in another, recreation in still another. A member of one community may pass daily through the physical site of communities other than his own, neither "seeing" them nor admitting their relevance to his own life. But, within his own community, there is little if any anonymity.

It is within this context of "urbanism" that the Egyptian migrant is called upon to adjust. His adjustment is further facilitated by the formal and informal institutions he develops within his small community, one of which has already been mentioned—the village benevolent society. Through it many migrants receive moral support from their compatriots as well as insurance against the insecurities of urban life, that is, isolation in poverty, sickness, and death.[20] It is un-

[17] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 1–24, which essentially reformulates the work of earlier German scholars, such as Max Weber, *The City*, ed and trans. D Martindale and G Neuwirth (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1958); and Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. Kurt Wolff (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1950), pp. 409 24

[18] See, e g, Gideon Sjoberg, "The Preindustrial City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (March, 1955), 438-45; Horace Miner, *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[19] Weber himself rejected impersonal relations as a useful part of the city's definition, noting that "various cultural factors determine the size at which 'impersonality' tends to appear" (*op cit*, p 65) See also Richard Dewey, "The Rural-Urban Continuum," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI (July, 1960), 60-66

[20] Burial services, offered by almost all associations, parallel the burial insurance organizations of Negro rural migrants to northern cities

likely, however, that more than 100,000 migrants are involved in these associations, while it will be recalled that their number exceeded 600,000 in 1947. Thus, even if these associations are important to the persons they serve, they fall short of absorbing most migrants.

Other formal institutions play a relatively minor role in providing social groups for migrant identification. Labor unions (except for craft guilds), civic associations, charitable organizations, and political groups are all relatively undeveloped social institutions in Cairo. One must look, then, to the informal social institutions for a fuller understanding of patterns of adjustment. Unfortunately, documentation in this area is totally lacking. While a few may be singled out as playing important roles, no estimate of their magnitude can be offered.

First in importance is undoubtedly the coffee shop in which Middle Eastern males conduct their social and often their business lives. The comparable Western institution is probably the old style of British pub which, with its set of steady patrons and its intimate atmosphere, served as a social focus for the individual's life. Many an Egyptian coffee shop is run by a villager to serve men from that particular village. News of the village is exchanged, mutual assistance for employment is given, and the venture more resembles a closed club than a commercial enterprise.

For the women no such informal association is available. While within the village there are also no purely female informal associations, religious festivals, births, deaths, marriages, circumcisions, etc., are all village-wide events in which women have important roles to play. Within the city, however, these events become more private, and the role of women as full participants is probably reduced. Social life in the city is confined more and more to the immediate neighborhood.

It is this immediate neighborhood, however, which constitutes, after the family, the most important informal social institution for migrants in the city. The cohesiveness of the neighborhood is strengthened by the tendency of persons from the same village to settle together. Similar to the situation elsewhere, it is the women, children, and very old persons who are the most active participants in neighborhood-centered social life.

MOTIVATIONS AND IDEOLOGY

The Weltanschauung of the city man is presumed to differ from the peasant's in several significant ways. First, relaxation of the heavy hand of personal social control in the village is assumed to give greater latitude for individual differentiation. Second, cities are assumed to foster a more secular, rational, and mechanistic ordering of activities. Third, cities are gateways to a more sophisticated knowledge of the outside world. Finally, cities have traditionally been the centers of movements of social change, from new religions to new political ideologies and transfers of power.

While these statements are valid premises, data on Cairo are lacking which would permit us to place rural migrants along the continuum from the sacred, conformist, isolated, and relatively static state of the ideal folk society to the extreme of urbanism outlined above. For one thing, the Egyptian village hardly conforms to the ideal prototype of a folk society. Where farmers raise cash crops tied to international markets (cotton and sugar), listen to radios, travel often to market towns, have relatives or friends in the cities, and send their children to schools following a national curriculum, the magic ring of isolation has already been broken. On the other hand, as already demonstrated, it is possible within Cairo to lead a fairly circumscribed existence outside the main stream of urban life. Therefore, while there may be a wide gap between the least-sophisticated villager and the most-sophisticated urbanite, there is certainly no indication that migrants necessarily pass from one pole to the other.

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CONTROL AND EFFECTIVENESS IN A VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION[1]

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ABSTRACT

A probability sample of the relatively autonomous local Leagues within the League of Women Voters of the United States was used to test two hypotheses concerning the causes and effects of varying patterns of control in organizations. Both are stated in terms of dimensions of the descriptive technique known as the "control graph." The hypotheses state that the effectiveness of the local League will vary directly with the average positive slope and the height of the local League's control curves The data at least partially support the hypotheses.

While the literature of social science is rich in provocative ideas concerning the causes and effects of varying patterns of control, much remains to be done in testing empirically some of the many hypotheses formulated around this concept. The classic research of Lewin, Lippitt, and White is an early attempt to study in the laboratory the effects of varying patterns of control on children in groups.[2] A number of studies have since been performed in laboratory as well as in field settings. The experiment by Coch and French in a textile manufacturing plant and that of Morse and Reimer in a large clerical organization illustrate the extension of this work into organizations.[3] The study to be reported here, conducted among a number of local Leagues within the League of Women Voters of the United States, has been designed to extend some implications of the earlier research.

The descriptive model to be employed, called the "control graph," has been discussed and illustrated in earlier publications.[4] It is designed to characterize the pattern of control in formal organizations. Its horizontal axis represents the various hierarchical levels in an organization: in an industrial organization, for example, the rank-and-file workers as a group would be placed at the bottom, followed by the foremen, managers, general managers, etc., up to the board of directors and chairman of the board at the top. The vertical axis represents the amount of control exercised by those at each of these hierarchical levels, that is, how much effect each level has in determining the organization's policies and actions. Various shapes of curve might be generated from the axes, depending on the amount of control of each level. For illustration, four prototypic models can be envisioned. In one the amount of control rises with hierarchical ascent; we might call this the "autocratic" or "oligarchic" model. Another curve declines with hierarchical ascent; it describes the "demo-

[1] This article was prepared as part of a program of research on control in social organizations under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. The data were collected within a larger study of voluntary organizations supported by a grant from the Schwarzhaupt Foundation. I acknowledge the valuable contribution of Marjorie N. Donald and Robert L. Kahn in the research and would also like to thank Rensis Likert, Carol Livingstone, Donald Pelz, and Clagett Smith for their helpful suggestions.

[2] Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K White, "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (2d ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1953), pp. 340 54.

[3] Lester Coch and John R. P. French, Jr, "Overcoming Resistance to Change," *Human Relations*, I (November, 1948), 512–32; and Nancy C. Morse and Everett Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organizational Variable," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LII (January, 1956), 120–29.

[4] See, e g, Arnold S Tannenbaum and Basil Georgopoulos, "The Distribution of Control in Formal Organizations," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (October, 1957), 44–50; and Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L Kahn, "Organizational Control Structure: A General Descriptive Technique as Applied to Four Local Unions," *Human Relations*, X (May, 1957), 127–40

cratic" model. If the uppermost level of the hierarchy is placed at the left end of the horizontal axis, the "autocratic" model would be characterized by a negative, and the "democratic" model by a positive, slope. However, some curves might remain fairly flat; that is, they have a zero slope. Flat curves might intersect the vertical axis at a point high or low on this axis. The low curve, indicating relatively little control by any hierarchical level, describes the "laissez faire" or "anarchic" model. The high curve, indicating a high level of control by *all* hierarchical levels, is called the "polyarchic" model.

Two aspects of organizational control structure are indicated by the control curve: the hierarchical distribution of control, represented by the shape or slope of the curve, and the total amount of control exercised by all levels in the organization, represented by the general height of (or area under) the curve. The fact that these dimensions may vary independently emphasizes the importance of distinguishing them. Organizations, for example, might have the same general distribution of control, while the total amount of control exercised within them differs sharply. On the other hand, organizations, though equal in the amount of control exercised within them, might differ markedly in the way it is distributed. Such variations have been found among the organizations to which the control graph has been applied, and it is in terms of these dimensions that the hypotheses of the present study are formulated:

Hypothesis 1.—Organizational effectiveness will be related directly to degree of positive slope of the control curve.

Hypothesis 2.—Organizational effectiveness will be related directly to the average height of the control curve.

Organizational effectiveness is defined in terms of the means and ends of the organization. It is the extent to which an organization fulfils its objectives and preserves its means and resources.[5]

The first hypothesis is a recasting, in terms of the control graph, of the conviction that in our society the "democratic" type of organization will work more effectively than will the "autocratic." There are two kinds of reasons for making such a prediction under certain circumstances: those which apply to the maintenance of organizational resources and means and those which refer to the attainment of organizational goals.

1. In a culture where democratic values are extolled, rank-and-file influence is desired by a large proportion of members of organizations. Since relatively high rank-and-file influence is desired by many as an end in itself, organizational control characterized by a positively sloped curve would be expected to contribute to the members' morale. Furthermore, having a say in determining the policies and actions of an organization may permit members to move the organization in directions which satisfy the needs of a fairly broad segment of them rather than the needs of the leaders.[6] This assumes that the members have some understanding of the implications of the control they exercise and the skill and desire to exercise it effectively.

While a high degree of satisfaction among the members in itself is not considered a criterion of effectiveness, an organization with high morale will attract and retain members—a characteristic especially important to the maintenance of voluntary groups.

2. The exercise of control by lower echelons is likely to bring with it greater acceptance of jointly made decisions as well as an increased sense of responsibility and motivation to further the goals of the or-

[5] Basil Georgopoulos and Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "A Study of Organizational Effectiveness," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (October, 1957), 534–40.

[6] See, e.g., Morse and Reimer, *op. cit.*; and David L. Sills, *The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 4.

ganization.[7] It may also provide, according to Likert, the means for effective co-ordination of the members' activity through the process of mutual influence.[8] Some authors point out the detrimental effects of control from above. "Hierarchical authority" has been said, in a democratic society, to reduce initiative, inhibit identification with the organization, and to create conflict and hostility among members.[9]

While control from above has detrimental effects, it also seems, to some authors, to be necessary for efficient functioning. The detrimental effects can be mitigated under certain circumstances. Blau, for example, suggests the importance of minimizing the disruptive inequalities created by hierarchical authority.[10] Sills sees the necessity of centralized control in the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis but points to the importance of members' perception as a mitigating factor. Continued interest and participation in the Foundation by volunteers can be explained by the fact that nearly half the members believe that the organization is democratic, even though it is not.[11]

Another approach to this dilemma—the necessity of control from above together with the favorable effects of control from below—would consider the possibility of increasing the influence of lower levels in an organization without decreasing that of upper-echelon personnel—of increasing the average height as well as the degree of positive slope of the control curve. This leads to Hypothesis 2.[12]

Two aspects of this relationship should be considered: one in which total control can be seen as an effect and one in which it is a cause of (or "intervening variable" in relation to) effectiveness.

1. The hypothesis that total control is a cause of organizational effectiveness is based on an elementary assumption regarding organization: Organized behavior is predicated on the co-ordination of individual behavior in some form of concerted action toward a goal or set of goals. This requires adherence to rules, conformity to organizational law, formal and informal: in other words, it requires control. Discussions of control in organizations, however, often assume a reciprocal relationship between the control exercised by upper and that exercised by lower levels of the hierarchy. Increasing the influence of one group implies decreasing the influence of another. The weakness of this view, however, becomes apparent when one considers the laissez faire organization, which represents the limiting case in which little or no control is exercised and in which little external direction or internal co-ordination will be manifest.

One can readily imagine moving in any of several possible directions away from the laissez faire condition: by increasing the control exercised by upper-echelon personnel, by increasing that of lower-level personnel, or by increasing the influence

[7] See, e g, John R P French, Jr, Joachim Israel, and Dagfinn Ås, "An Experiment on Participation in a Norwegian Factory," *Human Relations*, XIII (February, 1960), 3–19; James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York John Wiley & Sons, 1958), p 54; and Morse and Reimer, *op cit.*

[8] For a more detailed discussion of this point see Rensis Likert, "A Motivational Approach to a Modified Theory of Organization and Management," in Mason Haire (ed), *Modern Organization Theory* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959), pp 184 217.

[9] See, e g, *ibid.*, and Peter M Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1956), p 80.

[10] Blau, *op. cit*, pp. 82–83.

[11] Sills, *op cit*, p. 219: see also March and Simon, *op cit*, p 54

[12] Aspects of Hypothesis 2 have been elaborated in earlier publications; e g, Rensis Likert, "Influence and National Sovereignty," in John G Peatman and Eugene L. Hartley (eds), *Festschrift for Gardner Murphy* (New York Henry Holt & Co, 1960); Arnold S Tannenbaum, "Control Structure and Union Functions," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (May, 1956), 536–45, and Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L Kahn, *Participation in Union Locals* (Evanston, Ill Row, Peterson & Co., 1958).

of both.[13] If, as some authors contend, a high degree of control by the leaders is necessary for the efficient administration of organizations, and if, on the other hand, a high degree of control by the members is also necessary to foster identification, motivation, and loyalty, why would not substantial control exercised by both create conditions for more effective performance? Likert has suggested the importance of high "mutual influence" at all levels within organizations as the basis of the effective co-ordination of organizational activity as well as for the integration of the goals of individual members and of the organization.[14] This condition, leading to effective performance, entails significant control exercised by persons at all levels, the leaders as well as the rank and file. Furthermore, employing the control-graph method, Likert has found a direct relationship between effectiveness (measured in terms of productivity and other criteria) and height of control curve among thirty-one plants of an industrial organization.[15]

2. The hypothesis that a high degree of total control may be a result of organizational effectiveness follows from the assumption that all organizations have functions to perform, and rewards (of one kind or another) to dispense. The effective organization, by definition, is more likely to achieve its goals. It is also likely to have a greater stock of disposable rewards. Both organizational goals and rewards are likely to be relevant to the interests, if not the welfare, of members as well as leaders, and the amount of control which they try to exercise may be affected accordingly. Control in the effective organization is attractive to members and leaders alike because it is instrumental to the achievement of important satisfactions. The ineffective organization, on the other hand, has relatively little to offer. The rewards of control, and, consequently, the motivation to exercise control, are correspondingly less.

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN 1956

The League of Women Voters of the United States includes over 100,000 members organized into about one thousand relatively autonomous local Leagues around the country. These local Leagues, which vary in size from about 25 to 3,000 members, form the units of the present study.

The League is a non-partisan political organization. Its general purpose is "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." Its activities include selecting and studying public issues, declaring a position on some of them, bringing them to the attention of the public, and supporting legislation in line with their stand. In addition, the organization informs the public about the mechanics of voting and supplies information on issues on which the League may not have taken

[13] Several authors illustrate in different ways the phenomenon of increased total control; e.g., March and Simon's discussion of "participative management" "where there is participation, alternatives are suggested in a setting that permits the organizational hierarchy to control (at least in part) what is evoked. 'Participative management' can be viewed as a device for permitting management to participate more fully in the making of decisions as well as a means for expanding the influence of lower echelons in the organization" (*op. cit.*, p. 54). Selznick's "co-optation principle" would seem to imply, at least under some circumstances, a degree of influence exercised within the organization by the co-opted element (which it did not exercise before co-optation) as well as an increased control by the "hierarchy" over the co-opted element (Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953], pp. 13–16, 259–61).

[14] Likert, "A Motivational Approach . . . ," *op. cit.*, "Influence and National Sovereignty," *op. cit.*

[15] Some of these data are reported by Rensis Likert ("Influence and National Sovereignty," *op. cit*). We would suspect that too much control may be as dysfunctional as too little, and a hypothesis more general than that offered above would specify an optimum level of control above or below which the organization would function below its potential. We are not yet in a position to specify the optimum for specific organizations. We can safely assume, however, that many, and particularly voluntary organizations, are operating at a level considerably below it.

an official stand, as well as information about (but never in support of, or in opposition to) political candidates. Members also prepare publications, make occasional presentations to public groups, and conduct fund-raising campaigns and membership drives.

The business of the local League is carried out in part through several kinds of meetings, the most frequent of which are discussion groups. It is here that most of the study, discussion, and participation by members take place and that many decisions are made regarding policies and actions.

Members are strongly committed to the ideals of democratic government: they often refer to their organization as a kind of workshop in democracy. Its formally established decision-making machinery provides, in theory, ample opportunity for the members to exercise control over the affairs of their local organization. Many members and leaders are aware, however, that the actual local decision-making does not always conform to the ideal.

League members are an unusual group in several respects. About 50 per cent have completed college. In joining and participating, many feel they are doing something of real value in helping extend the spirit of responsible citizenship and good government. In addition, many join for personal or social reasons; they find it a welcome change from their regular household routine; they enjoy meeting other women and find the discussions interesting and edifying.

The hierarchical scale of the local League consists of an elected president at the top, a partly elected and partly appointed board of directors at an intermediate level, and the rank and file at the bottom. These three hierarchical levels form the basis for the horizontal axis of the control graph.

THE LEAGUE AS A FORMAL ORGANIZATION

The League has all of the characteristics of a formal organization. As a voluntary organization, however, it differs in certain respects from many other formal organizations: (1) The League's governmental structure is partly representational in nature, including elected as well as appointed leaders. Many aspects of policy-making are formally decentralized and in the hands of the rank and file. (2) League action follows a long process of interpersonal action; discussion and agreement are necessary and important in it. (3) Much of the League's effort is psychic rather than physical (to use the distinction of Ross).[16] (4) The League's primary function involves working on and through people external to the organization and, to some extent, interacting and influencing other organizations, as is the case in unions and political organizations. (5) Membership in the League is open to all female citizens of voting age in the community. However, women who join tend to be educated, middle-income women, interested in public affairs. (6) Unlike some voluntary groups, the League de-emphasizes social interaction as an objective. Formally, the League is primarily a "social influence" rather than an "expressive" group (to use the distinction of Rose).[17] The forms of sanctions, coercion, or pressure which can be applied to members to achieve conformity and activity are much more limited than they are in other organizations. (8) The League's ability to survive is largely a function of the members' willingness to do its work. It does not have to maintain a competitive advantage vis-à-vis other groups, as do profit-making organizations.

A probability sample of 104 local Leagues was drawn from a complete list of all Leagues in the country. A stratification

[16] Edward A. Ross, "The Organization of Effort," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII (1916), 1-18; reprinted in Edgar F. Borgatta and Henry J. Meyer (eds.), *Sociological Theory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956).

[17] Arnold Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 52.

procedure by state and by size of League was employed so as to increase the accuracy of the sample. Each League was assigned a probability of falling into the sample proportional to its size. While 104 different Leagues fell into the sample, several of the very large Leagues were chosen more than once, and they therefore enter into the data more than once, making our total N of sample choices 112. Ignoring these duplicate choices would have created some bias. The stratification procedures employed added accuracy to the sample, and they make our use of $N = 112$ a good approximation.[18] We are thus projecting to a hypothetical population of Leagues which includes a somewhat greater proportion of large and a somewhat smaller proportion of small Leagues than exist in the population.[19]

Three basic sets of measures were employed:

1. *Measures of local League effectiveness.*—A score for each of the 104 Leagues was obtained through rating forms filled out by twenty-nine persons assigned by national headquarters. These persons qualified as experts through their experience in the organization at state or national levels and their familiarity with the work of many of the local Leagues.

In judging the over-all effectiveness of each of the Leagues, raters were asked to consider several criteria of effective functioning. These were based on a number of objectives established for Leagues by the national organization. They include the primary objectives of all Leagues: high quality and quantity of League publications and significant impact of the League in its community. Also included are a number of objectives stated by the national organization which might be considered instrumental in nature: success of the League in fund-raising campaigns, the growth of the League and its size relative to the community, and the amount of activity of members and their knowledge of League activities.

A rating scale with landmark statements was provided as follows:

100—This is an excellent League—among the very best. It is outstanding and exemplary of what I think Leagues should be like. It is probably unlikely that we can get many Leagues to operate as well as this one.

75—This is a good League. It is generally above average in the various standards which I feel apply to the evaluation of Leagues. If all locals were this good, the League of Women Voters of the United States would be much improved as an organization.

50—This is a fair League—about average in the various standards of effective League operation. It does not stand out, however.

25—This is only moderate (mediocre) in that it meets most of the standards of League operation but falls below the average. It needs improvement more than most Leagues.

0—This is a very poor League—as poor as one can get and still remain within the organization. It barely meets standards and falls below on most. It is considerably below average and would require drastic changes to bring it up to par.

Scores of effectiveness were computed for each League by averaging the ratings of each by all the judges who rated them. Some of the raters were not sufficiently familiar with all 104 Leagues to provide a rating of each; however, each League was rated by at least two raters, and many were rated by all. The scores derived in this way range from a low of 8 to a high of 100. Their split-half reliability is .82. The product-moment correlation between League effectiveness and size of League is

[18] I am indebted to Dr. Leslie Kish and Miss Irene Hess for the technical design of the sample.

[19] Choosing a sample in this way is justified on the grounds that very large Leagues are rare, and a simple random sample would not be likely to include any very large ones, and that a kind of proportional representation of Leagues in the results is achieved. Each League in the sample represents the same number of members. The greater weight and importance attached to the larger Leagues reflect the correspondingly larger proportion of members in these Leagues.

.55. However, the relationship is not linear, and, when size of League is transformed logarithmically, the correlation becomes .74. Size, then, is an important component of League effectiveness. This is to be explained in terms of the greater impact which a large League is able to make within its community and within the national organization. It also reflects the ability of the League to get and hold members—an important criterion of effectiveness. However, size itself is likely to create important effects of its own quite apart from the question of effectiveness. In testing our hypotheses then, we shall control for the logarithm of size through partial correlation.

It might be argued that the raters of effectiveness are, in effect, judging aspects of control in the various Leagues, thus creating a spurious correlation between effectiveness and control. We shall therefore employ a supplementary and quite independent measure of League effectiveness, discussed below.

2. *Measures of control in the Leagues.*—A questionnaire was mailed to approximately twenty-five randomly chosen members in each of the sample Leagues, with the exception of the few large Leagues which were sampled more than once. Here, fifty or seventy-five questionnaires were administered according to the number of times these Leagues might have been chosen in the sample. A final response rate of 77 per cent was obtained.[20] The total N of respondents who returned questionnaires is 2,847, but of this group about 15 per cent did not answer the relevant questions. This sample of respondents includes only rank-and-file members. The N of organizational units, serving as the basis for the correlational tests employed, however, remains 112.

Each respondent was asked a set of questions concerning control in the local League. The question upon which the control graph is based was asked in tabular form (Table 1).

The amount of control exercised by each of the hierarchical levels in a given League is computed by averaging the judgments of all respondents regarding each of the levels. The independent-variable index for each League is obtained on the basis of these scores. A measure of the independent variable of Hypothesis 1 is derived by computing the slope of a best-fit straight line for the data of each League. This requires the admittedly crude but workable assumption of equal scale intervals along both the horizontal and vertical axes. Total control, the independent variable of Hypothesis 2, is obtained simply by adding the amounts of control exercised by the three hierarchical levels in each League as reported in response to the question (Table 1).

It might be argued that the predicted correlations obtained through the use of the above measures really reflect greater subjective feeling for "democratic" control among members of effective Leagues than there is among members of ineffective Leagues, rather than accurate appraisals of the objective situation in each League. We shall therefore employ the question: "In your opinion, how much influence do you think each of these groups *should have* in determining the policies and actions of your local League?" This is intended as a measure of the possible halo or response set in effective as compared to ineffective Leagues. The curves derived from this question are referred to as the "ideal control curves" as contrasted with the "actual control curves" based on the earlier question. The "ideal" question was asked immediately after the "actual" control question.

The response categories are precisely the same as those for the previous question. If a certain halo or response set in relation to control exists in effective as compared to ineffective Leagues, we would expect such

[20] After an elaborate set of follow-up procedures including letters and telephone calls by members of the research staff. I am indebted to Dr. Charles Cannell and to Miss Sharon Summers for their contribution to this phase of the research.

differences to be reflected in the responses to the above question. We shall therefore be interested in the extent to which slope and height of control curve derived from this question correlate with effectiveness. Zero correlations would be most favorable to the original hypotheses.

In addition to the sample of rank-and-file members who serve as informants regarding control within each League, a sample of six board members in each League was also questioned. The correlations between the responses of these groups are smaller than was hoped, although they are all significant beyond the .05 level. The judgments of the rank and file and of board members regarding the control exercised by the president correlate at .50; of the control exercised by the board, .18; and of the control by the membership, .25. Our measures are thus subject to some unreliability, and we shall therefore be interested in the extent to which our hypotheses are substantiated by using the judgments of board members as well as those of rank-and-file members.

Finally, one might argue that the measures of control and of effectiveness are really measures of amount of activity by members and that the hypotheses are, in effect, tautologous. We shall evaluate the strength of this contention through the use of a direct measure of members' participation based on two questions dealing with the amount of time members spend in the activities of the organization and the number of meetings (of several kinds) which they attend. These questions were formed into an index with a split-half reliability of .87.

3. *Supplementary measure of League effectiveness.*—The ratings of effectiveness described above are subject to some of the limitations inherent in any measure based on judgment. We shall therefore retest our hypotheses, using an independent and behavioristic criterion of one aspect of effective League functioning: the proportion of sampled members in each League who filled out and returned the survey questionnaire. Although the job of completing the questionnaires was assigned by ourselves, this was clearly a task relevant to the organization, since the research was designed to be of use to the League, and was officially indorsed by the national organization and the local Leagues. General appeals for co-operation were made at the outset by the national president through the national publication and by local officers through their own organs. The rate of returns is an especially interesting index of unit performance, since it represents, in the terms of Lewin, Lippitt, and White, a type of "leader-out" behavior—a task performed by members away from the direct supervision of leaders.[21]

We would expect that, if both the rate of questionnaire returns and the ratings of effectiveness are valid measures, they would be correlated positively. On the

TABLE 1

In general, how much influence do you think the following groups or persons actually have in determining the policies and actions of your local League?

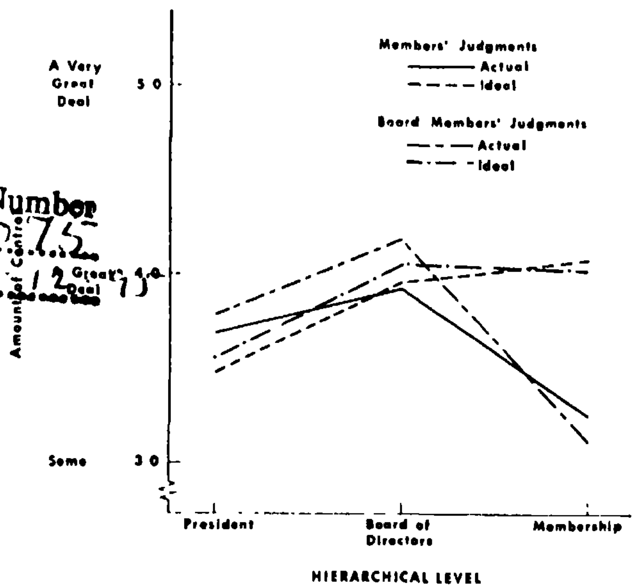
	No Influence	A Little Influence	Some Influence	A Great Deal of Influence	A Very Great Deal of Influence
Your local president..	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Your local board as a group (excluding the president)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Your local membership as a whole (excluding the board)..	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

[21] Lippitt and White, *op. cit.*

other hand, we would be concerned about differences in rate of response between effective and ineffective Leagues as creating a possible contamination of the other relationships studied. The method of administration of the questionnaire and the follow-up procedures were designed to minimize this relationship. Two correlations are therefore of importance here: the correlation between the League's effectiveness and rate of return of questionnaires immediately before the follow-up procedures were initiated, and the correlation between effectiveness and final rate of returns. The former, if positive and significant, reflects the validity of the scores of effectiveness; the latter provides some indication of the success (or lack thereof) of the follow-up procedures, as well as the extent to which differential response rate may enter as a possible contamination in the relationships studied.

Prior to the follow-up procedures, 49.7 per cent of the questionnaires were returned. The partial correlation (holding the logarithm of size constant) between League effectiveness and rate of returns at this point is .33, which is significant beyond the .001 level of confidence. The correlation, after all follow-ups were terminated, is .24. Although the correlation decreases slightly, it is not as low as might be hoped. There is a somewhat higher response rate from effective than from ineffective Leagues. These correlations nevertheless provide evidence for the validity of the scores of effectiveness.

Figure 1 shows the control curves, actual and ideal, averaged for all Leagues in the sample. Curves based on the judgments of rank-and-file members and of board members are drawn separately. Both the "actual" curves tend to be negatively sloped.[22] By way of contrast, the "ideal" curves are positively sloped. This conforms to the generally recognized ideal for the organization. The sharp differences be-



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FIG. 1 -Control curves, actual and ideal, averaged for all Leagues, based on the judgments of members and board members.

[22] Our hypotheses are thus to be tested among organizational units which have predominantly negatively sloped control curves. When we refer, then, to increases in degree of positive slope, we understand this to be equivalent to decreases in degree of negative slope.

tween the "ideal" and "actual" curves suggest that the respondents are making an important distinction in their responses to these questions between how, in their opinion, the organization should work and how it actually does.

Table 2 presents the partial correlations in a test of our hypotheses. The data support each. Effectiveness of the League is significantly related to the slope ($r_p = .31$) and average height ($r_p = .29$) of the control curve based on judgments of members. Furthermore, the correlations between effectiveness and the slope and height of the "ideal" control curve are not significantly different from zero. When the judgments of board members are employed as the basis for measuring the independent variables, the correlations are .19 between slope and effectiveness and .25 between total amount of control and effectiveness. Although modest in size, these correlations are statistically significant. The "ideal" data as reported by board members yield essentially the same results as that reported by the members.

The correlation between total control and slope (based on members' judgments) is only .14, indicating that we are testing two distinct hypotheses. This is further substantiated by second-order partial correlations. For example, the partial correlation between slope and effectiveness is .28, holding size and total control constant; the correlation between total control and effectiveness is .26, holding slope and size constant. Both are significant beyond the .005 level of confidence. An approximation of the multiple correlation using both slope and total control as the independent variables, and holding the logarithm of size constant, yields a value of .42, suggesting some advantage to predicting effectiveness from both slope and height of control curve rather than one or another separately.[23]

Nor are these results to be explained in terms of the differential rate of return of questionnaires in effective and ineffective Leagues. For example, the correlation between slope and effectiveness is .28, and that between total control and effectiveness, .24, when size and final rate of returns are partialed out. Both correlations are significant at beyond the .005 level of confidence.

Finally, let us consider the possibility that the measures of control and of effectiveness are really measures of members' participation and that the hypotheses are, for this reason, tautologous. The correlation between members' participation and effectiveness, holding League size constant, is .18. This is a relatively small but statistically significant relationship. Participa-

TABLE 2

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EFFECTIVENESS AND ASPECTS OF CONTROL IN LEAGUES, HOLDING SIZE OF LEAGUE CONSTANT

	Basis of Data on Control			
	Members' Judgments		Board Members' Judgments	
	r_p	P	r_p	P
Actual				
Degree of + slope of control curve ...	.31	< .001	.19	< .03
Total amount of control	.29	< .002	.25	< .005
Ideal				
Degree of + slope of control curve	.12	> .10	.10	> .11
Total amount of control . ..	.01	> .32	.10	> .11

The standard error of the z transformation on the partial correlation is $1/\sqrt{N-4}$ (see Q. McNemar, *Psychological Statistics* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949]). The one tailed method, predicting positive correlations in each case, is employed.

[23] Frederic M. Lord, "Nomograph for Computing Multiple Correlation Coefficients," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, L (December, 1955), 1073–77.

tion by members also correlates significantly with slope of control curve ($r_p = .38$) but not with height of control curve ($r_p = .05$).[24] However, partialing-out the effects of members' participation (as well as size) does not destroy the relationship between each of the two control indexes and effectiveness. These second-order partials yield values of .26 and .28 respectively for slope and height of control curve as independent variables ($p < .003$). On the other hand, partialing-out slope of control curve reduces the correlation between members' participation and effectiveness to .07. This argues against the contention that participation by members explains the relationship between slope and effectiveness, and it suggests, on the contrary, that the small degree of association between participation and effectiveness is to be explained in terms of a certain degree of control by the membership implicit in some activities of members.

A further impression of the joint effects of slope and of total control can be obtained from Table 3, in which are presented the proportions of Leagues that are above median effectiveness under varying combinations of slope and total control (based on members' judgments).

[24] The near zero correlation between total control and participation by members is not consistent with the results of an earlier study of four local unions (Tannenbaum, "Control Structure . . . ," *op. cit.*; and Tannenbaum and Kahn, *Participation in Union Locals*).

In general, Leagues that are high or medium on both degree of positive slope and total control are likely also to be high in effectiveness. Furthermore, increasing the value of either one of the independent variables while decreasing the other does not seem to be accompanied predictably by increases in effectiveness. The effects of variations on one variable may be different when the second is held constant at a high level, as compared to when it is held low; for example, decreasing the total amount of control appears to be accompanied by decreasing effectiveness when degree of positive slope is relatively high, but not when it is low. Likewise, decreasing the degree of positive slope appears more predictably related to decreasing effectiveness when total control is high than when it is low. A type of threshold is suggested by these data: a minimum level of total control and of degree of positive slope may be necessary for effective performance. If the appropriate threshold is not met by one of these variables, increasing the other does not seem to help. For example, the performance of laissez faire (low total control) Leagues may not be much improved by making them more "democratic" (positively sloped) without at the same time making them less laissez faire.

Table 4 presents the correlations between initial rate of questionnaire returns as a criterion of the effectiveness of the local League and the respective dimensions

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF LEAGUES WHICH ARE ABOVE MEDIAN IN EFFECTIVENESS* FOR VARYING COMBINATIONS OF SLOPE AND TOTAL CONTROL

	Total Control						
	High ([illegible])		Medium ([illegible])		Low ([illegible])		
Degree of Positive Slope	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N
High ([illegible])	14	78	13	69	8	50	35
Medium ([illegible])	13	62	12	75	15	13	40
Low ([illegible])	9	33	17	41	11	36	37
Total N	36		42		34		112

* [illegible]

of the control curve. The results based on the responses of members and board members are quite similar. They both offer further support for Hypothesis 1 but not for Hypothesis 2. However, when the dependent variable is interpreted simply as a type of "leader-out behavior" (rather than as an adequate measure of League effectiveness) the results make sense. They are consistent with the early observation of Lewin, Lippitt, and White: the "democratic" organization is more productive than is the "autocratic" when the leader is absent. However, productivity under leader- (and member-)out conditions would appear to be no greater in an organization three times out of one hundred by chance, and we feel safe in rejecting the null hypothesis.

The average local League in the present study is characterized by a control curve with a negative slope; leaders tend to exercise more control than do the members as a group. While not universal, the negatively sloped curve is probably typical of the formal organizations which make up the fabric of American society. Industrial organizations are more extreme in this characteristic than are the voluntary Leagues of the present study. But many voluntary organizations, no doubt, con-

TABLE 4

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INITIAL RATE OF QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNS (AS A CRITERION OF EFFECTIVENESS) AND ASPECTS OF CONTROL IN LEAGUES, HOLDING SIZE OF LEAGUE CONSTANT

	BASIS OF DATA ON CONTROL			
	Members' Judgments		Board Members' Judgments	
	r_p	P	r_p	P
Actual				
Degree of + slope of control curve.	.23	$<.008$	.20	$<.03$
Total amount of control.........	.10	$<.15$	.00	.50
Ideal				
Degree of + slope of control curve.	.14	$>.07$	.02	$>.49$
Total amount of control.	$-.13$	.. .	$-.12$	... .

high in total control than in one which is low.

Partialing-out the effects of final rate of returns in addition to size lowers the correlation between slope (based on members' judgments) and initial rate of returns from .23 to .18.[25] This correlation is small, but it would seem that in partialing-out final rate of returns we are applying a rather conservative test of the hypothesis. We are, in effect, considerably restricting the variance of the dependent variable, since final rate of returns and initial rate of returns correlate at .56. Nevertheless, a correlation as large as .18 would occur only

form to this pattern.[26] The negative slope

[25] Variations among Leagues in rate of questionnaire returns from Board members is negligible, since 95 per cent of sampled Board members completed and returned their questionnaires.

[26] For control curves characterizing industrial organizations see Likert, "Influence and National Sovereignty," *op. cit.*; Floyd C. Mann and L. Richard Hoffman, *Automation and the Worker: A Study of Social Change in Power Plants* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960); Arnold S Tannenbaum, "The Concept of Organizational Control," *Journal of Social Issues*, XII (1956), 50–60; Tannenbaum and Georgopoulos, *op. cit.*; and Lawrence K. Williams, L. Richard Hoffman, and Floyd C. Mann, "An Investigation of the Control Graph: Influence in a Staff Organization," *Social Forces*, XXXVII (March, 1959), 189–95. The League probably has a more active and influential membership than does the typical voluntary organization described by Blau (*op. cit.*, p. 117) and by Philip Selznick (*The Organization Weapon* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952], p 96). See also Sills, *op cit.*, and Paul M. Harrison, "Weber's Categories of Authority and Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (April,

exists in the League in spite of the apparent desire of most members and leaders for a more positive distribution. Directing and sustaining the local League is a complex and difficult task. Translating the expressed wish for greater control by the members into the actual exercise of that control is fraught with problems, some of which can be seen as contributing to the development of an "oligarchic" (negatively sloped) distribution of control, and others to a laissez faire (low total control) pattern.

A number of circumstances may lead to the development of an "oligarchic" distribution of control. The president, for example, in an effort to get things done, may feel it necessary to make decisions herself rather than to put into motion a more cumbersome decision-making machinery. Or leaders may simply fail to communicate relevant information, thus depriving members of the necessary bases for decision-making. In some cases presidents may not sense clearly the distinction between those decisions which are appropriate to them and those which belong to the members, and they may unwittingly overstep their jurisdiction. Or leaders may assume too much regarding the directives they have from the members. They may act as if certain decisions have been made which, in fact, have not been made.

A number of conditions may contribute to the development of a laissez faire control structure. The loci of responsibility for exercising control may not be sufficiently well defined and responsibility may consequently fall between roles. The failure of mutual understandings relative to the appropriate loci of control may also lead to conflicts in which the efforts of one group cancel those of another; neither exercises much control. This implies the importance of a system of communication and interaction permitting the development of mutual understanding and influence. The success of attempts at influence may also depend upon the "bases of power"[27] and the attitudes of members toward each other—whether or not members accept, trust, or like the persons exercising control, or whether or not the members exercising control have "expertness" or "legitimacy" or resources of reward or punishment at their disposal. The exercise of control is not likely to be widespread in an organization unless some of these characteristics are.

The data of this study support the hypothesis that local Leagues with less negatively sloped control curves tend to be more effective in their operations than are those with more negatively sloped curves. We have found some support for this hypothesis within the limits of a culture in which democratic values are extolled, among members who are interested in and somewhat sophisticated about the control of their organization, and within a voluntary organization which is not engaged in strenuous competition with other organizations and whose goals and products are relatively diffuse and intangible rather than specific and material. While these limits to generalization are implicit in the design of the study, the present results, together with those of earlier research in industrial settings, suggest a somewhat wider generality.[28]

Hypothesis 2 is partially supported by

1960), 232–37. It is interesting to consider this general appraisal of voluntary organizations (other than the League) in the context of the hypothesis that voluntary associations in America have the function of providing "a sense of satisfaction with modern democratic processes because they help the ordinary citizen see how the processes function in limited circumstances" (Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

[27] John R. P. French, Jr., and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in D. Cartwright (ed.), *Studies in Social Power* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1959), 150–67.

[28] See Coch and French, *op. cit.*; and Morse and Reimer, *op. cit.* While Morse's and Reimer's experiment showed an increase in production under conditions of centralized control, it is doubtful that the increased productivity could have been maintained (see Rensis Likert, "Measuring Organizational Performance," *Harvard Business Review*, XXXVI [March–April, 1958], 41–50).

the data. It should be considered a corollary of a more general hypothesis concerning the optimal amount of control necessary for effective organizational functioning. Although its generality was initially assumed to be limited to voluntary organizations and labor unions, an analysis of thirty-one industrial plants provides further support for the hypothesis and suggests broader generality.[29] This hypothesis, however, may not apply to criteria of effectiveness in which the member is functioning away from the direct influence of other members or leaders.

An interesting question concerning the possible effects of differing combinations of height and slope of control curve is raised by the facts that each is related separately to effectiveness, that each can vary independently of the other, and that together they yield a somewhat higher degree of association with effectiveness. For example, while we would expect to find increases in the effectiveness of our Leagues corresponding to increases in slope, we would not expect effectiveness to go up if the increased slope is accompanied by a decrease in the height of the control curve. The more effective Leagues of our sample appear to be those characterized by a relatively high degree of positive slope and height of control curve.

While we have taken the data of this study as partially supportive of the original hypotheses, several limitations of design must be borne in mind. We cannot rule out the possibility that members and board members may "see" patterns of control in their Leagues which do not exist in reality. Although we are inclined to doubt this possibility, members in effective Leagues may believe that their Leagues are more "democratic" than members of ineffective Leagues believe theirs to be when, in reality, no such difference exists. Nor can we answer with certainty the question of causality. It is clear, furthermore, that the independent-variable measures are not as reliable as we would like. But this fact operated against finding verification for our hypotheses. It should also be noted that the hierarchy within each League includes only three levels and that slope, under this condition, is equivalent to the difference in control exercised by the highest and lowest levels. Finally, the ranges of variation of our independent-variable measures are relatively narrow, and one might question the extent to which the hypothesized relationships would hold for more extreme values of slope and height of control curve. The data suggest, furthermore, that the effects of variations of one independent variable may be conditioned by the value of the other. Thus, increases in height of control curve among the Leagues of our sample appear to be associated with increases in effectiveness when degree of positive slope is relatively high, but not when it is low. Methodological refinement is called for, in addition to the retesting of the above hypotheses under varying organizational conditions.

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[29] Likert, "Influence and National Sovereignty," *op. cit.*

THE PREJUDICE-INTERACTION HYPOTHESIS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE NEGRO MINORITY GROUP[1]

ERNEST WORKS

ABSTRACT

Research conducted among white tenants in integrated and segregated housing projects validate what may be called a general prejudice-interaction hypothesis, that outgroup prejudice is reduced through intimate group contacts of those equal in status. This study investigates the hypothesis from the point of view of the Negro, that antiwhite prejudice is diminished through intimate and interracial contacts of persons equal in status. Our data in general support the hypothesis.

Recent studies reveal that white tenants in integrated housing are more likely than are their counterparts in segregated housing to experience intimate interracial contacts of persons equal in status.[2] These studies also reveal that the integrated tenants, when compared with the segregated, exhibit less prejudice against the Negro minority. This may be said to validate a prejudice-interaction hypothesis: that outgroup prejudice is reduced when contacts are intimate and of those of equal status. The present study was designed to test this hypothesis among the Negro minority.[3] We assume that the hypothesis is merely a specific demonstration of a hypothesis with general applicability. If so, it should hold in all instances of in-group-outgroup relations, for members of the minority and the dominant group.

HYPOTHESES

The independent variable in the hypothesis is intergroup contact, and the dependent variable is intergroup prejudice. Intergroup contact is seen as reducing outgroup prejudice. The earlier studies reveal that such contacts are more probable in integrated than in segregated housing. (We assume this but will demonstrate its validity below.) Therefore, Negro tenants in integrated housing are expected to be less prejudiced toward whites than are their counterparts in segregated housing, and this should hold for husbands as well as for wives (hypothesis 1). The earlier studies failed to test the hypothesis among husbands.

Integrated housewives have more opportunities for interracial contacts than do their husbands. Greater opportunity should result in greater contact (hypothesis 2; to be tested below). Assuming no sexual difference in outgroup prejudice, integrated housewives are expected to be less prejudiced toward whites than are their Negro husbands.

The opportunities for interracial contacts of segregated wives are about equal to those of their husbands (to be tested below). We therefore expect to find no significant difference in antiwhite prejudice between housewives and husbands in all-Negro housing (hypothesis 3).

The initial plan was to conduct the interviews among tenants residing in an inte-

[1] This study was supported by grants from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and from the National Institutes of Health. The author also wishes to acknowledge the advice and assistance of Professors Daniel Glaser and Bernard Farber of the University of Illinois and Richard Dewey of the University of New Hampshire and of Paul D. Strait and the staff of the Youngstown Metropolitan Housing Authority for making their facilities available.

[2] For a summary of these studies see Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle P. Walkley, and Stuart W. Cook, *Human Relations in Interracial Housing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

[3] For studies on Negro prejudice against whites see Tilman C. Cothran, "Negro Conceptions of White People," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (March, 1951), 458–67. Also see Robert Johnson, "Negro Reactions to Minority Status," pp. 192–214, in Milton L. Barron (ed.), *American Minorities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1957).

grated project and among tenants residing in an all-Negro project, both located in the same city and having similar occupants. The interviewing was actually conducted in a single housing project which was partly integrated and partly segregated. This project, located in a middle-sized midwestern metropolis, was laid out along both sides of an east-west thoroughfare with two-thirds of the units on the north side. Of the units on the north side, 54 per cent were occupied by Negroes and 46 per cent by whites. This was accepted as satisfying the requirement of an integrated pattern of occupancy. Of the south side units, Negroes occupied 94 per cent and whites only 6 per cent. Because of the negligible percentage of white tenants on this side of the project, it was accepted as a pattern of all-Negro occupancy.[4]

In order to control relevant variables, we decided to restrict the sample to families satisfying the following requirements: (1) both spouses living together, (2) both between the ages of twenty and forty-five, (3) employed husband, and (4) at least six months residence in the project. At the time the interviewing began there were forty-eight integrated and forty-nine segregated families meeting the first requirement. Twenty-nine interviews with integrated tenants were lost, and sixteen with segregated tenants were lost.[5] Twenty-two of the losses among integrated tenants were due to "move-outs" and changes in status, five to refusals by husbands, and two to refusals by wives. Of the losses among segregated tenants, fourteen were due to "move-outs" and changes in status, two to refusals by husbands, and the remaining one to the unavailability of one wife. In addition, there were six segregated husbands whose ages fell beyond the upper limit. These men were excluded from the study, but their wives were retained to prevent too-drastic reduction in size of sample.

Three sets of interview items were used to collect the data reported in this paper. One focused upon socioeconomic characteristics thought relevant to the dependent variable; the second upon levels of neighborly Negro-white contacts; and the third upon antiwhite prejudice. The latter was defined as a categorical way of thinking, feeling, or acting about those of the outgroup. Accordingly, it was approached in three ways, thereby increasing the number of hypotheses to nine.[6] First, the tenants were requested to indicate agreement, disagreement, or uncertainty with a check list of attitudes to the white families. Second, they were requested to respond to the broad question: "How do you feel toward the white tenants?" Third, they were directed to respond to a hypothetical situation in which they were being evicted from their present quarters and could elect to move into either a "separate but equal" project, a "separate

[4] The housing authority in charge of the project had an open-occupancy policy, in view of which it seemed strange that one side of the project could remain predominantly uniracial. An interview was conducted with the assistant manager in charge of placement on the subject of the placement of tenants; she contended that no selective factor operated in assignment of tenants to units. A casual chat with the assistant manager's assistant confirmed this assertion.

[5] The interviewing took place between October, 1957, and February, 1958, by a Negro male and female in their late twenties. The female interviewed the wives, while the husbands were interviewed by the male. Each interviewer was familiar with the instrument, have pretested it on tenants in a similar project. Contact with the tenants was arranged through a brief one-page letter which introduced the researcher, explained the purpose of the research, requested an interview, indicated the role of the interviewer in the interview, and specified the date and time the interviewer would call. Each Monday morning ten letters were placed in the mail boxes of the families scheduled for that week. In no case were husband and wife interviewed at the same time in the same room.

[6] Separate treatment seemed warranted since research reveals imperfect correlation of these three components (see Isidor Chein, "Notes on a Framework for the Measurement of Discrimination and Prejudice," in Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook (eds.), *Research Methods in Social Relations*, I [New York: Dryden Press, 1951], 381–90; also see Bernard Kramer, "Dimensions of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology*, XXXVI [1949], 389–451).

but unequal" project in favor of the Negroes, or an integrated project with joint use of facilities.[7]

TESTS OF ASSUMPTIONS

A number of studies have revealed relationships between certain socioeconomic characteristics and intergroup prejudice. The data summarized in Table 1 checked the similarity of the groups as to these characteristics.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Segregated	Integrated
Mean income . . .	$2,740	$2,518
Mean monthly rent	43	40
Median number of children	2	2
Mean age		
Housewives	29.7	25.3
Husbands.	30.9	29.2
Percentage with prior residence in South		
Housewives	29.2	33.3
Husbands	36.1	24.2
Mean years lived in project	3.6	1.9
Education (percentage):		
Housewives		
Completed high school	36.6	45.7
Grades 9–11 . .	51.2	45.7
Through grade 8.	12.2	8.6
Husbands		
Completed high school	38.9	70.9
Grades 9–11	50.0	19.4
Through grade 8	11.1	9.7
Preproject interracial contacts (percentage)		
Housewives	37	39
Husbands .	42	58
Preproject interracial job contacts (percentage)		
Housewives .	73	81
Husbands . . .	81	88
Knowledge that whites were in project before moving in (percentage)		
Housewives	71	83
Husbands .	81	79

Table 1 reveals substantial differences in earlier residence in the South, years of residence in the project, education, preproject interracial contacts, and awareness that whites were in the project before moving in. The differences on the first and latter three attributes favor the integrated tenants, the group predicted to have less of the dependent variable. These attributes were, therefore, cross-tabulated with the measures of the dependent variable to determine their possible influence upon it. The analysis revealed that none of the differences between marginals was large enough to suggest a relationship. However, it appears plausible that education and earlier residence in the South may serve as predisposing factors to change or remain stable.

Table 2 summarizes the data which checked the assumptions underlying the hypotheses.[8] The table indicates that all three assumptions are valid. The assumption about segregated spouses, however, is not as strongly supported as are the other two.

TABLE 2

PATTERN OF OCCUPANCY AND INTERRACIAL CONTACTS*

(Per Cent)

No. of Types of Contact	Husbands: Integrated (n = 32)	Husbands: Segregated (n = 36)	Housewives: Integrated (n = 35)	Housewives: Segregated (n = 41)
4	19	0	49	15
3	31	19	28	27
2	22	6	11	9
1	19	22	9	22
0	9	53	3	27

* χ^2 between husbands and between wives significant at .01 level, between integrated spouses significant at .05 level, between segregated spouses significant at .10 level.

In analyzing the data on patterns of occupancy and intergroup prejudice, we shall examine the hypotheses on each measure of intergroup prejudice separately. Analysis of one hypothesis on all three measures, before going on to the second hypothesis, would necessitate repetition of the tables or excessive reference to tables presented earlier.

[7] Correlation between these three measures was far from perfect; r between attitude and feeling was .24; between attitude and action, .26; and between feeling and action, .002. Such low values for r, of course, may reflect crudeness in our indexes.

[8] These items covered contacts inside other tenants' apartments, stopping and holding a conversation outside the apartments on the project grounds, knowing other tenants by name, speaking, and no contacts at all. They met the criteria of a unidimensional scale, with a coefficient of reproducibility of .95.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WHITES

Tabulation of responses to the check list of attitudes yielded five items with a coefficient of reproducibility equal to .88. In their scale order the items were: "The white people in this project judge Negroes by the worse types of Negroes"; ". . . do not care to be among Negroes"; ". . . do not like for children to play with colored children"; ". . . are just as clean as the white"; ". . . never let you forget they are white and you are colored." As a test of the first hypothesis, the cases were ranked by percentage of "unprejudiced" response and significance of difference was tested by the Mann-Whitney U Test. As summarized in Table 3 these data support hypothesis 1 only for the wives. While in the expected direction, the difference between husbands lacks significance.

TABLE 3

PATTERN OF OCCUPANCY AND INDORSEMENT OF UNPREJUDICED RESPONSE ON FIVE ANTIWHITE ITEMS*

(Per Cent)

No. of Unprejudiced Responses	Husbands: Integrated ($n=32$)	Husbands: Segregated ($n=36$)	Housewives: Integrated ($n=35$)	Housewives: Segregated ($n=41$)
5	13	11	17	7
4	22	11	29	7
3	19	14	11	22
2	25	28	14	17
1	9	19	23	20
0	12	17	6	27

* z between husbands significant at .09 level, between wives significant at .01 level, between husbands and wives not significant

Hypothesis 2 was tested by establishing matched pairs between the score received by each integrated wife and that received by her spouse. Of thirty matched pairs, there was no difference in five, in fourteen the wife received a higher score, and in the remaining eleven the husband's score exceeded the wife's. These data, analyzed by means of the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test, failed to substantiate hypothesis 2. A possible explanation for the failure of this hypothesis is that an assumption used in deriving it—that the conceptions of whites held by husbands would be independent of those held by their wives—was not valid. We began to doubt this assumption when a number of integrated husbands, who themselves reported no neighborly intergroup contacts, began talking about such contacts as experienced by their wives. For example, one husband described the white families thus: "They're nice. Can tell by the way they come over and talk with my wife." This was not an isolated remark. It suggests that the integrated husbands' conceptions of whites were not independent of the conceptions of whites held by their wives, thus causing the hypothesis to fail. An alternative explanation is that the greater education of the integrated husbands caused them to have already or be more readily disposed to hold less stereotyped conceptions.

Hypothesis 3, on no significant difference in antiwhite prejudice between spouses in segregated housing, was tested by the procedure employed for hypothesis 2. Of thirty-four matched pairs, eight revealed no difference, while thirteen disclosed more unprejudiced responses by the wife, and thirteen by the husband, thus supporting hypothesis 3.

Studies adopting the ex post facto from cause to effect design make only one comparison between the experimental and the control groups, this coming after the experimental group has been exposed to the independent variable.[9] The most serious shortcoming of these studies is their failure to establish group comparability prior to the assumed introduction of the causative variable. It is possible that the conceptions of whites held by integrated tenants were more positive than were those of segregated tenants prior to moving into the project. To check this, the following question was asked each tenant subsequent to completing the check list on attitudes: "Now if you had been asked to describe the white tenants prior to moving into the project, do you think you would have said the same thing, or do you think you would have said something different?" The following is the per-

[9] Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945).

centage distribution of those who responded, "something different": integrated wives, 37 per cent; integrated husbands, 44 per cent; segregated wives, 10 per cent; and segregated husbands, 17 per cent.

This reflects a greater tendency of the integrated tenants to give the response, "something different." Unfortunately, our instrument did not include a question on the direction of "something different," that is, whether it meant a less positive or a more positive response. However, a number of tenants made statements which suggest it meant an initially less positive response. For example, one husband stated, "when I first came in I did know what they were going to be like. I thought they were going to be like some other people I have had dealings with. They have not been like that at all." Another remarked, "I thought they were going to be a lot worse than they are."

FEELINGS TOWARD WHITES

The question on feelings elicited responses which fell into the three categories: positive, neutral, and negative. Illustrative of the positive responses are: "I like them, they seem to be very nice"; "They treat me nice; okay toward them"; "They are nice; treat me nice." Examples of neutral responses are: "I feel neutral toward them"; "No feeling toward them"; "I feel toward them just like I feel toward anyone else." Examples of negative responses are: "You can't tell what the whites are thinking. I don't visit or have anything to do with them"; "Whites prefer to live in their own section; they don't care for Negroes"; "Fine! Because they're not around me and don't bother me." The neutral and negative responses were combined, and the hypotheses were tested as to feelings by comparing the percentage of positive responses among the respective groups.[10]

Table 4 indicates support of all three hypotheses. The finding on integrated housewives and husbands is enigmatic in that earlier comparisons revealed no significant difference. An attempt to amplify it is made in a later section.

Quite interesting is the way in which respondents phrased their responses to the question on feelings toward the white tenants. Many made some reference to intergroup contacts; this percentage distribution is: integrated wives, 71 per cent; integrated husbands, 41 per cent; segregated wives, 39 per cent; and segregated husbands, 8 per cent.

Both cross-project and husband-wife comparisons are significant at the 1 per cent level. The difference between segregated spouses was unexpected in that no significant difference was observed between these groups on intergroup feelings. Perhaps the greater tendency for segregated wives to experience neighborly contacts played some role in this unanticipated finding.

TABLE 4

PATTERN OF OCCUPANCY AND RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON HOW NEGRO TENANTS FEEL ABOUT WHITE TENANTS*

(Per Cent)

Response	Husbands: Integrated $n = 32$	Husbands: Segregated $n =$ [illegible]	Housewives: Integrated $n = 35$	Housewives: Segregated $n = 41$
Positive	59	39	91	44
Neutral and negative	41	61	9	56

* Critical ratio between husbands significant at .05 level; between wives and between integrated spouses significant at .01 level; between segregated spouses not significant.

ORIENTATION TO ACTION

The hypotheses were tested on orientation to action by comparing the percentage of the respective groups indorsing the integrated housing arrangement (Table 5).

Table 5 supports hypothesis 1 as to orientations to action only for husbands. While in the expected direction, the difference between housewives fails to achieve significance. The husband-wife comparisons refute hypothesis 2 but support hypothesis 3. A slight contradiction is indicated in the case of hypothesis 2; however, the difference is small and well within the range of chance.

[10] Intercoder agreement when the two categories, "positive" and "neutral-negative," were employed was perfect.

CONTACT AND PREJUDICE

So far we have approached the prejudice-interaction hypothesis indirectly, by relating pattern of occupancy to intergroup contact, then relating the former to intergroup prejudice. Because a number of tenants on the segregated side of the project experienced some interracial contact, contrary to expectations, it is possible to examine directly the relationship between it and intergroup prejudice. This can be done by combining the response of both integrated and segregated tenants and cross-tabulating contact with each measure of the dependent variable (Table 6). The differences on contact and attitudes and contact and feelings are significant at the .05 level. Cross-tabulations of contact and disposition to action, while in the expected direction, failed to reach significance. In retrospect, the question arises whether, perhaps, the technique employed in sampling orientations to action was not the strongest. We erroneously expected an appreciable number of segregated tenants to indorse the segregated housing arrangement. Apparently, this was unrealistic. Indorsement of the segregated housing pattern would be tantamount to rejection of first-class citizenship and many of the privileges which go with it. A stronger test might have sampled areas of action where making a choice would not deny rights and privileges to the individual.

TABLE 5

PATTERN OF OCCUPANCY AND DESIRABILITY OF LIVING IN AN INTEGRATED OR SEGREGATED PROJECT*

(Per Cent)

Project Indorsed	Husbands: Integrated ($n=32$)	Husbands: Segregated ($n=36$)	Housewives: Integrated ($n=35$)	Housewives: Segregated ($n=41$)
Integrated	91	69	86	76
Segregated	9	31	14	24

* Critical ratio between husbands significant at .02 level; between wives and between spouses not significant.

While not all specific hypotheses were substantiated, the data as a whole appear to support the general hypothesis.

Of the hypotheses which failed to receive confirmation, those between integrated spouses are the most disturbing. We speculated that the reason these hypotheses failed to receive confirmation was that the wives discussed their neighborly contacts with their husbands, thus causing some of their own benefit to "rub off" on to the latter. This does not explain, however, a significant difference between integrated spouses on feelings. Perhaps it is less difficult to influence attitudes and dispositions to act than it is to influence feelings: studies suggest that children acquire outgroup stereotypes long before they acquire the feelings appropriate to them. In addition, many southern schools have been desegregated without prior or simultaneous modification of intergroup feelings. An alternative explanation is that the integrated husbands, because of their greater education, were more readily inclined to less stereotyped and more positive orientations to action.

TABLE 6

SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS FOR CONTACT AND PREJUDICE

Comparison	p
Wives	
Attitudes	.05
Feelings	.05
Action	.10
Husbands	
Attitudes	.05
Feelings	.05
Action	.10

If the former explanation is valid, it suggests that outgroup prejudice is reduced not only through intimate intergroup contacts of those of equal status, but also through contact with members of the ingroup who themselves experienced such contacts. This is similar to the way outgroup prejudice is acquired. Moreover, it is consistent with observations that individuals belonging to the same social group tend to have similar opinions despite differences in their first-hand observations or knowledge of the facts.

COLUMBUS COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN

ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION AND EXTREMISM: A STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED NEGROES[1]

DAVID STREET AND JOHN C. LEGGETT

ABSTRACT

A study of two Negro neighborhoods and several white and Negro natural areas in an industrial community gives preliminary support to the proposition that groups hard hit by economic deprivation will come to view violence as a plausible concomitant of economic depression. These expectations are more frequent when *deprivation increases for the whole community and when respondents have radical views* on governmental intervention in the economy and are unemployed themselves. The form of violence anticipated appears to be related to the pattern of political organization of the neighborhood group.

This is a report of a small study of the relationship between economic deprivation and extremist beliefs about the economic and political systems. The primary settings were depressed segments of a depressed community—two predominantly Negro neighborhoods in Detroit during the summer of 1958. In addition, comparative data are reported from a sample of Detroit blue-collar workers interviewed in the spring and summer of 1960, when unemployment was considerably less severe.

Previous studies have supported the notion that economic deprivation leads to hostility toward the economic order, to political radicalism, and to attitudes favorable to the use of violence against the system.[2] This study investigates more fully the conditions under which violence becomes an expected outcome of a community's economic and political problems. Such an expectation cannot be equated with readiness to engage in violent activities, of course. However, the development within a social group of a definition of the situation in which such activities are plausible is, presumably, an important precondition of violence. The widespread existence of such an expectation may furnish an index of a lack of confidence among its members in ordered and democratic political procedures for solving problems, if not of the propensity of the group itself to break the rules.

DESIGN AND HYPOTHESES

The neighborhood data come from interviews of heads of households selected on a non-random, door-to-door basis in May and July, 1958. Our initial aim was to explore the problem within a single neighborhood where there was some indigenous political activity and, apparently, some radical leadership (West Side Neighborhood, $N = 40$). Soon after, we decided to repeat the study in a neighborhood matched, as far as possible, on all variables *except* political activity (East Side Neighborhood, $N = 52$).

[1] Part of the data reported here was presented at the 1959 meetings of the American Sociological Association. We wish to thank Gerhard Lenski, Morris Janowitz, and Werner Landecker, of the University of Michigan, and R. O. Richards, of Detroit, for helpful suggestions. The 1960 data are from a study of class consciousness being conducted by John Leggett and supported by the Social Science Research Council.

[2] On orientations toward the economic order see F. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression: A Study in the Measurement of Attitudes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936), and O. M. Hall, "Attitudes and Unemployment," *Archives of Psychology*, Vol. XXV, No. 165 (1934). On political radicalism see E. W. Bakke, *The Unemployed Man* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1934), R. Heberle, *Social Movements* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), B. Zawadski and P. F. Lazarsfeld, "The Psychological Consequences of Unemployment," *Journal of Social Psychology*, VI (1935), 224–51, H. O. Lasswell and D. Blumenstock, *World Revolutionary Propaganda* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1939); and L. Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942). On attitudes toward violence see Pope, *ibid.*, and A. E. Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941).

Although this did not furnish a control neighborhood wholly free of political activity, it made it possible to distinguish safely between the neighborhoods on the basis of the extent of their political activity.

The West Side was considerably more active; it had a neighborhood club which, in the months just before our interviewing, had added to its usual activities of cleaning up the area and sponsoring recreational and social activities the function of a pressure group. With other such clubs in Detroit, this group was working to persuade the governor to declare a moratorium on home-mortgage payments for the unemployed. Three "ex-radicals" residing in the neighborhood appeared to be active in the movement, both in the local and city-wide groups.

The East Side had no club. The interviewers, although sensitized to uncover any evidence of political activity, learned only of occasional informal political meetings for discussion, initiated by a Jehovah's Witness. There was no evidence either that radicals lived in the neighborhood or that any formal political organization existed. While the East Side meetings were said to have had, at the most, an attendance of 25 people, the West Side group, when it organized a political action meeting at a nearby high school, was said to have attracted an audience of 300 to 400.

Demographically and economically, the neighborhoods were similar; internally, they were homogeneous. From 75 to 85 per cent of the respondents in both samples were Negroes, almost all of whom were in blue-collar occupations. From 50 to 60 per cent of the Negroes interviewed in both neighborhoods were unemployed or working only part time.

The data for 1960 come from 375 interviews of male manual workers taken in seven natural areas of Detroit, using random sampling within areas. Of the total respondents, 120 were Negro. The proportion fully unemployed in the total sample was 7.7 per cent, and among the Negroes, it was 13.3 per cent. Unemployment in the Detroit Metropolitan Area at the time of the 1960 interviewing amounted to between 7.1 and 8.1 per cent of the labor force; in 1958 the comparable figures were between 18 and 19 per cent.

The major findings involve responses to a question: "If a bad depression were to happen, what do you think would happen in this country?" When violence was anticipated, the responses were classified according to the form it was expected to take—either collective (e.g., revolution, rioting, civil war) or individual (e.g., killing, robbing, stealing, crime waves).[3] Our general hypothesis was that widespread unemployment in the community leads to extremist political views among groups most hard hit by it: specifically, that expectations of violence would be (1) frequent in both neighborhoods because both suffered considerable unemployment; (2) more frequent among Negroes interviewed in 1958 than in 1960 because of the more severe unemployment in the earlier period; (3) more often found in the politically active rather than the relatively inactive neighborhood; (4) more often expressed by Negroes, who are hit harder by unemployment than whites; (5) more frequent among unemployed respondents than among the employed; and (6) correlated with holding liberal or radical political views regarding governmental intervention in the economy.

FINDINGS

In a general way the data support these propositions. Results in Table 1 are consistent with hypotheses 1, 2, and 3. Over half the Negroes in both neighborhoods expressed some expectation of violence, and in

[3] In the few cases when respondents spoke of both kinds of violence, the one which was mentioned first was coded. The classification "other outcomes" in the tables includes the categories of "government aid," "much loss of property," "change in parties," "people will accept it," "industrialists will help the people," "impossible to have," and "bad (undifferentiated) consequences." In the East Side neighborhood, when respondents were also asked how likely was a bad depression, 46 per cent of the Negroes said either that one was already here or that it was undoubtedly going to occur.

1958 these expressions were considerably more frequent than in 1960, from both Negro and white. Hypothesis 3, contrasting the neighborhoods, is less clearly supported, although the difference is in the expected direction. Thus the use of the East Side sample as a control enables us to reject an alternative interpretation that the expectations of violence so frequently expressed on the West Side are a simple function of the local political activity and radical leadership. These organizational factors do appear to play an important role in accounting for the form which the violence is expected to take, however. West Side Negroes more often answered in terms of collective rather than individual violence; in the less politically active East Side, the latter were more frequent.

Hypothesis 4, on differences between racial groups, also receives support in Table 1.[4] A different picture emerges (Table 2) when the variable of employment status is introduced. Among the unemployed groups in the sample of 1960, the predicted relationship is reversed, as jobless whites are considerably more likely to say they expect violence than are jobless Negroes. Distributions in Table 2 support hypothesis 5, regarding differences between employed and unemployed respondents, except in the case of the Negroes in 1960, where no real difference between groups is evident.

Hypothesis 6 was investigated in the East Side neighborhood only, through the use of a series of questions on attitudes toward governmental intervention in the economy,

[4] The small number of whites in the neighborhoods makes the drawing of any conclusions about the impact of race on the basis of the 1958 data very difficult Of the twenty-one whites interviewed in the two neighborhods, only four expected violence in case of depression

TABLE 1

EXPECTED CONSEQUENCES OF BAD DEPRESSION

	1958 Data		1960 Data	
Expectations	West Side Negroes Per Cent	East Side Negroes Per Cent	Negroes Per Cent	Whites Per Cent
Collective violence	35	22	19	17
Individual violence	28	36	13	5
Other outcomes	37	31	53	68
Unsure		11	15	9
Total percentage	100	100	100	99
Total cases	(32)	(36)	120	253

TABLE 2

EXPECTED CONSEQUENCES OF BAD DEPRESSION, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, LABOR FORCE MEMBERS ONLY

	Expectations			
Sample and Employment Status	Violence Per Cent	Other Outcomes or Unsure	Total Per Cent	Total Cases
West Side Negroes:				
Employed	53	47	100	(15)
Unemployed, laid off, or part time	71	29	100	(17)
East Side Negroes				
Employed	55	46	101	(11)
Unemployed, laid off, or part time	65	35	100	(23)
1960 Negroes:				
Employed	33	67	100	(86)
Unemployed, laid off, or part time	31	69	100	(26)
1960 Whites:				
Employed	19	81	100	(187)
Unemployed, laid off, or part time	46	54	100	(24)

which was found to form a Guttman scale.[5] Data in Table 3 support the hypothesis, as the expressed expectation of violence is directly related to attitudes favorable to governmental intervention. Moreover, unemployed, laid-off or part-time employed respondents who were high on the intervention scale to a very great extent expected violent consequences of depression. A plausible interpretation is that there is a movement toward crystallization of radical belief among those most adversely affected by the general condition of economic distress.

TABLE 3

EXPECTED CONSEQUENCES OF BAD DEPRESSION BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD GOVERNMENTAL INTERVENTION, EAST SIDE NEGROES IN LABOR FORCE ONLY

Employment Status and Attitude	Expectations: Violence	Expectations: Other Outcomes (Unsure)	Total Cases
Employed:			
Radical	2	2	4
Conservative	3	3	6
Unemployed, laid off, or part time:			
Radical	11	3	14
Conservative	3	4	7

EXTREMIST RESPONSES

Many responses are notable for their strident quality:

There would be a tremendous crime wave.

Widespread riots, people would be out after hunger and clothes [*sic*]. Those with money won't be very comfortable.

Don't know, but I think they'd rob, steal, and kill for food.

I don't want to think about it. If we had a depression, people starving and ragged, don't know what might happen, maybe a revolution.

I think people might turn Communist. They'd look for a different way of living.

[5] This scale ordered respondents from those who disapproved of all governmental action, including increasing the number of war contracts given to industries in depresed areas, to those who favored government ownership of all industries. Guttman's coefficient of reproducibility was 95.6 per cent, and the Menzel coefficient was 81.9 per cent.

There'll be a lot of hungry people—there's no telling what a hungry person would do. They could do *anything*—if he doesn't *get* something he'll *take* something. Right now there's a lot more robbery.

We won't have no country. There'll be fighting, stealing, starving. No one will have no chance. Not even the rich man.

Everyone would lose everything they've got, and might revolt. Not the head people, of course, but people like around here—they've got something to lose now. There've been good times over twenty years. They have cars, houses, homes now, and so they'll miss them if they lose them. When many are hungry, they're liable to do anything.

There'd be destruction by the people, breaking into homes, they'd rob banks. Some guys with jobs would be scared to walk home. There would be a civil war between the rich and poor. They'd kick the shit out some of these people.

It may be called a revolution. If he gets hungry, he won't stand for it. The young people won't take it. They will steal. A lot of them steal now because they aren't working.

I'm almost scared to say. So many things could happen.... The younger generation won't take it; a lot of bad things would happen. Couldn't hardly go out of their doors. In fact, they might have a war here in the U.S. People are used to a good way of living. Every time you pick up a paper, you hear about robbery and killing. Take me. I got kids, think I'm going to let them go hungry? Even the welfare won't give you anything. This is the first time I've ever been out of a job. I've always worked. I don't know what I'll do when my compensation runs out. People got homes and cars now, and they aren't going to stand around and lose them. Take this place. I just bought it. I haven't got enough paint to paint it. Have to use my money to feed my kids.

Could not be nothing but a war. The people would start fighting because people have to have something to feed their family on. I know I would. If things don't pick up, God knows what will happen. If they don't stop this discrimination there is going to be a civil war. A man is a man; that's all I think about it.

The poor would be trying to get food and things and the rich would try to keep theirs.

Oh hot! Everybody would get a ball bat and start swinging!

Because of the non-randomness and rather small size of the neighborhood samples, any conclusions must be tentative. This study gives evidence that further research would be productive, however, in particular, investigation separating the individual from the collective features. Although the individual's personal situation as to employment bears a significant relationship to his beliefs about the political and economic system, the collective situation of his group may become the decisive variable when a large proportion of its members is unemployed. In such a case, all in the group, even those working regularly, tend to be threatened, or at least confronted frequently, by the economic forces at work in the community. To paraphrase one of the West Side political leaders in informal conversation:

It doesn't matter if you're unemployed or not -you can't help but feel the tension around here. One day you're working, and the next you're not. Most of the people around here are out of work The rest are just waiting for it.

Thus the collective reaction to tension appears to be a most crucial element in determining how the individual defines and behaves toward his economic difficulties and the system of which they are a part.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TEXAS INSTITUTIONAL INBREEDING RE-EXAMINED

April 14, 1961

To the Editor:

The recent note by Gold and Lieberson,[1] criticizing on methodological grounds a piece of mine,[2] raises a number of interesting questions.

Their note, within its restricted address to methodological issues as they specified, successfully demonstrates the superiority of multivariate over univariant analysis in certain circumstances. Their remanipulation of my data did in fact expose facets which had been hidden in my treatment and cast a new light upon my conclusions. Their general point is well taken and instructive.

Their position that "causal relationships . . . can *only* be supported in survey research by multivariate analysis" is extreme, however. The works of Hyman notwithstanding, I know of no authority that demands a single kind of support for sociological hypotheses. Their implicit equating of univariant or "zero-order" associations with descriptive work and multivariate associations with "true" explanation is also troublesome. No magical increment in truth accompanies the addition of a third variable to an explanation; it may elucidate further or it may merely confound.

While my published data did not permit them to draw conclusions about the distribution of certain variables within cells of their tables (although marginals were computable) they nevertheless made observations supportable only by such information. Thus their general conclusion that inbred "insiders" are actually favored over "outsiders" (contrary to my belief that "insiders" were discriminated against) turns out to be only partially true in one case when the actual data are manipulated according to their suggestion.

The critics largely confined their attention to a single variable in a nine-by-two table whose logic denied their conclusions. I cannot imagine why they did not apply their analysis to the entire table, but since they did not I have done so with the results presented in Table 1. While it is quite true that introduction of the third variable—possession of the doctoral degree—does add significant information to that originally presented, it is also obvious that, even when the doctorate is considered, the inbred are *still* discriminated against despite some evidence that they may be of higher quality than "outsiders." I am grateful to my critics for forcing me to construct this table for it permits me to correct an error in the original which would otherwise have remained undiscovered: the figures showing possession of research grants by "outsiders" are flatly incorrect in the original table and I am happy to be able to correct them, while at a total loss to explain their appearance. (The slightly different *N*'s in other variables result from the correction of two inexpertly punched cards.)

In sum, Gold and Lieberson's point appears somewhat exaggerated. It could probably have been better made had they used imaginary rather than real data. On the other hand, if they are particularly interested in exploring the topic of "inbreeding" they could have had my basic data for the asking. My own interest in the matter, like theirs, is to expose important observations to analysis. They or any other interested scholar may have the data if they wish.

As a final point I should like to note that a paper containing a revision of the original

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI, No. 5 (March, 1961), 506–9.

[2] *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV, No. 5 (March, 1960), 483–88.

TABLE 1

SOURCE OF HIGHEST ACADEMIC DEGREE IN THE TEXAS JUNIOR FACULTY, 1957, BY JOB FACTOR AND DEGREE

JOB FACTOR	SOURCE OF HIGHEST DEGREE: Inbred, Ph.D. (Per Cent)	Inbred, No Ph.D. (Per Cent)	Outsiders, Ph.D. (Per Cent)	Outsiders, No Ph.D. (Per Cent)
Present rank:				
Instructor and other	30	70	42	58
Assistant professor	70	30	58	42
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	102	141
Rank, first appointment				
Instructor and other	100	94	50	77
Assistant Professor		6	50	23
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	100	141
Years served in junior rank				
1-6	21	61	85	74
7 and over	79	39	15	26
Total	100	100	100	100
N	19	84	102	141
Annual class load				
1-6	45	56	72	56
7 and over	55	44	28	44
Total	100	100	100	100
N	11	52	65	80
Professional productivity.				
Productive	90	43	82	49
Unproductive	10	57	18	51
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	102	141
Possession of research grants				
Grants	10	7	28	5
No grants	90	93	72	95
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	102	141
Memberships in learned societies				
Memberships	100	79	93	76
No memberships		21	7	24
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	102	141
Office in learned societies				
Offices	50	32	22	20
No offices	50	68	78	80
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	102	141
Listing in national reference works				
Listed	40	8	25	7
Unlisted	60	92	75	93
Total	100	100	100	100
N	20	84	102	141

conclusions had been in the hands of the editor of this *Journal* for some months prior to publication of Gold and Lieberson's note. This supplementary paper has been withdrawn and will be offered for publication subsequently with additional data and more refined analysis.

REECE MCGEE

The University of Texas

REJOINDER

April 26, 1961

To the Editor:

There does not seem to be a great deal of point in replying to Professor McGee's letter concerning our research note; our generalization about the need for multivariate analysis in this type of descriptive study still stands. However, it should be noted that McGee is factually incorrect when he suggests we largely confined our attention to a single variable from his original table. In addition, when he further states, "I cannot imagine why they did not apply their analysis to the entire table," he ignores our explicit consideration in a rather lengthy footnote on this point (n. 10).

DAVLD GOLD
STANLEY LIEBERSON

State University of Iowa

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1960

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 68 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 156 Doctor's degrees and 305 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1960.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Philip E. Enterline, B B.A. Westminster College; M A. American. "A Study of Factors Associated with Male-Female Differentials in Mortality"

Bettina Weary, B A. Barnard College, 1932; M A. Columbia, 1942. "Occupational Differentials in the Perceptions and Opinions of Foreign Students."

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Edward Grant Stockwell, A B Harvard, 1955, A M. Connecticut, 1957 "Socioeconomic Mortality Differentials in Hartford, Connecticut, and Providence, Rhode Island, 1949 51"

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (LOS ANGELES)

Frances G Scott, B A, M A Texas, 1953, 1954 "The Urban Three-Generation Family: Role Structure and Interaction Process"

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Sister M. Ann Amen, S S J, B A. Quincy College, 1940; M A. Catholic, 1951. "Informal Groups and Institutional Adjustment in a Catholic Home for the Aging."

Sister M Loretto Ann Madden, S L, B A Loretto Heights College, 1943; M A Catholic, 1956 "Role Definitions of Catholic Sister Educators and Expectations of Students, Parents, and Teaching Sisters"

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Phillips Cutright, A B College of Wooster, 1954 "Party Organization and Voting Behavior."

Robert Dentler, A M. Northwestern, 1950. "Attitude Change in Work Groups: Group Composition, Solidarity, and Environment as Sources of Conformity."

David Gottlieb, A B. Wayne, 1953. "Processes of Socialization in the American Graduate School"

Charles Hawkins, A B. Reed College, 1952; A M Chicago, 1956. "Interaction and Coalition Realignments in Consensus-seeking Groups A Study of Experimental Jury Deliberations"

y Howard Kauffman, A B. Goshen College, 1947; A M. Michigan State, 1948. "A Comparative Study of Traditional and Emergent Forms of Family Life among Midwest Mennonites."

Robert W. Lamson, A B, A M Boston, 1951, 1953. "Scientists and Congressmen"

Stanley Lieberson, A M. Chicago, 1958 "Comparative Segregation and Assimilation of Ethnic Groups."

Hans O Mauksch, A M Chicago, 1951 "The Nurse A Study in Role Perception"

Donnell Pappenfort, A B Kansas City, 1946, A M. Missouri, 1951 "A Study of Births in Hospitals, and Technology"

Howard Stanton, A B Chicago, 1949 "Assessment, Valuation, and Reinforcement of Autonomy An Exploration of Concern with a Critical Skill"

Emil H Vajda, S B Wisconsin, 1950, A M Chicago, 1952 "Burmese Urban Characteristics A Size-of-Place Study of a Southeast Asian Urban Population"

Peter C Pineo, A B British Columbia, 19?2, A M McGill, 1957 "Dyadic and Change Analysis in a Study of Marriage and Divorce"

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Daniel Bell, B S S City College of New York, 1939 "The End of Ideology"

David Caplovitz, A B Connecticut, [illegible] "Relations in Medical School A Study in Professional Socialization"

Judith Blake Davis, B S Columbia, 1950 "Family Structure in Jamaica The Social Context of Reproduction"

Lewis A Dexter, A B Chicago, 1935, M A Harvard, 1938 "Congressmen and the People They Listen To"

Robert Henry Guest, A B Amherst College, 1939 "Organizational Change and the Successful Leader"

Phillip E Hammond, B A, M A Willamette, 1952, 1954 "The Role of Ideology in Church Participation"

Charles J Hanser, A B, M A Columbia, 1934, 1935 "The Royal Commission Guide to Social Direction"

Peter M. G Harris A B Harvard, 1950 "Educational Opportunity in an Industrial Age The Relationship of Technical and Social Change in the Development of English Higher Education, 1938 58"

Charles Kadushin, A B Columbia College, 1953 "Steps on the Way to a Psychiatric Clinic"

Denise B. Kandell, B.A. Bryn Mawr College, 1952; M.A. Columbia, 1953. "The Career Decisions of Medical Students: A Study in Occupational Recruitment and Occupational Choice."

Joseph T. Klapper, S.B. Harvard, 1936; M.A. Chicago, 1938. "Effects of Mass Communication."

Johannis J. Mol, B D. Union Theological Seminary, 1955. "Theology and Americanization: The Effects of Pietism and Orthodoxy on Adjustment to a New Culture"

George S. Rosenberg, B A. Chicago, 1951; M A Columbia, 1953. "Without Polls or Surveys: A Study of Qualitative Methods of Attitude Research in History."

Ralph A. Thomlinson, B.A. Oberlin, 1948; M.A. Yale, 1949. "A Mathematical Model for Migration."

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

Leona Leatrice Davis, B.A., M.A Kent State, 1953, 1954. "Sociological Correlates of Neonatal and Postneonatal Mortality in the United States, 1949–51."

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Alfred Barnabas, B A. Lucknow, 1946; M S. Cornell, 1950. "Social Change in a North Indian Village."

Gelia Castillo, A.B. Philippines, 1953; M.S Pennsylvania State. "A Study of Occupational Stratification in the Philippines."

Ivan Fahs, A B. Wheaton College, 1954; M Ed Cornell, 1955. "Motivational Factors in Social Participation."

John Edwin Horton, A B. Wisconsin, 1954; certificate Collège d'Europe (Bruges), 1955 "The Angry Voter: A Study of Political Alienation."

Wilson Keith Warner, B S, M S. Utah State, 1958, 1959. "An Approach to the Study of Vertical Social Mobility as Related to Status"

George Henry Weightman, A B. Princeton, 1951; M A. Philippines, 1952. "The Philippine Chinese: A Cultural History of a Marginal Trading Community."

EMORY UNIVERSITY

Allen K. Jackson, B A. Denver, 1954, Th M. Iliff School of Theology, 1958. "Religious Beliefs and Social Status."

Henry G. Pitchford, B S. Auburn, 1948, M S. Syracuse, 1950; M A. Denver, 1958. "The Social Functions of Humor."

Marion G. Vanfossen, B.A. Blackburn College, 1956; M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1958 "Theoretical Model for the Analysis of Social Interaction Situations."

Beth Vanfossen, B.A. Blackburn College, 1957; M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1958. "A Theoretical Analysis of 'Status' and Status-oriented Behavior."

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Ivar Elis Berg, Jr, A B Colgate, 1954 "Role, Personality, and Social Structure: A Study of Nursing in the General Hospital."

Paul Eugene Breer, Jr, A B. Harvard, 1952. "Predicting Interpersonal Behavior from Personality and Role."

Allen Howard Kassof, B A. Rutgers, 1952; M A Harvard, 1954. "The Soviet Youth Program Socialization in a Totalitarian Society"

Vytautas Martynas Kavolis, A.B. Wisconsin, 1952; M A. Harvard, 1956. "The Failures of Totalitarian Socialization: A Theoretically Oriented Case Study of the East German Socialization System."

Donald Gilbert McKinley, A B, A M. Washington, 1949, 1951. "Social Status and Parental Roles."

Paul Jacob Reiss, B S Holy Cross, 1952; M A Fordham, 1954. "The Extended Kinship System in the American Urban Middle Class"

David Rogers, A.B. Harvard, 1953. "The Automobile Dealer A Study of the Status and Ideology of the Small Businessman"

Bernard Elliot Segal, A B Dartmouth, 1955, A B. Harvard, 1960. "Nurses and Patients A Study in Social Stratification"

Karl Ernst Taeuber, A B Yale, 1955, A M Harvard, 1957 "Residential Segregation by Color in United States Cities, 1940 and 1950"

Pierre Louis van den Berghe, A B, A M Stanford, 1953, A M. Harvard, 1959 "The Dynamics of Race Relations: An Ideal-Type Case Study of South Africa"

Winston Ricks White, A B Western Reserve, 1942; A M. New York, 1955 "Ideology of the Intellectuals: American Society, 1949–58"

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Lewis James Davies, B A, M A. Texas, 1947, 1950 "Form and Content Analysis of the Cartoon as a Cultural Medium of Communication. A Sociological Study in the Popular Pictorial Arts."

Joseph Randall Godwin, B.A, M S Loyola, 1956 "Subregional Migration, 1935 40: An Analysis of the Characteristics of Migrants across Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Migration Streams."

David Allen Ward, B A Colby College, 1955 "Prison Rule Enforcement and Changing Organizational Goals."

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

James Allen, B S. Wisconsin, 1949; M S. Iowa State, 1954. "Factors Related to Leadership in a College Residence Hall."

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

lia Knaff Hurlburt, B.S. Iowa State, 1954; M A. State University of Iowa, 1956. "Role Expectations and the Self: An Empirical Study of Their Relationship to Marital Adjustment"

nneth Carl William Kammeyer, B A Iowa State Teachers College, 1953; M A State University of Iowa, 1958. "The Influence of Ecological and Demographic Factors on Community Opposition to School-District Reorganization."

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

rbert A. Aurbach, B S. Western Reserve, 1948 "Application of Folk-Urban Typology to the Classification of Social Systems"

hn O'Donnell, B.A. St Peter's College; M A Fordham "A Measure of Retreatism An Empirical Contribution to the Theory of Anomie"

y M Query, B A, M A Drake, 1954, 1955 "A Cultural Comparison of Schizophrenia from Mountain-Rural and Metropolitan Kentucky"

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

ad Baali, B A. Arts and Sciences College (Baghdad), 1953; M A Kansas, 1957 "Land Tenure and Rural Social Organization A Study in Southern Iraq"

rold Lyle Nix, B S, M Ed Georgia, 1947, 1950 "A Sociological Analysis of the Roles and Value Orientation of an Occupation Vocational Agriculture Teaching"

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

therine R. Harris, A B, M A California, 1955, 1957. "Personal Commitment A Study of Cognitive Process"

ohamed Sadiz al-Mashat, A B Barnard College, 1932; M A. Maryland, 1956 "Social Change and Delinquency in Iraq"

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

vid French, A B Michigan, 1935, B D. Chicago Theological Seminary, 1938, M S Columbia, 1943 "Social Work and Social Sciences An Analysis of Their Relationship"

ton Jackson, A B. Indiana, 1954, A M Michigan, 1958 "Status Consistency, Vertical Mobility, and Symptoms of Stress"

nathan Slesinger, A B. Vassar College, 1949; M A American, 1954 "Personnel Adaptations in the Federal Junior Management Assistant Program."

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

turo DeHoyos, B A., M A. Brigham Young, 1952, 1954. "Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspiration of Mexican-American Youth."

ary Ellen Roach, B.A. Kansas, 1942; M S Iowa State, 1946. "The Influence of Social Class on Clothing Practices and Orientation at Early Adolescence: A Study of Clothing-related Behavior of Seventh Grade Girls"

Howard A Rosencranz, B S. Winona State Teachers College, 1941; M A Michigan State, 1947 "The Relation of Social References to Imagery of Occupational Life Styles"

Mary Lou Rosencranz, B S. Carnegie Tech, 1946, M S. Michigan State, 1948 "The Application of a Projected Technique for Analyzing Clothing Awareness, Clothing Symbols, and the Range of Themes Associated with Clothing Behavior"

Warren Louis Sauer, B A Wayne State, 1952, M A Michigan State, 1958 "Labor-Business Images of Community Power Convergences and Divergences"

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Ronald G Corwin, B A Iowa State Teachers College, 1954, M A Minnesota, 1958 "Role Conception and Mobility Aspiration A Study in the Formation and Transformation of Bureaucratic, Professional, and Humanitarian Nursing Identities"

Louis Goldstein, B S S City College of New York, 1939, M A New York, 1944 "The Social Agency Executive A Study of Organizational Isolation"

Roger G Krohn, B A St Olaf College, 1955, M A Minnesota, 1957 "Science and Social Change Effects of New Institutional Locals on the Traditional Structure of Science"

Keith A Lovald, B S Wisconsin, 1951, M A Minnesota, 1955 "From Hobohemia to Skid Row The Changing Community of the Homeless Man"

Nathan G Mandel, B S, M A Minnesota, 1934, 1958 "An Evaluation of the Sociological, Psychological, and Physiological Posttreatment Adjustment of Mental Patients Treated with Regressive Electric Shock Therapy"

Leonard Weller, B A City College of New York, 1955 "The Nature of Prejudice A Theoretical Evaluation and an Empirical Appraisal"

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Joseph Turner Howard, B A, M A Baylor, 1938, 1939, Th M Central Baptist Seminary, Drew University, 1953 "The Occupational and Geographical Distribution of Small Town Missouri High School Students A Pilot Study"

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Morris Michael Goldman, B A New York, 1949, M A New School, 1953 "The Sociology of Negro Humor"

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Sol Chaneles, B A Brooklyn College, 1948, M A New York, 1950 No thesis

Maria Davidson, M.S. John Cosimir, 1933; M.A. Washington, 1951. "Predictors of Fertility: Comparative Analysis of Characteristics of Husbands and Wives Related to Fertility Behavior."

Paul A. Hochstim, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1951; A.M. New York, 1954. "Alfred Vierkandt: His Contributions and Place in the History of Sociological Theory."

David Edwin Lavin, A.B. Colby College, 1953; A.M. New York, 1955. "Parent Decision Processes in Child-rearing: A Comparison of Individual and Group Performance."

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Robert Guy Brown, A.B. Rhode Island State College, 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1951. "Problems of Social Organization of a New Psychiatric Inpatient Service."

M. Elaine Burgess, A.B., M.A. Washington State, 1947, 1949. "The Role of the Minority Community in Desegregation: A Study of Leaderships and Power in a Biracial Setting."

Alfred Maxey Denton, Jr., B.S. Oklahoma A. & M., 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1951. "Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers."

Howard Smyer Gall, A.B. Yale, 1952; M.A. North Carolina, 1956. "The Development of Affiliation Motivation."

Dorothy Elizabeth Pitman, A.B. Mary Hardin-Baylor, 1952; M.A. North Carolina, 1958. "Reactions to Desegregation: A Study of Negro Mothers."

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Earl Bogdanoff, B.A. Roosevelt, 1952; M.A. Chicago, 1954. "Division of Labor and Social Mobility."

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Rev. Robert M. Brooks, M.A. Notre Dame, 1956. "The Former Major Seminarian. A Study of Change in Status."

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Shirley Sarah Angrist, B.A., M.A. McGill, 1954, 1955. "Social Factors in the Outcome of Mental Hospitalization."

John Pradbee Clark, B.S. in Agr., M.S. Ohio State, 1949, 1957. "Blame Acceptance among Ohio Prisoners."

Jacquelyne Mary Johnson Clarke, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1953, 1955. "Goals and Techniques in Three Negro Civil-Rights Organizations in Alabama."

Leo Arthur Despres, B.A., M.A., Notre Dame, 1954, 1956. "Meredith: Culture and Power in a College Community."

John William Evans, A.B. Miami (Ohio), 1950; M.A. Ohio State, 1952. "Stratification, Alienation, and the Hospital Setting: A Study in the Social Psychology of Chronic Illness."

Theodore Quentin Evans, B.A. Manchester College, 1945; B.D. Bethany Biblical Seminary, 1948; A.M. Cincinnati, 1950. "The Brethren Pastor: Differential Conceptions of an Emerging Role."

Jacob George Franz, A.B. Southwestern State College (Oklahoma), 1935; A.M. Columbia, 1938. "Social Status and Masculinity-Femininity."

David Trevor Lewis, B.S. Central Michigan College, 1942; M.A. Ohio, 1947. "An Empirical Study of Jewish Identification: The Relationship between the Home Life of Eighth-Grade Jewish Boys and Their Adjustment in the Public Schools of Cincinnati, Ohio."

Robert Kellogg McKnight, A.B. Miami (Ohio), 1951; M.A. Ohio State, 1954. "Competition in Palau."

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

David L. Wolfe, B.S., M.Ed. Illinois, 1950, 1952. "Conflicts in Academic Commitments to Organizational Change: A Study in the Sociology of Education."

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Donald Richard Campion, A.B., Ph.L., A.M., S.T.L. St. Louis, 1945, 1946, 1949, 1953. "Patterns of Suicide in Philadelphia, 1948–52."

Martin Joseph Forman, A.B. Temple, 1950; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1952. "The Needs of the Urban Aged in Two Philadelphia Neighborhoods: Factors Relative to Their Use of, and Their Attitudes toward, Community Facilities."

John Edward Hughes, A.B. Temple, 1948; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1949. "The Social Evaluation of Occupations: A Study of Occupational Prestige."

Cleobis Hector Sirinaga Jayewardene, M.B., B.S. Ceylon, 1953; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1959. "Criminal Homicide: A Study in Culture Conflict."

Leonard David Savitz, B.S. in Ed., M.Ed. Temple, 1949, 1950. "Delinquency and Migration."

Richard Finn Tomasson, A.B. Gettysburg College, 1949; A.M. Illinois, 1953. "Patterns in Negro-White Differential Mortality, 1930–56."

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Arnold J. Auerbach, B.S. New York, 1933; M.S.W. Washington (St. Louis), 1949. "The Pattern of Community Leadership in Urban Redevelopment: A Pittsburgh Profile."

Margaret L. Helfrich, A.B. Duquesne, 1951; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1954. "The Role of the Executive Wife."

Charles M. Unkovich, A.B., M.A. Pittsburgh,

1950, 1951. "Homogeneity of First-Degree Homicide Cases as Revealed by Institutional Characteristics."

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Klaus Peter Etzkorn, A.B. Ohio State, 1955, M A. Princeton, 1958. "The American Songwriter A Study in the Sociology of Music"

Abdo Abdel Rahman el-Kholy, B A. Al Azhar, 1953; M A. Al Azhar Ein Shams University, 1954. "Religion and Assimilation in Two Muslim Communities in America"

Hanna Rizk, B.A. American University (Cairo), 1934; A M. Chicago, 1938, Princeton, 1952. "Fertility Patterns in Selected Areas in Egypt"

Harrison C. White, B S. Massachusetts Institute of Techology, 1950; M A. Princeton, 1958 "Research and Development as a Pattern in Industrial Management: A Case Study of Institutionalization and Uncertainty."

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

George Carpenter, B S. Brigham Young, 1950. M S. Purdue, 1958 "Cross-cultural Values as a Factor in Premarital Intimacy"

Paul Sites, B.A. Indiana, 1955, M S. Purdue, 1956. "The Impact of the University Experience upon Students' Willingness To Accept the Advice and Opinions of Experts."

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Paul McCoy Berry, A B Pasadena College, 1931, A M College of the Pacific, 1932 "Consensus of Role Perceptions in a Welfare Planning Council."

Bernard Forman, A B, A M Southern California, 1942, 1947. "The Effect of Differential Treatment on Attitudes, Personality Traits, and Behavior of Adult Parolees."

Peter Geiser, A B. Pittsburgh, 1934; M S W Southern California, 1948. "Some Social Factors Affecting the Power Structure and Status of a Professional Association in Reference to Social Work."

Harold Gene Hubbard, A B. California (Los Angeles), 1954; A M. Southern Methodist, 1955 "The Career Business Executive as a Definitive Occupational Type."

Mary M. Thomes Locke, B S College of St Benedict, 1944; M S. Southern California, 1950. "Parents of Schizophrenic and Normal Children: A Comparison of Parental Attitudes, Marital Adjustment, Role Behavior, and Interaction."

Harold Alfred Nelson, A B Ohio Wesleyan, 1954, A.M. California, 1958. "Reference-Group Theory, Selection, and the Images of Professions"

Albert Jules Rosenstein, A B. Los Angeles State College 1951; A M. Southern California, 1952. "A Comparative Study of the Role Conflict, Marital Adjustment, and Personality Configuration of Private-adoptive and Agency-adoptive Parents."

Woodrow Wilson Scott, B S Utah State, 1941; M.S Wisconsin, 1953 "Interpersonal Relations in Ethnically Mixed Small Work Groups."

Natalia Leo Tschekaloff, M S Southern California, 1945 "Social Change in Selected Institutions of the U S S R"

Joe Richard Udry, B S Northwestern, 1950; M A. Long Beach State College, 1956. "The Construction and Empirical Test of a Theory Based on Selected Variables in Small-Group Interaction."

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Alexander L Clark, A B San Diego State College, 1955, M A Stanford, 1956 "A Study of Factors Associated with Wives' Sexual Responsiveness"

David Feldman, A B San Diego State College, 1953, M.A Stanford, 1955 "Social Class and Academic Achievement at Law School"

Barbara Gunn B S Oregon, 1948, M A California (Los Angeles), 1956 "Group Structure and Opinion Change A Study in Small Groups and Mass Communication"

W Clayton Lane, A B Goddard College, 1950, M A Stanford, 1951 "The Lower-Class Girl in College A Study of Stanford Freshman Women"

George P Paulhe, A B San Francisco State College, 1951, M A Stanford, 1953 "Person Perception and Marital Success"

Robert A Scott, A B Pennsylvania State, 1957; M A Stanford, 1958 "Premarital Intercourse A Social-psychological Analysis"

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Virgil Williams, Jr, A B, M A Texas, 1955, 1956 "Scantex A Study in Survival"

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

D G Hill, B A Howard, 1948, M A Toronto, 1951 "Negroes in Toronto A Sociological Study of a Minority Group"

D R Pullman, B Ed. Alberta, 1947, M A Toronto, 1949 "A Study of Social Organization in Relation to Economic Change"

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Baha-ud Din Rashid abu-Laban, A B, M A American (Beirut), 1955, 1956 "Visibility of Community Leaders"

Warren E Kalbach, A B, M A, University of Washington, 1952, 1955 "Residential Mobility and Its Implications for Family and School Adjustment in an Urban Community"

Denis Peter Mazur, A B John B. Stetson, 1952, M A Colorado, 1954. "Empirical Test of a

Demographic Model with Reference to Fertility of Women in the State of Washington, 1920–59."

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Robert L. Fulton, B.A. Illinois, 1951; M A. Toronto, 1953. "Russell Woods: Succession without Violence."

Eleanor P. Wolf, B.A., M A. Wayne State, 1938, 1939. "Changing Neighborhood: A Study of Racial Transition."

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Robert Kendric Leik, B S. Oregon, 1953; M S. Wisconsin, 1957. "A Probability Model for Social Interaction."

David Walter McKinney, A B Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College of Arkansas, 1941; M.A. Wayne State, 1946. "The Authoritarian Personality: Assessment of Theory and Methods."

John Kenneth Rhoads, B S Albright College, 1952; M.A Western Reserve, 1953. "DeMolay: The Origin and Development of a Secret Society."

Emmit Frederick Sharp, B A, M S Oklahoma A. & M., 1948, 1951. "Item Selection for Level-of-Living Scales."

Richard Thomas Smith, B A, M.A. Kansas City, 1955, 1957. "A Study of the Professional Role of Dentists."

YALE UNIVERSITY

Harris Chaiklin, B A. Connecticut, 1950; M S. Wisconsin, 1953. "The House Staff of a University Teaching Hospital: A Study of Conflicting Norms."

Jane Collier Kronick, B A. Barnard, 1953. "Socioeconomic Factors Affecting the Choice of New Residence in Wilmington, Delaware."

Joseph Lopreato, B.A. Connecticut, 1956; M A. Yale, 1959. "Emigration and Social Mobility in a Rural Community of Southern Italy."

Dale McLemore, B.S, M.A. Texas, 1952, 1956 "Physicians' Statuses in Medical Practices."

John Allen Ross, B.A. Ottawa, 1956; M.A. Yale, 1957. "Socioeconomic Status and Use of Medical Services."

Hagith Shlonsky, M.A. Hebrew, 1951. "Growth and Decline of Organized Zionism: A Study of Voluntary Associations."

Jetse Sprey, B.A. Amsterdam, 1953; M A. Yale, 1957. "Occupational Choice among New Haven Negro High-School Students"

William W. Vosburgh III, B A. Yale, 1950; M A. California (Los Angeles), 1952. "The Relationship between Social Class and Use of Leisure Time."

MASTER'S DEGREES

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Helen W. Johnson, B E. State Teachers College (Wisconsin), 1932. "The Joint Family in Northern India."

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Hugo A. Bordeau, A.B. Tufts, 1951. "Communication and Conflict."

Jean Briggs, B.A. Vassar, 1951. No thesis.

Abdelmoula Daghman, A B. Cairo, 1957. No thesis.

Roland Hawkes, A B. Tufts 1958. No thesis.

Attiya Inayatullah, B A. Kinnaird College, 1953. No thesis.

Martha Kant, A B. Boston, 1959. No thesis.

Elliott A. Krause, A B. Harvard, 1958. No thesis.

Robert Morgan, A.B. Harvard, 1948. No thesis

Edward O'Donnell, A B. Merrimack, 1951; M.S.W. Boston College School of Social Work, 1953 No thesis.

BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY

Patricia A Finn, M A Bowling Green State, 1960. "An Investigation of Automation with Reference to the Toledo Edison Company of Toledo, Ohio."

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Maynard L. Erickson, B.A. Brigham Young, 1959. "An Experiment To Determine the Plausibility of Developing an Empirical Means of Differentiating between Delinquents and Non-Delinquents without Regard to Their Involvement in the Legal Process"

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Bertha Hughes Malm, A B. New York, 1954 "Family Planning in a Lower-Income Urban Sample."

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Henry Barak, B A California (Los Angeles), 1957. "Informal Adjustment to Formal Organization."

Arturo Biblarz, B A. California (Los Angeles), 1955. "Social Class, First-Degree Murder, and the Death Sentence: A Study of Reactions to Deviance."

David C. Dietrick, B A. San Diego State, 1958. "Attitudes of Potential Employers toward Ex-Inmates of Correctional Institutions."

Elkhanan LaHav, B A San Diego State, 1958 "Projected Social Status and Differential Alienation."

Arthur K. Volkman, B A. California (Los Angeles), 1955. "A Matched-Group Personality Comparison of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Juveniles."

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Brother Paschal Francis Angell, S.A., B.A. Davis and Elkins College, 1951. "Social Contributions of Father Paul of Graymoor."

Gladys Gray Handy, B.A. Howard, 1956. "Effects of Mental Illness on Families of Six Negro Patients."

Sister Mary James Margaret Hollahan, B.A. Mundelein, 1940; M.S.W. Loyola, 1946. "Relation of Family Values to Social Participation of Catholic College Alumnae."

Rev. Daniel L. Lowery, C.Ss.R., Holy Orders, Immaculate Conception Seminary, 1956. "Morality of Modern War according to Pope Pius XII."

Rev. Theodore E. McCarrick, B.A., M.A. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1954, 1958. "Sociological Factors Affecting Vocations to Diocesan Priesthood in Archdiocese of New York, 1928–58."

Sister Mary George O'Toole, R.S.M., B.A. St. Joseph's College, 1951. "Husband-Father Role Concepts of Seniors in Catholic High Schools."

Sister Francis Mary Riggs, S.B.S., B.A. Emmanuel College, 1946. "Sociocultural Study of Problems of Negro Adolescent Boys in a High School in New Orleans."

Brother Ignatious Sylvestre, F.I.C., B.A. La Mennais College, 1952. "Social Thought and Action in the Life of Father Jean-Marie de la Mennais."

Rev. Titus Thole, O.S.B., B.A. St. John's, 1954. "Reference Groups in a Prep Boarding School."

Rev. Anthony Vivona, S.M.M., Holy Orders, Montfort Seminary, 1953. "Some Attitudes and Practices of the Clergy in Marriage Counseling."

Rev. Theodore J. Wisniewski, S.A.C., M.A. Catholic, 1955. "Father Role Concepts of Catholic Parents in a Suburban Area of Washington, D.C."

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Herbert Hamilton, A.B. Roosevelt, 1952. "An Investigation of Advertising and Interpersonal Sources of Influence Relating to Housewives' Everyday Marketing Changes."

Sultan S. Hashmi. "A Socioeconomic Explanation of Variations in Fertility among the Census Tracts of Chicago, 1950."

Leon R. Jansyn. "Solidarity and Delinquency in a Street-Corner Group."

Lawrence A. Landry, A.B. Chicago, 1958. "Contact of the Husbands and Wives with Their Respective Parents in the Middle Years of Marriage: A Study in Kinship Relations."

Gerald Newman, A.B. Roosevelt, 1952. "Rehousing Residents Displaced from Public Housing Clearance Sites in Chicago."

Clyde Pope, A.B. Anderson College, 1957. No thesis.

Andre Saumier, A.B. Montreal, 1951; L.Th. Pont. Athaeneum, 1956. "Social Climate in a Chicago High School."

Alma Ficks Taeuber, A.B. Washington State, 1954. "Residential Succession of Negroes in Selected Cities."

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Jeanne F. Adams, A.B. Colorado, 1953. "Some Social Bases for Differentiation between Political Parties in Sweden in the 1950's."

Rogers P. Johnson, A.B. Antioch, 1947. "Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Inner Circle: A Case Analysis of a Mechanism of Presidential Leadership."

John F. Lofland, Jr., A.B. Swarthmore, 1958. "Newcomers in Alcoholics Anonymous: A Field Experiment in Class Symbols and Socialization."

Parappil S. Menon, B.A. Delhi, 1945. "Attitudes toward Family Size and Related Factors: Major Findings of the Fertility and Attitude Survey Carried Out in Mysore State, India, by the U.N. and the Government of India."

Mari H. Ruge, Oslo, 1953–58. "The Voice of the Organizations: A Content Analysis of Printed Propaganda in the Last Conflict."

William R. Taber, A.B. Columbia, 1956. "Triadic Status: A Conceptual Reformulation."

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

Sanford Adams Burnham, B.A. Connecticut, 1959. No thesis.

Willard Douglas Callender, Jr., B.A. Bates College, 1958. No thesis.

Robert Casimir Czerwinski, B.S. Wisconsin, 1959. No thesis.

William Martin Erlbaum, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1958. No thesis.

Elizabeth Street Mason, B.A. Hollins College, 1958. No thesis.

William Samuel Pooler, A.B. Temple, 1958. No thesis.

Alvan O'Neil Zarate, B.A. Connecticut, 1958. No thesis.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Lilia Curzon Gochingco, B.S. Santo Tomas, 1952. "Factors Influencing Participation of Home-Extension Leaders in the Philippines."

Charles Horton, B.S. California, 1958. "The Technical-Assistance Advisor: A Study in Role Definition."

William J. Monahan. "Leadership Attitudes: The Influence of Component Factors on Their Generality and Specificity."

H. P. Saksena, B.S. Morris College (India), 1942. "Factors in Informal Visiting."

Donald Whyte, B.S. Manitoba, 1959. "Primary Group Influences of the Family on Negro Migratory Farm Workers in New York State."

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Charles W. Estus, A.B. Drury College, 1952. "Racial Attitudes among Methodist Churchmen in North Carolina."

EMORY UNIVERSITY

Joseph B. Aceves, B S. Springfield College, 1959. "The Relation of Social Class to Choice of Academic Major in College."

Lois G. Huff, A B. Emory, 1957. "A Study of Differential Conceptions of the Aging in Contrasting Communities."

FISK UNIVERSITY

Donald Ferron, A B Morgan State College, 1955. "Factors Associated with Perception of Social Norms by Role Types: A Statistical Analysis of 1,791 White College Students."

Earl Robert Mays, A B. Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, 1959. "A Comparative Study of Two Negro Family Types in Pine Bluff, Arkansas."

LaFrances Audrey Rodgers Rose, A B. Morgan State College, 1958. "A Study of Social Attitude in Relation to Role Types."

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

William Butler Horton, Jr. "Differential Exposure to Mass Media and Awareness of Nuclear Development."

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Cyril R. Friedman, B A Clark, 1958. "The Florida Tuberculosis and Health Association: A Sociological Study of a Voluntary Health Association."

Benjamin E. Haddox, B.A. John B. Stetson, 1945. "A Review of the Research on Divorce in the United States, 1900-1957."

Harley M. Upchurch, B A. Mexico City College, 1958. "Magdalena Milpas Atlas: A Study of Society in Miniature."

Powhatan J. Woolridge, B A. Chicago, 1956; B.S. Florida, 1957. "A Demographic History of Tuberculosis Mortality in the United States and Florida"

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

Sister M. Anselma Ruth, B A St. John's Teachers College, 1955. No thesis.

Rev. Francis H. Babbish, S J, B.A. Gonzaga, 1947. No thesis.

Francis Demers, B.A. Fordham, 1953. "A Study of the Extent of Integration in an Interracial Parish and the Role of the Church in That Integration."

Rev. Luis G. DeSousa, S.J., Licentiate Ph. Pontificia Faculdate de Filosofia, Nova Friburg. No thesis.

Rev. John F. Doherty, S.J., B A., M.A. Sacred Heart Novitiate, (Philippines), 1949, 1950. No thesis.

Rev. John D. Early, S J, B.A, M A. St. Louis, 1950, 1952. No thesis.

Rev. William B. Greenspun, C S P., B.A. Missouri, 1950. No thesis.

Ramon A. D. Hermano, B.S. Ateneo de Manila, 1953. No thesis.

George M. Kolb, B S Syracuse, 1935. No thesis.

Joseph W. Lella, B A. St. Joseph's Seminary and College, 1958 No thesis.

Victor Lysiansky, B.A. La Salle, 1958. No thesis.

Rev. Hildebrand P. Meisenberg, O S.B, B.A., M A. Fribourg, 1955, 1957. No thesis.

Eloisa Mendez B S Fordham, 1953. No thesis.

Lawrence Menezes, St. Xavier's College (India). No thesis.

Anne Mercier, Ph.B. Detroit, 1951. "The Parsonian Four Phases as a Conceptual Scheme for Understanding the Position of a Foreign Student in America."

Donald B. Sylvain, B A. Dayton, 1958 No thesis

Kathleen M. Whalen, B A. Emmanuel College, 1958. No thesis.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Joy R Gold, A.B George Washington, 1958. "The Relation between Self-esteem and Other-Direction among College Students"

Kathryn T. Louka, A B George Washington, 1957 "Population Growth and the Development of Southeast Asia."

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Miles Richard Cramer, A B. Michigan, 1957. No thesis.

Peter Charles Eckstein, A B Michigan, 1959 No thesis.

Leon Hinckley Mayhew, A B. California, 1956. No thesis.

Bernard Portis, Jr, A B. Harvard, 1956. No thesis.

Bernard Elliot Segal, A B. Dartmouth, 1955. No thesis.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Lourdes C. Atabug, Ph B. Santo Tomas, 1956. "Sociocultural Factors in Economic Development: The Philippine Case"

Bruce K. Eckland, A B. Illinois, 1957. "An Analysis of Federal Parole Functions, with Special Reference to Federal Youth-Parole Violation."

Gerald B. Gersey, A B. Illinois, 1959. "The Ministerial Counseling Role: A Comparative Analysis of Urban and Rural Protestant."

Paul J. Hollander, B A. London School of Eco-

nomics, 1959. "Political Attitudes of the Hungarian Refugee in England"

Carol Ann Liebman, A B Illinois, 1959 "Family Type and Child's Perception of His Mother's Satisfaction with His Behavior."

Philip W. Marden, A B. Rutgers, 1955. "High-Brows and Low-Grades on Boys' Ward"

Olgert Pocs, B A. Illinois, 1958. "Community Participation of Mothers with Mentally Retarded Children.'

Shelvin Singer, B S E Northern Illinois State Teachers College, 1953. "Adult Education Institutionalization, Professionalization, and Functions.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

William Joseph Chambliss, A B California (Los Angeles), 1955 "The Deterrent Influence of Punishment: A Study of the Violation of Parking Regulations"

David Nathan Sudnow, A B Alabama, 1959 "An Experimental Study of the Limits of Conformity."

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

Albert F. Anderson, B S Iowa State, 1956 "Population Changes in Incorporated Places"

Roswell C Blount, B S Iowa State, 1958 "Group Formation and Maintenance in Extension-Program Planning"

Daryl Hobbs, B S Iowa State, 1956 "Factors Related to Agricultural Chemical Use by Iowa Farm Operators"

Ronald C Powers, B S Iowa State, 1957 "Degrees to Which an Iowa County's Extension-Program Planning Process Met Selected Criteria."

Jack E Rossman, B S Iowa State 1958 "Relation of Maternal Employment to Children's Scholastic Achievement and Social Participation"

Eleanor Shepherd, B A Coe College, 1957 "Family Relationships and Occupational Aspiration"

Richard D Warren, B S Iowa State, 1952 "A Dealer-Education Program Based on Fertilizer and Agricultural Chemicals Merchandising Research."

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

James B Bjorkquist, B A Gustavus Adolphus College, 1958 No thesis

Lyle R. Darnauer, B A State University of Iowa, 1949. "A Cross cultural Study of Self attitudes"

Donald G McTavish, B S C State University of Iowa, 1956. "An Analysis of Sociological Approaches to Stratification with Emphasis on the Work of C. Wright Mills, W Lloyd Warner, and Kingsley Davis"

John W. Prehn, B A. Macalester College, 1959. "Migrant Status and Social Mobility among College Graduates"

Kent P Schwirian, B S Illinois State Normal, 1959. "The Ecology of Iowa Banking."

David L Thomas, B S Florida State, 1959 "An Explanatory Model for City Size and Growth."

Gary L Ventling, B A State University of Iowa, 1959 No thesis.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Jeffrey K. Hadden, A B Kansas, 1959 "An Attitudinal Survey of Fertility Expectations in the West Indies"

Mary Wortham. A B Wisconsin 1934 "Schooling, Labor Relations, and Race Relations in South-Central Kansas: An Area Study"

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

Eva Beal, B S in Ed, Kent State, 1957 "The Drain of Talent out of Massachusetts and Vermont"

John J Corrigan, B S S John Carroll, 1950 "A Sociological Study of the Professional Services of Cleveland Public Schools

Florence A Ferguson A B Kent State, 1959 "The Process of Commodation in the Selection of New Members by Undergraduate Sororities"

Frank F Higham B A Bowling Green State 1940 No thesis.

Mary R Mehlman, B A Hunter College 1945 "Social Class Stratification and Some Personality Variables"

Kenneth P Sauman B A Pennsylvania State, 1958 "Changes in the Socialization Patterns of Boys in Early Adolescence"

Jack B Schmitt, A B Kent State 1956 "The Social Stratification Theory of C Wright Mills"

Alvin Sokol A B Kent State 1956 The Drain of Talent out of Ohio and Pennsylvania"

Duff Tucker, III, B A College of Wooster, 1955 "Creativity in Relation to Social Alienation"

Eugene P Wenninger B S in Ed Ohio State 1953 "A Comparative Study of the Self-concept in the Writings of George Herbert Meade and John Dewey"

Cecil Grant Willis, B A St Martins College, 1953 "A Study of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1860 1958"

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Austin T Turk, A B Georgia, 1956 "Comparative Performance of Delinquent and Non delinquent Boys on the MMPI"

UNIVERSITE LAVAL, QUEBEC

Pierre Belanger B A Montreal 1955 "Un profil culturel des maitres de la 4e à la 7e année"

Andre Escojido, B A École Paul Errera Bruxelles, 1953 "La mentalite du chef d'entreprise dans la region socio-economique de Quebec"

Gabriel Gagnon, B A Laval, 1954. "La population et le territoire de la ville de Québec"

Mohamed Guessous, B.A. Lycée Tobriss, Fès, Maroc, 1957. "La civilisation tribale du Maroc (sous): structure et évolution."

Marc Laplante, B.A. Montréal, 1956. "Les facteurs d'évolution de la structure des occupations."

Pierre Laporte, B.A. Montréal, 1954. "Changements sociaux dans une paroisse traditionnelle."

Camille-A. Richard, B.A. St. Joseph (New Brunswick), 1955. "L'idéologie de la première convention acadienne."

Justo Saco, O.F.M., B.A. College Franciscains (Santiago), 1952. "Les immigrants espagnols à Québec."

Rémi Savard, B.A. College des Jesuites (Québec), 1955. "Hypothèses à partir d'un modèle d'organization économique."

LOS ANGELES STATE COLLEGE

Jon High, A.B. San Francisco State, 1948. No thesis.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

Louis M. Beck, B.A. Blackburn College, 1955. "Three Groups of Delinquents of the Family Court of E.B.R. Parish: An Empirical Sociological Comparison."

Robert Clark Dare, B.A. Iowa State, 1958. "A Sociological Analysis of the Over-the-Road Truck-Driver's Occupation."

Frank R. Egan, B.A. Louisiana State, 1957. "Unique Factors in the Life Histories of Juvenile Sex Offenders."

Barbara M. Guillory, B.A. Dillard, 1957. "The Career Patterns of Negro Lawyers in Louisiana."

Eugene M. Johnson, B.A. Lousiana State, 1953. "Values and Occupational Choice in Four Selected Professions.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY (CHICAGO)

John Jude Boyle, A.B. Loyola. "Analysis of the School Records of One Hundred Youths Appearing before the Family Court of Cook County, December, 1957–March, 1958."

Sister Mary Judith Therese (McNulty), B.V.M., Mundelein College. "The Social-Psychological Implications of Recovery, Inc."

MC GILL UNIVERSITY

Silvia Lamb, B.A. Sir George Williams, 1957. "The Scientist in Industry: A Study of an Occupational Career."

Lionel Tiger, B.A. McGill, 1957. "The Organization of Scientific Research."

MARSHALL UNIVERSITY

Mary Heisez, B.S. Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, 1943. "The Socioeconomic Status of the Kanawha County, West Virginia, Teacher, 1959-60."

Hamilton Morris, B.S. Morris Harvey College, 1956. No thesis.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Michael S. Backenheimer, B.A. Maryland, 1959. "Jewish Ritual and Mental Illness."

Benjamin S. Brashears, Jr., B.A. Indiana, 1957. "Crime among Migratory Farm Workers in Four Selected Eastern Shore Maryland Counties."

Thomas F. Courtless, Jr., B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1955. "A Study of Certain Factors Related to the Undersocialization and Social Isolation in the Social Backgrounds of 110 Female Drug Addicts and Inebriates Committed to the D.C. Women's Reformatory."

Virginia S. Cronin, B.A. Maryland, 1957. "An Indirect Assessment of Attitudes Regarding Color Differences of Negroes."

James Bodette Dudley, B.A. Beloit College, 1958. "The Achievement of Occupational Mobility and Career Success by American Labor Leaders: Preliminary Study."

Richard Allen Faust, Jr., B.A. LaFayette College, 1958. "A Study of the Occupational Aspirations and Choices of College Students."

Peter Freivalds, B.A. Maryland, 1958. "Crime and Societal Change from Primary to Secondary and Impersonal Relationships: Analysis of a Frame of Reference."

William J. Gouch, B.A. Maryland, 1956. "The County Health Nurse and Rehabilitation of Mental-Health Patients, Montgomery County, Maryland."

Walter T. Sand, B.A. Atlantic Union College, 1951; M.A. Seventh Day Advent Seminary, 1952. "A Study of the Adjustment of the Post-hospitalized Psychiatric Returnee, Prince Georges County."

James W. Schell, Ph.B. Villanova, 1936 "Personality Factors in Non-support Cases."

Geraldine S. Tate, B.A. Maryland, 1956 "A Study of Children's Reading Ability in Relation to Their Mother's Role and Other Factors."

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Danny Hadley, A.B. Michigan, 1958. No thesis.

James Hudson, A.B. Columbia, 1958. No thesis.

Ronald Johnstone, B.A. Concordia Theological Seminary, 1956. No thesis.

Michael Lanphier, A.B. Harvard, 1958. No thesis.

Ann Mooney, A.B. Oberlin, 1959. No thesis

John O'Connor, A.B. Holy Cross, 1957. No thesis

Doris Slesinger, A.B. Vassar, 1949. No thesis.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Donald A. Clelland, B.A. Calvin College, 1958. "Economic Dominance and Community Power in Middle-sized City."

William D. Fromm, B.S. Wisconsin, 1958. "A Soci-

ological Analysis of the Relocation Process in Urban Renewal: A Case Study."

Ralph K. Holmberg, B A Michigan State, 1956. "A Comparison of the Manifest Reasons Prompting Parents from Two Occupational Groups To Seek the Services of a Michigan Child Guidance Clinic."

Rolf H. K. Schulze, B.A. North Dakota, 1958. "Community Satisfaction and Migration."

Shailer Thomas, B A Oberlin College, 1958 "Socio-economic Status and Personality Factors as Measured by Cattell's *Sixteen Personality Factor Test*."

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Hartlen L. Boche, B A. Hamline, 1951 "Length of Pastoral Service and Church Growth A Study of Methodist Churches in Minnesota"

Bernadine P. Graham, B A Minnesota, 1954 "A Statistical Study of Leisure Activities of Housewives"

Gary D Hansen, B S Utah State, 1958 "Personal Adjustment in Aging- A Field"

Glen I Nelson, B A. St. Olaf College, 1955 "The Suborganizations of the Urban Protestant Church as Voluntary Associations"

Thomas V. Philbrook, B A Minnesota, 1958 "Religion and Social Stratification A Study of Three Large Urban Congregations"

Kalyani Roy, B A Fateh Chand College 1942 "The Development of Indian Sociology"

Verna M. Shupenia, B.A. Alberta, 1959 "Social and Cultural Change-- A Study of Social and Cultural Changes in the Life Cycle of the Copper Eskimo"

Anton H Turrittin, B A Minnesota, 1959 "Social Change in an Isolated Community A Study of the Transformation of Madeline Island, Wisconsin."

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Raj Madan "The Community Development Program in India"

Mary Sheldon, A B Missouri, 1958 "Conformity to Leisure Patterns"

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Jerry Behringer, B S Illinois State Normal, 1958 "The High School Senior and Selected Reference Groups: A Study of the College-going Decision."

Laurence LeRoy Falk, A B Indiana Central 1955 "Decision To Enter the Role of the Minister"

James Lee McCaffrey, A B Nebraska, 1958 "Effects of Parental Inducements upon Child Behavior."

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

Ronald William Nablo, B A Toronto, 1957 "Social Structure Related to Business and Finance in a Seaport City."

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Keshav S Agarwal, B S. Banaras Hindu (India), 1950; F Sc Bareilly College (India), 1950. "Community Development Project in India."

Nicholas Alex, B S. Pennsylvania, 1956 "The Greek Coffee House."

Norma Aronson, B A New School, 1959 "Technological Changes in the Lithographic Field and Attitude of Amalgamated Lithographers of America"

Milton Doroshkin, Certificate, Jewish Teacher School, 1934; New York University, 1936-37 "The Yiddish Cultural Factor in the American Jewish Community"

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, B A Antioch College 1955 "The Newspaperman A Study of an Occupational Role"

Jerome Fuchs, B A. Yeshiva College, 1958 "A Sociological Analysis of a Zionist Youth Movement Bnei Akiva of North America"

Eleanore Levenson-Goldberg, B A Brooklyn College, 1958 "History of the Woman's Trade Union League of New York

Sonia Grodka, B A Bennington College, 1946 "Refugees under Church Sponsorship A Study in Integration"

Ann Carla Joye, B A Michigan 1954 "Negro Leadership in Integration Activities"

Angel Federico Neblon, Diploma National University of the Littoral (Rosario) 1[illegible], Harvard, 1957 58 "Social Structure and Subsystemic 'Behavior' An Analysis of Pattern Differentiation in Changing Group Situation"

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Henry P Brehm, A B New York, 1953 "The Relationship between Organizational Perception and Success of Operators among Blue Cross Plans"

Carlos Buitrago-Ortiz, B A Puerto Rico 1954 "The Sociology of Eugenio M de Hostos of Puerto Rico"

Nell Logan Cox, A B Kentucky 1[illegible] "Teen-Agers' Perception of Their Parents' Roles as Parents"

Jack Danielian, B A Harvard 195[illegible] "A Study of Attitudes and Perceptions in Prison"

Robert F Guerin, A B Clark 1955 "An Interaction Analysis of Two-Person Discussion Groups"

Theodore D Kemper A B City College of New York, 1941 "Interaction in Five Roles Compared on Four Dimensions"

Hubert L Schwartz, A B City College of New York, 1953 "An Exploratory Study of the Influence of Social Class Positions on Esthetic Privileges"

Marilyn Semmel, B A Brooklyn College, 1953 "The Effects of Coeducation on Attitudes of Male College Students"

Ardyth Stimson, B.A. College of Wooster, 1951. "Significant Others: An Historical and Empirical Investigation."

Hannah B. Weiner, B.A. Beaver College, 1953. "An Experimental Study of Role Expectations Based on the Rationale of Role Theory and Role-playing Techniques."

Harold T. Yahr, B.S. City College of New York, 1953. "Religious Participation: A Factor-analytic Study of Members of an Urban Synagogue Center."

Hwo-Kuo Yeh, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1954. "Factors Associated with Conversion to Christianity of Chinese People in New York Chinatown."

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Jawad Ghali, B.A. Higher Teachers College (Baghdad), 1954. "Population Composition of Iraq with Special Attention to Migration."

Beverly L. Levenson, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1958. "Health Habits in Five Southern Folk Communities: A Pattern Analysis of Conditions, Usages, and Beliefs as Drawn from the 'Field Studies in the Modern Culture of the South.'"

Robert Gene McDonald, A.B. Kansas, 1955. "The Association of Type of Business Organization with Its Top Executive's Role Conflict."

Charles Venable Mercer, A B. Florida State, 1957. "Rural-urban Attitudes in the Southern Appalachians An Analysis of an Opinion Survey."

Albert G. Norman, A B. Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1953; LL.B. North Carolina. "Recreational Attitude and Preference of a Sample of Older Citizens of North Carolina."

William Fred Ricketson, Jr., A.B. Mercer, 1947. "Social Change in a Rural County: Socioeconomic Analysis of Harris County, Georgia, 1900–1955."

Dorothea M. Scott, A B. William and Mary, 1952. "The Relation of the Uniform to the Professional Role Concept of the Psychiatric Nurse."

Paul E. Wehr, A.B. Connecticut, 1958. "The Sitdown Protests: A Study of a Passive-Resistance Movement in North Carolina."

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Rose Giallombardo, B A. Connecticut, 1958. "Impact of Coercive Norms on Interpersonal Interaction: An Attempt To Empirically Isolate a Reference Group."

Harriet Engel Gross, B.A. Northwestern, 1957. "Functionality and Identification."

Karen Hillman, B Sc. London School of Economics, 1948. "Marital Dissolution and Its Relation to Education, Income, and Occupation."

James Moorhead, B.A. Knox College, 1958. "A Theory of Intergroup Relations: A Study of Carpenters' Unions and Construction Companies."

James Skipper, B.S. Ed. Northern Illinois, 1956. "The Social Organization of a United States Military Government Reserve Unit: A Case Study."

James Wilkins, B S. Ed. Northern Illinois, 1958. "Routine Responses to Organizational Change."

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Martin Koenig, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1958. "Congruency, Satisfaction, and Attitudes: A Study of the Police of Lorain County, Ohio."

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

James L. Bemiller, B S. Ohio State, 1959. "Development of a Scale To Measure the Rationality Element of Farm-Management Ability"

George John Caronis, B A. Ohio State, 1955. "Effects of a Stress Period of Short Duration upon Achievement."

Patrick Tracy Cleaver, A.B Miami, 1956. "Patterns and Correlates of Professionalism among Protestant Parish Clergymen."

Michael Nicholas Cutsumbis, B A. Ohio State, 1957. "Adjustment and Assimilations of the Greek-Americans in Columbus, Ohio."

John R. Eshleman, B.A. Manchester College, 1958. "Motives for Church Participation in an Interstitial Rural Locale."

David G. Francis, B S. Ohio State, 1958 "Communication Credibility of a Non-recommended Agricultural Innovation"

Deborah Paula Goldweber, B A, B Sc. in Ed. Ohio State, 1958. "A Study of Marital Stability in Two Primitive Societies: The Zuni and the Nuer."

Johanna Eise Hartung, B A. Beloit College, 1958. "The Position of Women in Germany in the Third Reich and under Russian Occupation, 1933-50."

Arthur E. Havens, B S. Iowa State, 1959 "Community Integration and Alienation in Suburbia."

John Frederick Ketter, B S. George Williams College, 1950. "A Study of Communication Practices in Program Divisions of College Unions."

Franklin O. Leuthold, B S Ohio State, 1959. "Demonstrations and the Diffusion of Fertilizer Practices."

Walter W. Miller, B S. Ohio State, 1955. "The Effects of Migration on the Churches in the Rural Fringe."

Lawrence Noel Moyer, B.A. Ohio State, 1959. "Toward a Clarification of the Concept *Norm* as Used in Sociology"

Ivar Oxaal, B A. Ohio State, 1954. "Social Stratification and Personnel Turnover in the Hospital."

Gurland Howard Phillips, B.S. Ohio State, 1950 "Organization Structure for Decision-making and Action in State Rural Development Administrative Groups."

Harry R. Potter, B.S. Iowa State, 1957 "Some Factors Related to Attitudes toward Industry in a Relatively Low-Income Rural County in Ohio."

Lowell F. Rothert, B.S. Ohio State, 1959 "The Social and Economic Impacts of Heart Disease upon a Selected Group of Ohio Farmers."

Frank Sehnert, B.S. Ohio State, 1941 "A Functional Framework for the Action Process in Community Development."

Dusky Lee Smith, B.A. Central State College (Oklahoma), 1958. "The AEC. A Case-Study Application of the Theory of the Power Elite."

Jack Milton Whitehead, B.A. Ohio State, 1958. "An Analysis of the Skeletal Material from the William H. Davis Site."

OHIO UNIVERSITY (ATHENS)

Sondra Jean Betsch, A.B. Ohio (Athens), 1958 "Resultants of Perceptions of Threat."

Robert C. Harrison, A.B. Ohio (Athens), 1958 "Effect of an Extreme Principle of Recruitment on Small-Group Behavior."

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

Lois V. Bailey, B.A. Oklahoma, 1958 "An Analysis of Role Conflicts of Housewives."

UNIVERSITY OF OMAHA

Robert Simpson, A.B. Omaha, 1959 "Rivertown A Descriptive Survey of a Unique Community."

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

John P. Koval, B.A. Seattle, 1957 "Innovation and Fringe Benefits."

Norman Linton, B.A. Reed College, 1958 "Two Approaches to the Analysis of Social Change and Equilibrium."

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

Jewell Lee Cardwell Field, B.A. Berea College 1935 "Factors Associated with Decision To Pursue Graduate Work and Choice of Curriculum by Women Doctoral Candidates at the Pennsylvania State University."

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Thomas Edison Dow, A.B. Hunter College, 1958 No thesis.

Jerry David Robin, A.B. Temple, 1958 "Shoplifting in the United States."

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Bernard Beck, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1958 No thesis.

Rodney Kay Nicolas Crook, B.A. Leeds, 1958 No thesis

Arthur Benett Shostak, B.S. Cornell, 1958. No thesis.

Charles Parker Wolf, A.B. North Carolina, 1955. No thesis.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Milton Davis, A.B. Boston, 1958 "Aging, Illness, and Dependency A Study in the Convergence of Attitudes."

John Hayes, B.S. Purdue, 1958 "The Cardiac Farmer and His Family A Study of Resources for Meeting the Crisis of Heart Disease."

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Ellis Bryan, A.B. Furman, 1945 B.D. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1948 "Southern Thought on Race Relations."

Robert Crain, A.B. Southern California, 1949 "The Mob High School Teacher A Career Occupation."

Sister Sara M. Donohoe, A.B. Mount St. Mary's College, 1951 "Changes in Personality Traits and Values of Sisters from Postulancy through the Novitiate and Professional Life."

William L. Hopkins, A.B. Colorado, 1956 "Sociopolitical Thought of Lenin."

Father William G. Hutson, A.B. St. Patrick's Seminary, 1954 "Attitudes of Voters in the East Los Angeles Area."

Roger R. Lade, A.B. Southern California, 1958 "Social Aspects of Apartheid in Union of South Africa."

Curtis R. Miller, A.B. Carleton College 1954 "A Typology of Spanish Surname Census Tract in Los Angeles County."

Philip Montez, A.B. Southern California, 1957 "Some Differences in Factors Related to Educational Achievement of Two Mexican-American Groups."

Alvin Rudoff, B.A. Southern California, 1949 "The Effect of Treatment on Incarcerated Young Adult Delinquents as Measured by Disciplinary History."

James Rex Smith, A.B. Phillips, 1945 B.D. Yale 1948 "The Theory of Roles and Status Affecting Marriage Counseling."

Carlton Winslow A.B. Southern California "Social Characteristics of Architecture."

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

Karl King, B.S. Southern Methodist, 1950 "A Study of the Relationship between the Religiosity of One Hundred Catholic Women in a Dallas, Texas, Parish and the Stereotyping of Catholics, Baptists, Jews, and Negroes as Compared to the Average American."

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Gary Edwin Renner, A.B. Stanford, 1957. No thesis.

Paul F. Verden, A.B. Harvard, 1958. No thesis.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Benjamin S. Bradshaw, A B. Texas, 1956. "Some Demographic Aspects of Marriage. A Comparative Study of Three Ethnic Groups"

Walter J. Cartwright, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1943. "Tactics of Confusion Study of a Deliberate Attempt at Disruption among Southwest Texas Methodist Churches"

Milton Dale Lower, A.B. Texas, 1954. "Scientific Purity to Social Power: A Study of the Ideology of Science in Transition."

Travis Edward Mercer, A B. Howard Payne College, 1955; B D. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1958. "Protestant Churches and Divorce in Williamson County, Texas."

Donald Anthony Petesch, A B. Texas, 1958. "Mexican Urban Ecology."

Ronald Jay Silvers, A B. Texas, 1958. "Elite versus Mass Orientation· A Case Study of Two Symphony Orchestras."

Douglas H. Smith, A B. Texas, 1959. "Social Origins and Religious Orientations of a Selected Group of Natural Scientists."

James Otis Smith, A.B. Hardin Simmons College, 1958 "The Role and Social Characteristics of Elite Protestant Clergymen in America."

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

J. E. E. DeLint, B.A. Toronto, 1959. No thesis.

J A. McIntyre, B A Western Ontario, 1941. No thesis.

E. T. Rashleigh, B A British Columbia, 1950. No thesis.

Harvey Rich, B A McGill, 1955. No thesis.

Martin Robin, B A. Manitoba, 1959. No thesis.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Donald E. Smith, B S. Utah, 1950. "The Sociotechnic Status of Navajo Indians in the Area of Salt Lake City, Utah

Keith M Walker, B.S. Utah, 1954. "A Study of Group Achievement in the Salt Lake City Post Office."

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY (ST. LOUIS)

Michael Dean Trower, A B Drury College, 1957. "Intergroup Hostility in a Small College."

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Delbert S. Elliott, A.B. Pomona College, 1955. "Some Determinants and Consequences of Role Consensus."

George Myers, A B. Yale, 1953. "Suburbanization and Its Impact upon the Schools."

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Frederick W. Haberer, B A. Richmond, 1934. "Juvenile Homicides in Wayne County (Michigan)"

Suzanne G Marx, B Sc. Indiana, 1951 "Authoritarianism and Non-authoritarianism in Two Jewish Peer Groups."

Frederick H. Schellmat, B A. Wayne, 1950. "Play Behavior in a Tool and Die Shop Worker's Group"

Mary Ann F. Williams, B A. Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 1951. "Sustentative Labor Force of American Cities."

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Mareyjoyce Green, A.B Wiley College, 1947 "Aspects of the Socialization Process Related to High Mobility and Group Relationships"

Gladys M Kuoksa, B A. Wisconsin, 1956 "Some Aspects of Prejudice."

Vincent J. McKeon, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1957. "Occupational Mobility in Relation to Social Mobility."

Doris Y. Wilkinson, A B Kentucky, 1958 "The Rural-urban Fringe. A Sociopsychological Phenomenon."

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

Richard Allen Ball, B S. West Virginia, 1960 "The Southern Appalachian Coal Community An Explorative Study"

Naomi Jean Roy, B S. Alderson-Broaddus College, 1951. "Concepts of the Nurse"

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Kenneth Walter Eckhardt, B.A. Beloit College, 1955. "A Sociocultural Approach to Juvenile Delinquency."

Don Francis Heisel, B.A. Chicago, 1952 "Structural and Attitudinal Components of Participation in Voluntary Associations."

Wilmer Everett MacNair, B A Park College, 1953. "The Rise of Quakerism. Setting and Repercussion: A Culture Case Study of the Origin of the Society of Friends"

Martin Hill Ross, B.S. Wisconsin, 1958 "A Social Action Model as Applied to the Edgerton Community Hospital"

Donald Whiteside, B S. Wisconsin State College (Stevens Point), 1958 "The Use of Historical Data in a Sociological Study of LaFayette County, Wisconsin."

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1960

The following list of doctoral dissertations in progress in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is compiled from returns sent by 54 departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees in 354. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Edwin J Gross, A B, M A New York, 1947, 1948 "Some Further Inquiries into Personal Influence in Marketing"

Denis F Johnston, A B California (Berkeley) 1947; M A. Harvard, 1952 "An Analysis of Sources of Information on the Population of the Navajo"

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Akinsola Akiwowo, A B Morehouse College, 1953; M A Boston, 1954 "Status Inconsistency in Relation to Social Participation and Political Activity in a Boston Negro Community"

Grainger Browning, A B Shaw 1939 M A Boston, 1945. "Social Prestige in a Low Income Planned Community"

Elaine Hagopian, A B, M A Boston, 1954, 1956. "A Socio-anthropological Study of Political Integration in Modern Morocco"

Shirley Kolack, B S, M A Boston, 1955, 1957 "Status Inconsistency among Social Workers"

Jaroslav Moravec, JUD (Dr of Law) Charles IV University (Czechoslovakia), 1948 "Social Order through Law"

Bertram Spiller, B S Northeastern (Boston), 1942, M A. Boston, 1948 "Differential Criteria of Prestige and Status among High and Low Delinquent Street-Corner Groups."

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Arthur Jordan Field, B S Pennsylvania 1947, A M Columbia, 1948 "Ecological Analysis of a Mature Metropolitan Area Providence, 1929 58"

Harry Theodore Groat, A B, M A Bowling Green State, 1954, 1958 "The Demography and Ecology of Higher Education in the United States"

Kandamkulathu Matthew Verghese, B A Madras, 1953; A M. Gujarat University, 1957 "Labor Force Analysis of India"

Da-yuan Yuan, B.S. Spring Hill College, 1957; M A City College of New York, 1959 "Demographic and Social Factors Affecting the Changing Labor Force in Taiwan, 1905-56"

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

Orville R Gursslin, B A, M S S Buffalo, 1950, 1952 "The Formulation and Partial Test of a Class-linked Theory of Delinquency"

Alexander Kuman, Th B Princeton Theological Seminary, 1930; M A. Columbia, 1942. "A Changing Church A Study of Change in Church Membership and Activities Associated with the Urbanization in a Rural County"

Robert P Overs, A B Hobart College, 1935 "A Sociological Analysis of Counseling Psychology"

Eugene B Piedmont, B S State University College of Education (New York) 1957 M A Rochester 1959 "An Investigation of the Influence of Ethnic-Group Differences in the Development of Schizophrenia"

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (LOS ANGELES)

Arturo Biblarz, B A, M A California (Los Angeles), 1955, 1960 "A Study of Bohemian Communities"

Egon Bittner B A Los Angeles State College 1955, M A California (Los Angeles), 1958 "The Characteristics and Decisions of Persons Who Make an Unsuccessful Attempt To Obtain Psychiatric Care, and Their Subsequent Fate"

Milton Bloombaum, B A California (Los Angeles), 1952 M A Southern California 1958 "Role Conflict"

Gerald Brandmeyer, B S Fordham, 1954, M A Illinois, 1956 "Social Stratification"

James T Duke, B A, M A Utah 1957, 1958 "Recruitment of Elites in a New Nation"

Nason E Hall, A B Sacramento State College, 1955, M A. California (Los Angeles), 1957 "Neighboring Patterns"

Maurice Jackson, B A, M A California (Los Angeles), 1957, 1958 "Reference Group and Conformity Behavior"

Kenneth Polk, B A San Diego State College, 1956, M A Northwestern, 1957 "Treatment versus Custody"

Fred Thalheimer, B A, M A California (Los Angeles), 1956, 1959 "Religion of Academicians"

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Sister Florence Marie Chevalier, S.S.A., B.A. Montreal, 1942; M.A. Boston College, 1953. "Evolution of Ethnic Aims of French National Societies of New England."

Dorothy M. Crowley, B.S. in Nursing Ed. St. Louis; M.S. in Nursing Ed. Catholic, 1953. "Role of the Nurse in Bedside Care of Patients in a General Hospital."

Ann M. Douglas, B.S. St. John's, 1949, M.S. Catholic, 1950. "Social Factors Influencing Career Choice in Psychiatric Nursing."

Rev. Victor Elmer, O.F.M., B.A., M.A. St. Bonaventure College, 1940, 1948. "Social Thought of American Catholics, 1829–66."

Rev. Dionisio Lauth, S.C.J., Holy Orders, Sacred Heart Seminary (Brazil), 1944. "Sociology of Ferdinand Toennies: A Critical Study."

Anthony R. Parimanath, B.A. Madras, 1949. "Social Correlates of Achievement Values of Students from India in Washington Metropolitan Area Universities."

Mary Louise Paynich, B.S. in Public Health Nursing Michigan, 1944. "Social Role of the Visiting Nurse: A Role Consensus Analysis of Patients and Nurses."

Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., B.A. Alverno College, 1951; M.A. Loyola, 1956. "Fertility Rates of a Tri-racial Isolate."

Joseph H. Walsh, B.S. in Nursing Ed., M.S. in Nursing. Catholic, 1952, 1956. "Social Phenomena Associated with Admissions of Aged Persons to Mental Hospitals."

Angelita Q. Yap, B.A. Assumption College, 1951; M.A. Catholic, 1957. "Structural Principles of the Kinship System of a Tri-racial Isolate."

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

William Arnold, A.B. Kansas, 1955; A.M. Illinois, 1956. "Attitude Change of Juvenile Parolees."

Mercedes Concepcion, B.S. Philippines, 1951. "Fertility Trends and Differentials in the Philippines."

William Erbe, A.B. Iowa State Teachers College, 1952; A.M. State University of Iowa, 1958. "Student Integration and Departmental Cohesion in American Graduate Schools."

Harold Finestone, A.B., A.M. McGill, 1942, 1943. "Comparative Study of Reformation and Recidivism among Italian and Polish Adult Male Criminal Offenders."

Aparecida Gouveia. "Professional Identification and Majority Effects in Normal Schools."

Ismail K. Maung, A.B Rangoon, 1951. "Differential Fertility in Burma, 1953."

Samerandranath Mitra, B.S., M.S. Presidency College (Calcutta), 1950, 1952. "The Future of Population, Urbanization, and Working Force in India."

Edna Raphael, B.S. Wayne State, 1940; A.M. Northwestern, 1952. "Conflict, Cohesion and Welfare Activities in Trade Unions."

Richard Seaton, A.B. Columbia, 1947. "Social Morale under Stress."

Alma T. Taeuber, A.B. Washington State, 1954; A.M. Chicago, 1960. "Residential Succession of Negroes in Selected Cities, 1940–50."

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Charles Howard Gray, B.A. Denver, 1953. "The Coalition Behavior in the United States Senate."

Harold Charles Meier, B.A., M.A. Colorado, 1951, 1955. "Cultural Productions and Interaction Process in Laboratory Societies."

Basil Joseph Sherlock, B.S. Illinois, 1955; M.A. Southern Illnois, 1957. "Role Acquisition of Psychiatric-Ward Personnel."

Edith Mary Sherman, B.Mus.Ed. Colorado, 1939. "A Study of Social Change—The Gerontological Movement in Colorado 1935–60."

Laurel Richardson Walum, B.A. Chicago, 1956. "Mathematics and the Mathematician."

Jules J. Wanderer, B.A. Colorado, 1957. "Anomia, Participation, and Voluntary Associations and Community Influentials."

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Samuel Baum, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1950. "Public Opinion and Social Class."

Harold S. Goldblatt, B.S. City College of New York, 1940. "Trends in the Curriculums of Four Social Sciences, 1940–55."

Leonard H. Goodman, B.A. Connecticut, 1949, M.A. Columbia, 1952. "Academic Freedom and the Social Structure of a Teachers College."

Madhav S. Gore, B.A., M.A. Bombay, 1942, 1948. "Urbanization and the Family in Haryana Area."

Martin D. Hyman, A.B. Princeton, 1955; M.A. Columbia, 1958. "The Consequences of Status-Set Disequilibrium: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation."

Takuya Maruyama, B.A., M.S. Utah, 1948, 1950. "The Development of Patterns of Aggression among Suburban Youth."

Alan S. Meyer, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1947; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "The Effect of Certain Demographic Variables on Southern Reactions to the Supreme Court Decisions on School Segregation."

Robert E. Mitchell, B.A. Michigan, 1952; M.A. Harvard, 1955. "Explorations in Contextual Analysis: The Role of Social Science Departments within Major American Universities."

Charlton R. Price, A.B. Princeton, 1949. "Continuity and Change in an Industrial Organization: Experience in a Public Utility Company."

Melvin Prince, B.A., M.A. Brooklyn College,

1953, 1957. "Internship Patterns of Anticipation and Experience."

Irving Silverman, B A. Brooklyn College, 1948; M.A. in English, Columbia, 1950. "Who Goes for Psychotherapy? A Sociological Analysis of the Adult Population of an Urban Area"

Alvin D Zalinger, B.S., M A. Boston, 1948, 1949. "Cross-cultural Learning and Adjustment. A Reference-Group Analysis"

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Leila Bradfield, B S, M S. Cornell, 1955, 1957 "Consistency of Small-Group Values and Beliefs"

Joseph Crymes, B S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1952; M S Cornell, 1958 "A Test of the Group-Effect Hypothesis with Local Voluntary Associations"

Walter Grimes, B S Mansfield State College (Pennsylvania), 1952; M S Cornell, 1959 "A Study of the Differences in Role Perception between Physicians and Their Clientele"

David E W Holden, B A Rice Institute, 1953, M S. Cornell, 1959 "Consensus of Opinions in Formal Organizations"

Lawrence Judd, B A Rice Institute, 1942, B D Yale Divinity School, 1946, M S Cornell, 1954 "*Tam Rai:* The Life of the Dry Rice Thai"

DUKE UNIVERSITY

James Carlton Kimberly, B A, M A Emory, 1950, 1955. "An Experimental Test of a Systematic Theory of Modes of Status Equilibration"

John William Merck, A B, M A Georgia, 1952, 1956 "A Mathematical Model of the Personnel Structure of Large-Scale Organizations Based on Markov Chains"

Horace Dair Rawls, B S, M S North Carolina State College, 1943, 1946 "Education as a Factor in Social Participation"

Ray E Short, A B Willamette, 1944 "Social Control and War. An Analysis of Social-Control Theory in Introductory Sociology Textbooks as Related to International Conflict"

EMORY UNIVERSITY

Alpha M Bond, B A Dartmouth College, 1952, M A Columbia, 1953. "Mood and Its Relationship to Attitudes about Self and about Groups: A Study in Social Gerontology"

James Carroll Simms, A B, M A Maryland 1956, 1957. "Group Values, Personal Values, and Achievement in an Academic Setting"

Norman Snyder, B A, M A. Buffalo, 1957, 1959 "Sociology of Science."

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

Jeanine Helen Gavin, B A, M A Bradley, 1954, 1957. "A Model for Measuring the Ecological Process of Dominance"

Charles Howard Newton, B A, M A Nebraska, 1956, 1958. "Academic Factors Related to Occupational Choices of College Seniors."

Robert M. White, Ph B, M A North Dakota, 1955, 1957 "The Non-violent Revolutionary Submovement A Microcosmic Analysis of a Case Study in Action"

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

Rosemary Higgins Cass, B A College of St. Elizabeth, 1950, LL B Columbia Law School, 1953. "The Effects on Family-Life Patterns of Mothers in Paid Employment"

Rev Gabriel Lee, B A Holy Ghost College (Korea), M A Fordham, 1957 "Sociology of Conversion Sociological Implications of Religious Conversion to Christianity in Korea"

Gilda Petraglia, B A Hunter College, 1944, M A Fordham, 1949 "Female Parole Violators An Analysis of the 'Situational' Aspects of Their Failure"

Rev Maurus Pollard, O S B, B A St Anselm's College, 1949; M A Catholic, 1955 "Adaptation of a Community to Industrial Change A Case Study of Manchester, New Hampshire"

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Bernard J Bergen, A B City College of New York, 1956 "Symptoms, Social Class, and Sensitivity to the Onset of Mental Illness"

Lindsey C Churchill, Jr, A B Yale 1955 "Aggression in a Small-Group Setting: Relation to Tension and Friendliness"

M Richard Cramer, A B Michigan, 1957, A M Harvard, 1960 "Community Leadership and the Desegregation Process"

Robert Dreeben, A B Oberlin, 1952; A M Columbia, 1954, M A in Teaching, Harvard, 1954 "Individual Action in an Organizational Setting A Study of Psychiatric Residents"

Peter C Eckstein, A B Michigan, 1959, M A Harvard, 1960 "Sociological Aspects of Economic Development in Present-Day India"

Richard Greenblatt, A B Chicago, 1952, A M Harvard, 1956 "The Drama and Society, 1918–58 A Study in Art and Social Change"

Herman Israel, A B City College of New York, 1950, A M Harvard, 1955 "The Attitudes of Unionized Industrial Workers toward the Seniority Principle"

Rev Jacques Lazure, A B Ottawa, 1948, A M Notre Dame, 1958 "Relationships between Religion and French Cultural Values"

Bernard Portis, Jr, A B, A M Harvard, 1956, 1960. "Educational Attainment as a Determinant of Opinions toward Minority Groups."

Harry A Scarr, A B Michigan, 1956 "Group Similarities and Social Interaction"

Howard Schuman, A B Antioch, 1953, A M Trinity (San Antonio), 1956 "Social Structure and Personality Constriction in a Total Institution"

Rev. Paola Tufari, Facolta di Filosofia Gallarate and Pontificia Facolta Telologica S. Luigi (Italy): L'Action Populaire Institute Social and Institut Catholique de Paris. "Sociological Analysis of Religious Orders."

Seymour D. Vestermark, Jr., A.B. Swarthmore, 1955; A.M. Harvard, 1959. "The Structure and Dynamics of Ideology."

Richard Young, Karlovy V Praze (Czechoslovakia); Oslo. "College Careers and Adult Personalities of Women."

Irving K. Zola, A B. Harvard, 1956 "Sociocultural Factors in the Seeking of Medical Aid."

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Kenneth J. Downey, B.S. Buffalo Teachers College, 1954; M.A. Illinois, 1959. "Interest and Apathy: Parental Relationship to the Mentally Retarded, Institutionalized Child"

Robert L. Herrick, A B. York College, 1953; M.A. Chicago, 1959. "Organized Churches and the Social Integration of a Community."

Warren C. Ramshaw, B S, M A. Illinois, 1949, 1958. "Resident and Non-resident Colleges and Their Effect on Student Religious Values."

John R. Stratton, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1957, 1959. "Imprisonment and Prisonization: A Study of Prisoner Change as a Function of Shifting Reference Groups."

Frieda A. M. Stute, A B. De Paul, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Crises and Equilibrium in a Small Hospital."

Barbara R. Williams, B.A. Austin College, 1954; M.A. Illinois, 1957. "Some Aspects of Teen-age Subculture."

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Cherry Carter, A B. Colorado, 1956; M.A. Stanford, 1957. "Socioeconomic Factors in College Enrolment."

Roland Chilton, B A Monmouth College, 1951; M.A. Wisconsin, 1958. "Statistical Study of Indianapolis Delinquency."

Carmen Decker, A.B., A.M, Th.B. Marion College, 1931, 1933, 1946; M A Indiana, 1947. "Culture and Personality in the Belgian Congo."

Stuart Hills, A B. College of Wooster, 1955; M.A. Indiana, 1957. "Social Organization in a Suburban Community: Voluntary Associations and the Network of Relationships."

David H. Howard, B. A. Fisk, 1950; M.A. Indiana, 1953. "Characteristics of Negro Professionals"

Arthur F. Kline, A.B. Ball State Teachers College, 1946; M A. Indiana, 1948. "Prediction of Marriage of Female College Graduates."

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

Elmer W. Bock, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1952, 1958 "The Correlates of Role-taking Accuracy and Congruence of Images among Married Pairs."

Herbert Lawrence Campbell III, B S., M.S. Iowa State, 1951, 1959. "Patterns of Communication about a Farm Practice among Farmers in Iowa."

Daryl J. Hobbs, B.S., M.S. Iowa State, 1956, 1960. "Attitudinal Components of Differential Farm-Management Ability."

Lawrence F. Kasperbauer, B S, M S. Iowa State, 1958, 1959. "Role of Selected Information Sources in the Farming Business of Rural Iowa People."

Charles L. Mulford, B.S, M.S, Iowa State, 1958, 1959. "Community Leadership."

C. Harding Viegel, B.A North Central College, 1952: B D. Evangelical Theological Seminary, 1956; M.A. Bradley, 1956. "An Experimental Study of Differential Perception of Status Criteria."

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Robert E. Claus, B A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1949; M A. State University of Iowa, 1955. "Distortions of the Self-Conception in Personality Development."

Wynona S. Garretson, B A., M A. State University of Iowa, 1948, 1951. "College Images: Consensus about a Social Object."

Edward E. Harris, B A. Lincoln, 1954; M A State University of Iowa, 1958. "The Deviation of Self-Attitudes from Reference-Group Attitudes."

Carr B. Lavell, B S. Coe College, 1927; M A State University of Iowa, 1941 "Filial Defection, Peer-Group Influence, and Cross-pressuring: Social Institutional Behavior among State University of Iowa Students, 1960"

Joseph H. Meyerowitz, B A Chicago, 1953; M A Hunter College, 1956. "The EMH Child's First Year in School: An Exploration of the Child, His Peers and Family."

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Raymond Breton, A B. Manitoba, 1952; M A Chicago, 1958. "The Ethnic and Native Subsystems of the Absorbing Society and the Interpersonal Integration of Immigrants"

Moshe Sarell, A B, M A Hebrew (Jerusalem), 1954, 1959. "Measurement and Explanation of Productivity in Physics during the Last 150 Years for Selective Countries."

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Charles E. Garth, A B. Morehouse College, 1951, M.A. Atlanta, 1956. "A Study of the Self-Concept as a Motivational Factor in Negro High-School Students Who Change Schools in a 'Voluntary' School-Desegregation Plan."

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

Clifton Bryant, B A, M A Mississippi, 1956, 1957. "The Petroleum Landman: A Study in the Sociology of Work."

Robert Dolan, BS, MS Louisiana State, 1949, 1958. "Role Analysis: An Exploratory Analysis of the Roles of the County Agent"

Thomas Hansbrough, BS, MF. Louisiana State, 1949, 1957. "A Sociological Analysis of Man-caused Forest Fires in Louisiana"

John Drennan Kelley, BA Harvard, 1950, MA Minnesota, 1957. "Social Stratification"

Elinor Roth Nugent, BS., MA Missouri, 1938, 1943 "The Relation of Fashion in Dress to Social Change"

Donald Sugar, BA Minnesota, 1950 "A Theoretical Analysis of Certain Social Structure Concepts"

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Irving Canter, BSS, MS City College of New York, 1947, 1949. "The Dynamics of the Jewish Self-Process"

Adnan Mohammed al Doory, BS Baghdad, 1947, MA Maryland, 1957 "Modus Operandi and Recidivism"

Frederick D. Frees, BA Hobart College, 1953 MA Maryland, 1955 "A Sociological Analysis of Accident Occurrence among School-age Children"

Joe Marches, BA Minnesota, 1952 MA Maryland, 1953. "A Method for Classifying the Leisure Time Activities of Youth"

P. B. Watson, BS U S Naval Academy, [illegible] MA Maryland, 1952. "The Graduated-Tier System"

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Rashid Bashur, BA, MA American (Beirut) 1954, 1956 "Influences of Ecological Factors on Values"

Bernard Berk, AB California, 1956, AM Michigan, 1957 "Informal Social Organization and Leadership among Inmates in Treatment and Custodial Prisons"

Robert Carroll, AB, AM Cincinnati, [illegible] 1955 "The Nature and Determinants of Metropolitan Influence: An Analysis of 168 Metropolitan Central Cities"

Harry Dillingham, BA Texas, 1948, AM Michigan, 1951 "Occupational Bureaucratization, Denominational Structure, and Religious Vitality"

Paul Eberts, AB Heidelberg College, 1955, BD Yale, 1958 "The Effect of the Age of the Oldest Child on the Parents' Community Identification"

Henry Elsner, AB, AM Michigan, 1952, 1955 "Technocracy: Evolution and Persistence of a Social Movement."

Seymour Faber, AB Wayne, 1956, AM Michigan, 1958 "Social Consequences of Technological Unemployment"

Allan Feldt, BS, AM Michigan, 1954, 1958 "Effective Community Size and Social Structure"

Irwin Goldberg, BS City College of New York, 1951, AM Michigan, 1952 "Democracy in Detroit"

Adam Haber, AB, AM Washington, 1953, 1954. "Social Structure and Political Behavior: A Comparative Analysis of West German and American Data"

Jack Ladinsky, BS in Ed, AM Mississippi, 1954, 1957 "The Minority Lawyer: A Study of Religious and Occupational Subcultures"

John Leggett, AB, AM in Pol Sci, AM in Soc Michigan, 1954, 1956 1958 "Working-Class Consciousness in an Industrial Community"

Anthony Lenzer, AB Antioch College, 1952 "Mental Health in Old Age"

Pope Mohring Diploma, Superior School of Agriculture, Athens, Greece "The Family Organization of Greek-Americans"

Paul Mott, BS Purdue 1952 AM Michigan 1955 "Sources of Adaptation and Flexibility in Large Organizations"

Hanswell Pope AB, AM Chicago, 1951, 1957 "Economic Deprivation and Social Integration among a Group of 'Middle-Class' Workers"

James Rundell, AB, AM Michigan, 1947, 1949 "Comparative Study of Sociological Participation among [illegible] Negroes with Particular Reference to Migratory Status"

Milton Rendler, AB Queens College, 1955 "A Case Study in Community Power"

David Reynolds, AB AM Michigan, 1955, [illegible] "Role Orientation of Physicians"

John Scott, AB Antioch, 1954 AM Michigan, [illegible] "Portrait of the Underdog"

Ruth Searles, AB Oberlin, 1951, AM Michigan, 1955 "The Relation between Community and Social Integration in the Community Hospital"

David Street, BS Illinois State Teachers College, 1957 AM Michigan, 1958 "Inmate Social Organization: A Comparative Study of Juvenile Correctional Institutions"

[illegible] Takeshita, AB Park College, 1951, AM Michigan 1952 "Socioeconomic Correlates of Urban [illegible]"

[illegible] BA [illegible], 1954 AM Michigan, [illegible] [illegible] Patterns and Informal Participation in Metropolitan Detroit"

[illegible] PhB AM Chicago, 1945, [illegible] "Religion and [illegible] in Industrial Society"

Harry Wheeler, BS in Ed Miami (Ohio), 1951, AM [illegible], 1954 "Invasion of White Residential Areas by Negroes and Its Relationship to Property Values: An Ecological Study"

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Gwen Andrew, PhB, MA Wisconsin, 1944, 1945 "Criteria for Systems Models and Their Application to a Sociological Theory of Organizations"

James A. Geschwender, B.A. New York State College, 1955; M.A. Michigan State, 1959. "Structural and Social-psychological Prerequisites for Proletarian Social Movements."

Victor Goldkind, B.S. George Washington State, 1949; M.A. Michigan State, 1959. Dissertation will be based on a study comparing Mexicans, Negroes, and Whites with respect to occupational history, rural-urban residence history, and acculturation within the institutional structure of Lansing, Michigan.

Harold Goldsmith, Ph.B., M A. Chicago, 1949, 1954. "A Study of Migration Expectations of Rural Youth."

Carle P. Graffunder, A.B Seattle Pacific College, 1950; M.A. Columbia, 1953. "The Changing Role of the Agricultural Agent."

James Harkness, B.A., M.A. Michigan State, 1951, 1953. "Hospital-Community Relations: A Sociological Analysis of Interlocking Social Systems."

William Jarrett, B.S., A.M. St. Louis, 1955, 1956. "Personal Consequences of the Stress on Achievement in American Society."

David Lewis, B A., M A. Maryland, 1954, 1956. "A Study of Levels of Aspiration and Occupational Evaluations of Japanese Youth."

Elizabeth Nall, B.A , M A. Michigan State, 1947, 1956. "Ideology and Social System Implications of the Feminist Movement."

Clinton Snyder, B S., M A. Michigan State, 1953, 1954. "Variations in Role and Status Expectations as Related to Personal Interaction."

Henry J. Watts, B A , M.A. Buffalo, 1957, 1960. "Social and Structural Correlates of Personality."

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Mary Adams, B A. South Dakota, 1946, M A Columbia Teachers College, 1952. "Adjustment to the Crisis of Illness in the Family."

Donald A. Hansen, B A., M.A. Minnesota, 1955, 1958. "Middle-Class Delinquents and Their Families: An Explanatory Study of the Impact of Adjudicated Delinquency."

Ronald Klietsch, B A , M.A Minnesota, 1956, 1958. "Decision-making in Dairy Farming: A Sociological Analysis."

Virgil Kroeger, B.S. South Dakota, 1940; M A. Minnesota, 1952. "A Study in the Classification of Delinquent Behavior."

Theodor J. Litman, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1954, 1956. "The Influence of the Concept of Self and Life-Orientation Factors upon the Rehabilitation of Orthopedic Patients."

MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

John E. Dunkelberger, B A. Franklin and Marshall, 1957; M S. Pennsylvania State, 1959. "Income and Occupational Levels of Families in Low-Income Rural Areas."

Joseph H. Bruening, B A., M.A. Florida, 1954, 1956. "Delineation of a Hospital Service Area."

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Donald Allen, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1939, 1940. "Analysis of Public Conversation."

Rex Randall Campbell, B.S , M.S. Missouri, 1952, 1959. "Attitudes and Values of Farm Operators as Related to the Adoption of Farm Practices into Rural Missouri Communities"

Haider A. Chaudhari, A.B. Forman Christian College (Pakistan), 1957; A M. Northeast State Teachers College, 1958. "Occupational and Geographical Distribution of the Graduates of the University of Missouri."

Vernon Edmond, M.A. Purdue, 1955. "Logical Errors as a Function of Group Pressure and Difficulties."

Charles Henderson, A.B. Vanderbilt, 1952; M A. George Peabody College for Teachers, 1953 "The Anglo-Indian Community."

James Lowe, B.S., M A. Missouri, 1939, 1940 "Vocational and Educational Aspirations of High-School Seniors."

John Mitchell, B.S., M A. Missouri, 1949, 1950. "Prison Social Structure."

H. Ellis Plyler, A.B Baldwin-Wallace College, 1939; B.D. Drew Theological Seminary, 1942; M A. Drew, 1950. "An Analysis of the Influence of Size of Membership and Location of Church on the Conception of the Occupational Role of the Methodist Minister in Missouri"

Marvin Riley, B S. Northwestern, 1942; M A. Missouri, 1950. "The Hutterites of South Dakota."

Ram Nandan Singh, B S. Patna, 1951; M S. Benares Hindu, 1953. "Factors Influencing Participation of Youth in 4 H and Future Farmer Organizations in United States and Its Basic Application to Extension Service in India"

Wallace Wells, M A. Drake. "Perception of Sex Roles by Husband and Wife."

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Laurence LeRoy Falk, A B. Indiana Central College, 1955; M A. Nebraska, 1960 "Role Conflict in the Occupation of the Ministry"

Audrey Forrest, A B. Omaha, 1947; M A. Fisk, 1951. "A Study of Negro Illegitimacy."

John H. Giele, B A., M A Colorado, 1949, 1953 "Recreation Theory: Model and Reality."

John M. Hunnicutt, A B. Hastings College, 1951; M.A. Nebraska, 1954 "Professional Image and Identification: A Study of Nursing."

E. Keith Jewitt, B S. Black Hills Teachers College, 1949; M.A. Wyoming, 1950 "The Preventive Effects of Arrest, Trial, and Institutionalization in Criminality."

Barry A. Kinsey, A B. Oklahoma State, 1953; M A. Nebraska, 1957. "A Study of Alcoholic Women."

THE NEW SCHOOL

Julian Aronson, B S S. City College of New York, 1928; M A. Cornell, 1929 "Sociological Aspects of Modern Secondary Education in the United States"

Abraham Becker, B.S Sc College of the City of New York; M A. New School, 1950 "The Garment Production Executive -The Institutionalization of Middle Management in the Apparel Industries: An Interpretation of Structure, Function, and Dysfunction."

John A. Becker, B B A. Upsala College, 1951; M A. New School, 1954 "The Seaman The Sociology of the American Merchant Seaman"

Benjamin Benari, B A, M S E. College of the City of New York, 1931, 1932 "A Sociological Study of Jewish Reconstruction"

Maurice C. Blanken, B A Brothers College, 1946, M A. Columbia Teachers College, 1948 "Methodist Social Action and Its Involvement in the American Liberal Movement, 1940-50"

August C. Blunck, B A, M A New York, 1919, 1920 "American Lutheranism and Democracy"

Victoria Cranford, B A, M A New School, 1953, 1956. "TV as a Socializing or Desocializing Influence on the Young"

Eugene J Czukor, A B Oskaloosa College, 1919, M A. National College, 1932. "The Suicidal Child A Sociological Study"

Robert A Deutsch, B S Long Island, 1947 "The Ecological Aspects of Civilian Defense in the Atomic Age."

Michel DiLiscia, B A Brooklyn College, 1955 "The Sephardic Jews in Rhodes and New York City Patterns of Acculturation"

Margaret W Giovanelli, B A Indiana State Teachers College, 1935, M A. Illinois, 1937 "Montaigne. Moral Aestheticism"

Abraham Kampf, B S New York, 1951, M A New School, 1953 "Jewish Artists in Paris A Contribution to the Category of the Stranger"

Mathias B Lynaugh, M A Columbia Teachers College, 1934 "Development and Application of Human Relations in Industry under the Impact of Elton Mayo and His School"

Charles Alfred Moore, B A Dillard, 1951, Stockholm, 1955 56. "Social Mobility in Sweden A Study of Occupational Mobility between Generations."

Subash Mukerjee, City of London College, 1952, M A. New School, 1956, Bangabasi College (Calcutta), 1958. "India's Joint Family System."

Erwin Muller, Abitur, Realgymnasium, 1927, Theological Seminary, 1941 "The Protestant Church in Germany during 1933-45"

Leo Rattner, B A. Denver, 1951 "The S S -A Sociopsychological Study of a Political Organization."

Leon J. Rosenthal, B.S. Cornell, 1915; L L B New Jersey Law School, 1923; M.B A. Rutgers, 1955. "Insurance Services by Trade and Professional Associations to Their Members"

Aeta Salba, A B. Hunter College, 1928 "Titus Oates: Times of Betrayal"

Henry Seligson, B S. College of the City of New York, 1943; M A Columbia Teachers College, 1949. "A Survey of Occupational Interest in Young Students, with Reference to Social Variables"

Lillian S. Shapiro, B A Radcliffe College, 1934; M S S. Smith College School of Social Work, 1936 "Changing Theories in Child Care and Their Relation to the American Family since 1800"

Philip A Slaner, B A. College of the City of New York, 1932, M A Columbia, 1934 "The Protestant Ethic in America The New England Period."

Bernard Sobel, B A Brooklyn College, 1955, M A New School, 1956 "Hebrew Christianity"

Chalmers K Stewart, A B, M A Akron, 1932, 1933. "The Independent Socialist League: A Sociological Analysis"

Esther Tauber, A B Missouri, 1932, M S S New School "Personality Changes in the Process of Acculturation and National Integration in Israel"

Margot Haas Wormser, B A Elmira College, 1934. "Community Studies on Anti-Semitism

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Harold Alksne, A B, A M New York, 1952, 1953 "Prevalence of Alcoholism and Its Epidemiology"

Rev. Paul Kwang Yi Chao, A B St Benedict's, 1951, M A St Louis, 1955, "The Changing Institution of the Family in Communist China"

Hyman A Enzer, B A Union College, 1938, A M New York, 1955 "Artistic Commitment. A Study of the Careers of Recent American Novelists"

Irving Peter Gellman, A B, A M New York, 1951, 1956 "Alcoholics Anonymous A Voluntary Association of Social Deviants"

Gerald Gordon, A B, A M New York, 1954, 1955 "A Delineation of the Sick Role"

Wyatt C. Jones, A B Birmingham-Southern, 1941; A M New York 1955 "Correlates of Social Deviance A Study of the Unmarried Mother"

Eugeniusz Kleban, Diploma E E Mil Technical College (Poland) 1951, A M New York, 1955 "Unique Structures A Conceptual Contribution to the Analysis of Social Change within the Framework of Structural Functional Theory"

Arthur Niederhoffer, B A, LL B, M A Brooklyn College, 1937, 1939, 1956. "The Mobile Force A Study of Police Professionalization."

Jonathan Robbin, A.B. Harvard, 1952; A.M. Columbia, 1955. "Congruency of Role Specifications and Personality Characteristics."

Edward Rothstein, B.E. Teachers College (Connecticut), 1938; M.Ed. New Hampshire, 1940. "An Analysis of Status Images as Perception Variables between Delinquent and Non-delinquent Boys."

Jacob Sodden, A.B. Brooklyn College; A.M. New York, 1943. "The Impact of Suburbanization on the Synagogue."

James Edward Teele, B.A. Virginia Union, 1949; A.M. New York, 1958. "Correlates of Social Isolation among the Relatives of Former Mental Patients."

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Alfred Dean, A.B. Connecticut, 1955; M.A. North Carolina, 1958. "Paths to an Alcoholic Rehabilitation Center: A Sociological Analysis of the Hospitalization Process."

Glen H. Elder, Jr., B.S. Pennsylvania State, 1957; M.A. Kent State, 1958 "Child-rearing: A Social System in Process"

Thomas Lee Gillette, A.B. Missouri, 1952; M.A. Kansas, 1954. "Toward a Miniature Theory and Verificational Study of the Relationship between Interpersonal Competence and Marital Adjustment."

Paul Harold Glasser, A.B. College of the City of New York, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951 "Changes in Family Organization as a Result of Psychotherapy."

David Almon Gover, A.B., M.A. Michigan, 1947, 1951. "Employment as a Variable in the Marital Adjustment of Middle- and Lower-Class Wives."

William Hart Gulley, A.B., M.A. North Carolina, 1947, 1957. "Relative Effectiveness of Negro and White Voluntary Associations"

Albert Corbin Higgins, B.S., M.A. Fordham, 1952, 1956. "Sociometric Relations in a Housing Community."

Berton H. Kaplan, B.S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1951; M.S. North Carolina, 1952. "Social Change and Illness in a Mountain Community."

Fred E. Katz, A.B. Guilford College, 1952; M.A. North Carolina, 1956 "The Profession of Pathology."

Myron H Levenson, A.B., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1949, 1957. "Sociocultural Change and Institutional Adaptation: A Health-relevant Approach to Community Analysis"

David R. Norsworthy, A.B. Louisiana State, 1954; M.A. North Carolina, 1959. "Occupational Mobility and Migration in a North Carolina Piedmont City."

Robert Morris Rennick, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1954, 1958. "The Practice of Name-changing among Americans of European Descent."

William A. Rushing, A.B., M.A. Colorado, 1956, 1958. "Organizational Power and Authority Relations: A Case Study of the Mental-Health Professions."

Mark Cushman Thelin, A.B., M.A. Oberlin, 1955, 1958. "Personal Characteristics and Community Involvement: A Sociological Analysis of Top Business Executives in Four North Carolina Cities."

Jean Harmon Thrasher, A.B. Drake, 1956; M.A. North Carolina, 1959. "The Role Set and Socialization of the Psychiatric Patient"

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Troy S. Duster, B.S.J. Northwestern, 1957; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1959 "Social Responses to Abnormality."

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Jack Duane Angus, B.A., M.A. Notre Dame, 1952, 1953. "An Analysis of Selected Aspects of the Social Situation of Aged Catholics in the South Bend, Indiana, Deanery."

Thomas M Coffee, B.A. St Benedict, 1952, M.A. Emory, 1955 "Propinquity in Marriage in a Midwestern City."

Sr. M. Brigid Fitzpatrick, CSJ, B.A. Mount St Mary's, 1947; M.S.W. Catholic, 1949 "The Sister Social Worker An Integration of Two Professional Roles."

Rev Philip A Hamilton, B.A. Creighton, 1940, S.T.L. Catholic, 1944; M.A. Notre Dame, 1958 "Variations in Religious Role Perceptions and Role Behavior and Certain Social Variables"

Richard F. Larson, A.B. Seattle, 1957, M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1958 "An Analysis of Selected Health Values, Practices, and Knowledge Related to Social Class"

John J. Lennon, A.B. John Carroll, 1948, M.A. Catholic, 1951. "An Analysis of the Family Patterns of Selected Puerto Rican Families in a Selected Area of Chicago, Illinois"

Sylvester P. Theisen, B.A. St. John's, M.S.E., M.A. Notre Dame "A Survey and Sociological Analysis of Catholics Aged 65 and Over in the Deanery of Fort Wayne, Indiana."

Robert H Vasoli, B.A. LaSalle College, 1952, M.A. Notre Dame, 1956 "A Probation Prediction Scale"

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Walter Vladimir Babics, A.B., M.A. Kent State, 1956, 1957. "Assimilation of the Yugoslavs in Franklin County"

John Herman Behling, B.Sc., M.S.W. Ohio State, 1954, 1957. "An Experimental Study To Measure the Effectiveness of Casework Services"

Richard Hammond Hall, A.B. Denison, 1956; M.A. Ohio State, 1958 "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic Dimensions and Their Relation to Other Organizational Characteristics."

Barbara Ann Kay, B Sc., M.A. Ohio State, 1955, 1956. "Differential Self-Perceptions of Female Offenders."

Jon Eaton Simpson, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1954; M A. Ohio State, 1958. "Selected Aspects of Institutionalization as Perceived by the Juvenile Offender."

Thomas William Webb, A B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1947; M A. Michigan, 1952. "Development of an Instrument for Measuring Teachers' Beliefs about Educational Issues."

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

John G Curry, B A, M A Colorado, 1946, 1951. "Variations in Role Consensus among Parents in Regard to Child-rearing"

Peter A. Johnson, B A. Stanford, 1950; M A Minnesota, 1951. "The Sociology of Existentialism."

Samuel Johnson, B A. San Diego State College, 1954. "Sociological Analysis of Business Organization."

Robert Leonard, B A Washington, 1956, M A California (Berkeley), 1958. "Group Process and Leadership Behavior"

James M. Rollins, B A, M A Los Angeles State College, 1952, 1955 "Family Authority Patterns. A Parsonian Small-Group Analysis"

Anita Yourglich, B S Seattle College, 1945, M A St Louis, 1948 "A Study of Role Consensus in the Family System."

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Menachem Amir, M A Hebrew (Jerusalem), 1956 "Patterns of Rape and the Female Victim"

Thomas E Dow, A B. Hunter College, 1955, M A Pennsylvania, 1960. "Effect of Class Position on Reaction to Disability"

A Stafford Metz, B A. Swarthmore, 1950, M A Tufts, 1953. "Delineation and Measurement of Dimensions of Marital Interpersonal Relations"

Martin Oppenheimer, B S Temple, 1952, M A Columbia, 1953. "The Sit-in Movement A Study in Contemporary Negro Protest"

Solomon Poll, B S Temple, 1955; M A Pennsylvania, 1957 "The Economic Organization of a Religious Community"

Richard Sterne, B A Swarthmore, 1942, M A Duke, 1947. "Relationship between Type of Broken Home and Juvenile Delinquency"

William Ward, B A. Muhlenberg College, 1941, B D Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), 1945. "An Analysis of Relationships between Change of Residence and Church Membership in an Area of West Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (with Attention to Factors Associated with Residential Moves and Variations in Type and Intensity of Participation in Congregational Life)."

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

Joseph Edward Faulkner, B A, M A. Emory, 1949, 1956 "Differential Participation in Religious Organizations on the Part of Labor-Union Members."

Richard Hilbert, B A New Mexico, 1951. "Deferred Gratification Patterns among High-School Students of Reading, Pennsylvania."

George William Lowis, B S Colorado State, 1953; M A New York, 1958 "Social Class and Home Accidents."

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Chester A. Jurczak, A B St Mary's College, 1940; M A. Fordham, 1943 "The Impact of Ethnicity on the Use of Medical Service by the Polonia"

M Ruth McIntyre, A B Seattle Pacific College, 1947; M A Pittsburgh, 1948 "Homewood-Brushton Area of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Theory."

John S. Zawacki, B S, M A Purdue, 1951 1953 "The Unofficial Rule System of a Public Bureaucracy"

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Bernard Beck, A B Brooklyn College, 1958, M A Princeton, 1960 "Comparative Religions of Societies under Extreme Environmental Limits"

Thomas Burch, A B Loyola, 1956, M A Princeton, 1959 "Internal Migration in Venezuela"

Henry Cusch, B A California, 1952, M A Chicago, 1958 "Anti-Semitism in the United States"

David Chaplin, B A Amherst, 1955, M A Princeton, 1957 "The Recruitment of the Industrial (Entrepreneurial) Elite in the Industrialization of Peru"

Rodney Kay Nicolas Crook, B A Leeds, 1958, M A Princeton, 1960 "Role Differentiation and the Process of Interaction in a Mental-Hospital Ward A Sociological Investigation"

Jack Douglas, A B Harvard, 1955, M A Princeton, 1959 "A Psychosocial Model for Suicide"

Herbert Gerberg, B A Brandeis, M A Princeton, 1954 "Stratification among Primitive Peoples"

George H Gardner, B A, M A Princeton, 1951, 1955 "Role Tensions and Disturbance in Modern Egypt"

Kermit Gatten, B A Marietta College, 1955, M A Princeton, 1958 "Reaction Formation and Youth-Culture Participation A Study of about 250 High School Students"

Samir G Khalaf, B A M A American (Beirut), 1955, 1957 "Labor Resources and Industrial Development in Lebanon"

Arthur Shostak, B S Cornell, 1958, M A Princeton, 1960 "The Role and Viability of the Single-Firm Unaffiliated Union"

James R. Shuster, A.B. Haverford College, 1956; M.A. Princeton, 1959. "Organizational Developments in Morocco."

Keith C. Simpson, B.A., M.P.A. Princeton, 1952, 1958; M.A. Yale, 1956. "The Conduct of Research in a National Laboratory."

Charles P. Wolf, A.B. North Carolina, 1955; M.A. Princeton, 1960. "System Concept in Sociological Analysis."

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Abdel Hassan, B.A., M.A. Alexandria (Egypt), 1950, 1956. "Social Interaction between Foreign Students and Americans."

Margaret Jacobson, B.S. Minnesota, 1947; M.S. Cornell, 1956. "The Meaning of Heart Disease in the Husband and the Family."

Ephraim Mizruchi, B.A. Roosevelt, 1951; M.S. Purdue, 1953; M.A. Yale, 1955. Social Structure, Social Participation, and Anomia in a Small City."

Robert Perrucci, B.S. State University of New York, 1958; M.S. Purdue, 1959 "Mental Hospital as a Social System."

Stanley Shane Robins, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1955, 1957. "A Comparison of Male-Female Student Roles in Engineering."

Eugene V. Smith, B.A. DePauw, 1951; M.S. Trinity, 1954. "Content Analysis of Middle-Class Women's Fiction from 1901–60 as Indicative of Changing Cultural Values Related to Middle-Class Birth Rates."

Theodore Tannenbaum, A.B., A.M. Brooklyn College, 1958, 1959. "Intergenerational Role Variation: A Study in Social Changes."

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

Francesca Cancian, A.B. Reed College, 1958. "A Method for Studying Family Interaction."

Janet L. Giele, A.B. Earlham College, 1956; A.M. Radcliffe, 1958. "The Social Movement as Preservation of Ego Integrity."

Sister Marie Augusta (Neal), A.B. Emmanuel College, 1942. "Communication Analysis: Interplay of Values and Interest in Stable and Changing Situations."

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Elsie Viola King, A.B. California (Los Angeles) 1948; A.M. Los Angeles State College, 1956 "Personality Perceptions—Ideal and Perceived in Relation to Mate Selection."

Dorothy Slade Williams, A.B. Livingstone College, 1944; M.A. Atlanta, 1946. "Ecology of Negro Communities in Los Angeles County: 1940–59."

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Edward J. Glass, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1946, 1952. "The Relationship between Conduct Norm Violations and Group Characteristics."

Joseph M. Nguyen-Hieu Hoc, B.A. St. Paul's Seminary (Vietnam), 1941; M.A. Catholic, 1952. "System of Controlled Decentralization of the Catholic Church."

Robert P. von der Lippe, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1953, 1958. "Changing Values and Attitudes of the Student-Physician."

Virginia L. Olesen, B.A. Nevada, 1947; A.M. Chicago, 1956. "Sex Role Definitions among College Undergraduates."

Judith Ulbricht Porta, A.B. Washington, 1957; M.A. Stanford, 1959. "Conformity and Deviance in Child rearing Practices and Attitudes in Two Student Housing Projects."

Irving Tallman, A.B. California, 1948; M.S.W. Wayne State, 1950. "The Role of Parents' Value Orientations as a Factor in Children's Delinquency."

Leslie Carleton Waldo, A.B. California, 1949; M.S.W. California, 1952. "Pediatrics and Child Psychiatry; A Study in Professional Relationships."

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Donald F. Allen, A.B. North Texas State College, 1951; M.A. Texas, 1956. "Changes in the Role of the American Professor."

Beau Stanley Bittinger, A.B. Manchester College, 1950; M.A. Notre Dame, 1951. "A Study of Directed Social Change in Health and Welfare Facilities in an Urban Community."

Robert Cletus Brady, A.B. St. Mary's, 1956, M.A. Texas, 1957. "Sociological Theories of Talcott Parsons."

Norval Dwight Glenn, A.B. New Mexico, 1954; M.A. Texas Technological College, 1957 "Social Mobility of the American Negro"

Hillquit Lynch, B.S., M.S. Houston, 1946, 1947 "The Romantic Complex and the Adolescent"

Paul Harry Vossick, A.B. Kent State, 1953; M.A. Bowling Green State, 1954 "Religious Affiliations in a Selected Urban Upper Socioeconomic Group"

Sidney M. Willhelm, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1957, 1957. "The Implications of Zoning Data for Ecological Theory."

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

E. D. Wangenheim, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1952, 1956. "Varying Degrees of Social Integration in Classrooms."

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Bill Jack Harrell, B.A. North Texas State College, 1955. "The Legal Profession and the Power Structure."

David Hale Malone, B.A., M.A. Tulane, 1952, 1958. "Individual Scope in the Occupational Images of Trainees: Medical and Nursing Professions."

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

James M. Baker, B.S. Wayne, 1953; M.S. Brigham Young, 1957. "The Relationship between Social Stress and Medical Health."

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Paul Geisel, B.A. Willamette, 1956; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1958. "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Achievement among Youth in a Southern City."

Donal E. Muir, M.A. Marshall College, 1957. "Norms of Social Obligation."

James Sartain, B.A. Troy State Teachers College, 1947; M.A. George Peabody College for Teachers, 1948. "Intergenerational Attitudes toward Desegregation."

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Wallace Dynes, A.B., M.A. Florida State, 1952, 1954. "A Proposed Explication of the Traditional Use of the Concept Norm."

Stuart Johnson, A.B. San Diego State College, 1949; M.A. New Mexico, 1955. "Issue Perception and Decision-making among Religious Leaders."

William Larson, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1955, 1958. "Group Structure and the Acceptance of Change."

Richard Meile, A.B. Illinois State Normal, 1954, M.A. Nebraska, 1956. "The Performance and Adjustment of Law Students in Two Law Schools to the First Year of Law School."

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Denez Gulyas, B.A., M.A. Kent State, 1951, 1956. "Community Differences in Work Patterns and Schizophrenia."

Rudolf A. Helling, B.A. Wayne, 1952, M.A. Wilhelmshaven-Ruestersteil, 1953. "The Work Adjustment of German Immigrants in Toronto and Detroit: A Comparison."

Richard Kolm, B.A., M.A. Springfield College, 1950, 1952. "Value Changes of Immigrants as a Function of Primary Interaction with Indigenous Residents of the New Social Environment."

Robert B. Smock, B.A. Adrian College, 1946, M.A. Wayne State, 1953. "The Sociology of Consumer Credit: An Analysis of Some Social Causes and Consequences of Middle-Class Indebtedness."

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Eleanor K. Caplan, A.B., M.A. Western Reserve, 1955, 1958. "Attitude and Behavior in a Middle-Class Biracial Neighborhood: A Situational Approach to Prediction."

Alan J. Crain, B.A. College of Wooster, 1955; M.A. Western Reserve, 1959. "Mother-Child Interaction and Medical Control in the Diabetic Child."

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Kenneth Walter Eckhardt, B.A. Beloit College, 1955, M.S. Wisconsin, 1960. "Social Conflict and Organized Crime."

Don Francis Heisel, B.A. Chicago, 1952; M.A. Wisconsin, 1960. "Comparative Nuptiality Patterns."

Leonard Paul Metzger, B.A. Swarthmore College, 1954, M.S. Oregon, 1957. "Social Mobility and Professional Orientation."

Denton Edward Morrison, B.S., M.S. South Dakota State College, 1954, 1958. "An Attempt to Measure *n* Achievement with Sentence-Completion Items."

Earl Richard Quinney, B.S. Carroll College, 1956; M.A. Northwestern, 1957. "The Treatment of Religion in American Sociology: A Sociology of Science Study."

Walter Thomas Shea, B.A. Morris Harvey College, 1951, M.S. Wisconsin, 1954. "Aspects of Social Change in a Primarily Proverbial Society."

Austin Theodore Turk, B.A. Georgia, 1956; M.A. Kentucky, 1959. "Urbanism, Attitudes, and Police Contact with Juveniles."

YALE UNIVERSITY

Lee L. Bean, B.A., M.A. Utah, 1957, 1958. "The Changing Character of Urban Residential Areas, 1940–50."

John Brehn, B.A., M.A. Nebraska, 1956, 1958. "A Study of the Mentally Ill Sick Role and Therapy Outcome."

Hyman Burshtyn, B.A., M.A. McGill, 1955, 1959. "Social Setting and Responses to Illness."

Judith N. Cates, B.A. Minnesota, 1953, M.A. Yale, 1957. "Role Perception among Mental-Hospital Personnel."

Janice Egeland, B.A., M.A. Penn College for Women, 1957, 1959. "Behavior and Belief as Related to Sickness among Pennsylvania Amish."

Charles Frederick Jones, B.A. Princeton, 1938, M.S. Yale, 1953. "Social Behavior and Attitudes among the Minnesota Chippewa: A Study of Differential Acculturation."

Lionel Lewis, B.A. Washington, 1957, M.A. Cornell, 1958. "A Study of Error in Medical Care."

Eugene Canfield Royster, B.A. Antioch College, 1953, M.A. Yale, 1957. "Interactional Pattern of Children by Age, Race, and Sex."

NEWS AND NOTES

Erratum.—The *Journal* regrets an error in the article on "Tarde's *Psychologie économique,*" by EVERETT C. HUGHES, in the May issue (p. 554, n. 2). Scipio Sighele's *The Psychology of Sects* is attributed to a fictitious Tarde, who appears to have been named after Sighele!

American Association of University Women.—The Educational Foundation announces its fellowships for American Women in 1962–63. There will be one of $5,000; four of $4,000; ten of $3,000; and twenty-five of $2,000 to $2,500. All are open to American women who hold the doctorate, or who will have fulfilled all requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation by the time the fellowship year begins, or who have attained professional recognition unrestricted as to age or field. The fellowships may be used abroad or in the United States.

Requests for applications should indicate present academic status. Apply to Fellowships Office, AAUW Educational Foundation, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington 7, D.C. For information also about international fellowships and awards offered for women of other countries write to the above address.

Bates College.—Peter P. Jonitis has been awarded a National Science Foundation grant to study anthropology at the Summer Institute of the University of Colorado.

Bay Area Forum for Social Science Studies in the Health Fields.—In March, 1961, the Bay Area Forum was organized for the purpose of providing a common meeting point for social scientists engaged in research in the health fields. A series of informal monthly meetings is planned. Sponsors of the forum are John A. Clausen, Andie L. Knutson, Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal, Anselm L. Strauss, and Edmund H. Volkart.

Inquiries should be addressed to the acting chairman, Fred Davis, School of Nursing, University of California Medical Center, San Francisco 22, California.

Bombay Sociologists.—Under the leadership of Professor G. S. Ghurye, Professor Emeritus of Sociology of the University of Bombay, the organization called "Bombay Sociologists" has been established. The inaugural meeting, held in March of this year, was addressed by the Governor of Bombay. Its purpose is to bring together qualified social scientists and students of social problems for discussion, lectures, and seminars and for effecting the publication of appropriate material. The first president is Dr. J. F. Bulsara. Vice-presidents are Professor J. V. Ferreira and S. G. Bhatkal; honorary secretaries are B. R. Agarwala and Miss M. B. Fonseca; treasurer is Dr. D. N. Kale; and the members of the managing committee are Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Dr. M. J. Sethna, Dr. K. C. Vyas, Dr. M Piramal, and Professor S. S. Hoodha.

Boston University.—Meyer F. Nimkoff will be a visiting professor for the first semester of the next academic year. Dr. Nimkoff is at present serving as chairman of the Department of Sociology at Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

Brandeis University.—In the fall of 1961, with the beginning of the graduate program in sociology leading to the M.A. and Ph.D degrees, Everett Cherrington Hughes of the University of Chicago will join the department as professor of sociology, and Philip E. Slater of Harvard University as assistant professor. Professor Hughes will offer undergraduate and graduate work in racial and cultural contacts in social institutions; Professor Slater, in social psychology, the family, and group process. Other members of the department are Professor Kurt H. Wolff, chairman, (sociology of knowledge, history of sociological theory), Professor Lewis A. Coser, who will offer courses and seminars in bureaucracy and contemporary sociological theory, Assistant Professor Robert A. Feldmesser (education, stratification, social structure of the Soviet Union), Professor Morris S. Schwartz (social psychology, applied sociology), Associate Professor Maurice R. Stein (sociology of literature, social psychiatry, American communities), and Assistant Professor Robert S. Weiss (occupations, analysis and organization of data, survey methods).

Lewis Coser is spending the current semester at the Institute for Social Research, Oslo, under a Fulbright Senior Research grant. He has lectured at the universities of Oslo and Bergen in Norway, at the universities of Uppsala and Stockholm in Sweden, at the University of Helsinki, the Social Science Institute in Tampere, Finland, the universities of Frankfurt, Germany, Manchester, England, and at the Sorbonne, Paris. During July he will lecture at the Freie Universitaet, Berlin.

Robert Feldmesser has been director for the past year of a program to develop a secondary-school course in sociology, anthropology, and psychology, under the sponsorship of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education.

During the second semester 1960–61 Lawrence K Frank offered courses on the problems and requirements of a unified social science and on the assumptions and concepts of social order. He is preparing a report for the Commission on Outdoor Recreation Review, and serving as a member of the A A A S Committee on Science and the Promotion of Human Welfare His latest book, entitled *The Conduct of Sex* (New York: William Morrow & Co, 1961), deals with the biology and ethics of sex, marriage, and parenthood

Suzanne Keller, on leave this year to pursue her work on the theory of elites, has resigned to continue her research and teaching in New York City.

Morris S. Schwartz is on leave this year at Stanford University.

Edward T. Sherwood (Ph D, Chicago, 1961) is teaching courses this year on social psychology, the family, intergroup tensions and prejudice, and applied sociology.

Maurice Stein is sociological consultant to the South End Family Project of the Boston University Medical School, and is finishing a book on social theory.

Emile Durkheim, 1858 1917: A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography, edited by Kurt H. Wolff, was published by the Ohio State University Press (1960) It is a companion to the commemorative volume on Georg Simmel (1959).

Alvin D. Zalinger from Boston University, who taught during the fall term, is continuing his research on reactions of Africans to periods of study in the United States. He will be working in Britain until the end of June, then in Nigeria, on a Ford Foundation Grant.

University of Bridgeport—Joseph S. Roucek, chairman of the Departments of Political Science and Sociology has been made the American editor of *Il Politico* (University of Pavia, Italy); the *Journal of Education* (D. Alagappa Chettiar Training College, Karaikudis 3, India); the *V O C. Journal of Education* (Teachers College, Chaidambaranagar, Turicorin, S. India); and the *Journal of Social Research* (J V. College, District Meeriut, U P, India). He will be glad to hear from those willing to submit manuscripts in comparative politics and comparative education.

Catholic University of America—C. Joseph Nuesse has announced his resignation as dean of the School of Social Science effective August 31, 1961 After sabbatical leave during the first semester of 1961–62 he will return to his duties as associate professor of sociology.

University of Chicago—Everett C Hughes has been elected president-elect of the American Sociological Association and will take office as its fiftieth president in September, 1962. He is the tenth member of the department to hold this office Professor Hughes will join the staff of Brandeis University beginning with the fall semester He came to the University of Chicago from McGill University in 1938 He was chairman of the department from 1952 to 1956, and Editor of this *Journal* from 1952 to 1960

Leo A. Goodman will return to his post in the fall as professor of statistics and sociology after having spent 1959–60 at Cambridge University and the London School of Economics and Political Science, and 1960–61 at Columbia University where he was visiting professor of mathematical statistics and sociology In collaboration with Duncan MacRae, Jack Sawyer, and Harrison White, he will continue to expand the departmental program in mathematical sociology This program of teaching and research includes three major areas development of mathematical models multivariate statistical analysis, and development of new methods of measurement for specific substantive areas, such as political sociology, social mobility, formal organization social psychology, ecology, criminology, prediction instruments, and panel studies. This teaching and research program is

integrated with the established programs of quantitative inquiry at the Population Research and Training Center and the National Opinion Research Center. Students have an opportunity to participate in related research projects and to acquire experience utilizing electronic computers.

Morris Janowitz, formerly of the University of Michigan, has joined the department as professor of sociology. During the coming academic year he will serve as visiting research professor in the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, where he will be engaged in research on theories of social organization. He will also be a member of the recently formed Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations, under the chairmanship of Edward A. Shils, and in this capacity he has recently visited Africa with other members of the Committee.

Arthur L. Stinchcombe, of The Johns Hopkins University, will be visiting professor for the academic year 1961-62.

Seymour Warkov has joined the department as assistant professor. In addition to continuing his interest in medical sociology and social organization, Mr. Warkov will assume primary responsibility for a survey of scientific and technical occupations being conducted by the National Opinion Research Center for the National Science Foundation.

John W. C. Johnstone, former director of Audience Research Division, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, joined the department as assistant professor and assumed special duties at the National Opinion Research Center with regard to research on mass media and popular culture.

The 38th Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research was held May 19–20, 1961. Morris Janowitz was guest speaker. Besides the scheduled paper sessions, a panel discussion on urban research was conducted by Donald J. Bogue, Otis Dudley Duncan, Peter H. Rossi, and Fred L. Strodtbeck, all of the University of Chicago. The discussion was preceded by a talk by Ernest W. Burgess.

University of Illinois.—Kern Dickman, research associate of the University's Digital Computer Laboratory, will offer a course on computer applications to sociology.

Mark Field, on leave of absence this year, begins his work in the Department of Sociology and the Center for Russian Language and Area Studies in September of 1961.

Norval Glenn, of the University of Texas, joins the staff as instructor in sociology.

Guenther Roth will be visiting assistant professor of sociology at Columbia University for the academic year 1961–62.

Indiana University—Karl F. Schuessler, a member of the sociology faculty since 1940, was appointed chairman of the department in March. He has served as acting chairman for the past year since John H. Mueller, chairman from 1954 to 1960, retired from administrative duties. Professors Mueller and Schuessler have coauthored *Statistical Reasoning in Sociology*, to be published this year.

Clifford Kirkpatrick has been elected a full member of the American Association of Marriage Counselors.

Alfred R. Lindesmith edited and also wrote an introduction for the book, *Drug Addiction—Crime or Disease, Interim and Final Reports of the Joint Committee of the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association on Narcotic Drugs*, published in April.

Delbert C. Miller was appointed membership chairman of the Sociological Research Association for 1961.

Albert K. Cohen, who has been visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, during 1960-61, will be a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, in 1961–62.

Melvin DeFleur served as a participant and consultant for an I.C.A. Seminar held in March for foreign trainees who have completed various technical training programs in the U.S. and are returning to their home countries.

George Psathas has been awarded a post-doctoral fellowship in the Harvard Training Program for Social Scientists in Medicine for 1961 62.

Sabbatical leaves have been awarded to Alfred R. Lindesmith for the fall semester of 1961, and to John Liell, who will do a restudy of the Community of Levittown, New York, during the spring semester of 1962.

Teaching associates in the department during the current academic year have been William Chambliss, Stuart Hills, Lee Neiman, and Grafton Trout.

Institut de Sociologie Solvay.—The Institute has established a South East Asia Center at the Free University of Brussels. The new center will

focus upon current problems of India, Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Melanesia, and Indonesia. It will contain a special library of appropriate books and periodicals; will undertake sociological, political and economic research, including market studies of interest to Belgian industry and export; and will organize language courses for diplomats, businessmen, and others, as well as a series of conferences presenting relevant information.

The Institute was inaugurated last February

International Population Conference held by the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population—The biennial meeting will be held at Loeb Student Center, New York University, September 11–16, 1961. The Population Association of America will serve as host organization. Sessions will be devoted to the consideration of factors affecting fertility in industrialized countries and in pre-industrialized countries; the status of research on mortality, with emphasis on biological and medical aspects; migration; the relationship between population and economic and social development, new methods of obtaining vital statistics in underdeveloped countries; the state of knowledge about eighteenth-century populations, mathematical models and the use of electronic computation; marriage, divorce, and widowhood; and families and households.

Grants in support of the conference have been received by the Population Association from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Science Foundation, especially for travel subventions to participants from countries other than the United States and Canada

For additional information apply to the chairman of the local arrangements committee, Clyde V Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall Street, New York 5, New York, or to Marcel Croze, Union Internationale pour L'Étude Scientifique de la Population, 29 Quai Branly, Paris 7^e, France

The Johns Hopkins University—Shirley A Star has accepted an appointment as associate professor of public health administration in the Division of Mental Hygiene, at The Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health.

University of Kansas--Jackson Bauer, professor of sociology, has received a Fulbright award which will take him for a year to the University of Amsterdam. Professor Bauer, who will leave with his family for Europe in August, will teach at the Institute for Social Psychology of the Municipal Amsterdam University, lecturing on community organization, research methods, and juvenile delinquency

Langston University--William Henry Hale (Ph D in sociology Chicago) professor of sociology at Morehouse College, Atlanta, was installed as president of the University on April 23 Everett C Hughes, of the University of Chicago, and Helen MacGill Hughes, of the *American Journal of Sociology*, participated in the ceremonies.

London School of Economics--The Gold Medal of the British Market Research Society has been awarded to William Belson, research fellow in survey psychology The award was for contributions to the techniques of market research in the course of the past year. Dr. Belson recently visited market and social research centers in Australia and America, lecturing and studying organization

Louisiana State University--The School of Social Welfare held a workshop on "The Delinquent and the School" June 19–20 The focus of this workshop was on the role of visiting teacher and classroom teacher in early detection, prevention and treatment of the pre-delinquent or behavior-problem child The place of the visiting teacher in the community program of social services and the need for the visiting teacher to know the community's resources and to refer children appropriately was discussed This workshop was co-sponsored by the Louisiana Department of Education and the Louisiana Youth Commission

McMaster University--Frank E Jones will spend the academic year 1961–62 at the Australian National University in Canberra as visiting fellow in sociology On his return trip, via Europe, he will visit mental institutions in several countries gathering comparative material for his study on the social organization of mental hospital wards.

Frank Vallee continues with his research among the Canadian Eskimo and has completed

a monograph on the Caribou Eskimo of the Central Keewatin published by the Department of Northern Affairs in May, 1961.

"Sexual Adjustment, Marital Adjustment, and Personal Growth of Husbands: A Panel Analysis," by Robert A. Dentler and Peter C. Pineo (McMaster University) has been nominated by the Burgess Award Committee for the Ernest W. Burgess award for the best research article on the family published in 1959 or 1960.

Two new members have been added to the staff of the department: Frances Mischel-Henry, Ph.D. (Ohio State), and Rodney Crook, A.M. (Princeton).

Northwestern University.—The first Chair of African Studies with Melville J. Herskovits as the first incumbent was established in mid-March. The Chair, the first of its kind in the United States, was made possible by the grant of $1.3 million from the Ford Foundation. Dr. Herskovits, professor of anthropology, and on the Northwestern faculty since 1927, is director of the university's Program of African Studies, established in 1947.

Pennsylvania State University.—Laura Thompson, of North Carolina State College, was Distinguished Visiting Professor of Anthropology in the spring semester.

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has just been approved by the Graduate School for granting Master of Arts degrees in anthropology. An undergraduate major in anthropology was approved two years ago.

A six-week field program in cultural anthropology at San Juan Teotehuacan last summer is being followed by a ten-week term there this summer from June 15 to August 24.

Jessie Bernard has returned to the campus after a year at Princeton University as visiting professor.

Purdue University.—The staff now includes: Professors Harold T. Christensen (head) and Gerald R. Leslie; Associate Professors James M. Beshers, Leonard Z. Breen, Dwight W. Culver, Edward Z. Dager, Robert L. Eichhorn and Walter Hirsch; Assistant Professors Robert Bain, Sidney Greenfield and Hanna Meissner; and Instructors Eugene Kanin, Philip Marcus, with Robert Perrucci, who will be added in September.

Werner Stark, who was Visiting Professor during the first semester of 1960-61, has returned to the University of Manchester in England.

James Beshers has been granted a leave of absence for 1961-62 to serve as visiting associate professor at Johns Hopkins University.

Robert Eichhorn has received support from the National Institutes of Health for the continuation of the training program in the use of survey methods for studying problems of health. This program parallels the research activities of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project, jointly conducted by the Departments of Sociology and Agricultural Economics.

Robert Bain has received a summer grant from the Purdue Research Foundation to study the relationship between technology and social organizations.

Leonard Breen has received a research grant from the Indiana State Board of Health to study and make recommendations concerning the nursing homes of the state.

Harold Christensen has received a one-year grant from the Purdue Research Foundation to study mixed and non-mixed religious marriages in Indiana. During the summer the Purdue Research Foundation is subsidizing his research on marriage, birth, and divorce records in Utah. While in Utah, he will give courses at Brigham Young University on the sociology of the family.

Rutgers University.—John W. Riley, Jr., is on leave of absence as second vice-president and director of social research for the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

Simon Marcson, acting chairman, is on partial leave to the Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University.

Matilda White Riley, who is teaching methods of research in the department, is a staff associate at the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children.

C. F. Marden has returned from a three-year leave of absence as reconciliation master for the Superior Court of New Jersey. He is revising his text, *Minorities in American Society.*

Paul Massing has returned this year from a year's leave of absence in Germany and is completing his study of a German village.

Jackson Toby is on partial leave of absence this year as consultant to the Ford Foundation on juvenile delinquency.

Nathan Gould joined the department this year to give courses in anthropology. He is en-

gaged in directing research in health practices and community structure.

Solomon Poll is teaching in the department and doing research in the Greenfield Human Relations Center at the University of Pennsylvania.

Sociological Society of Greater Kansas City. – Officers of this newly organized body are: George Zollschan, president, Tom McPartland, Warren Peterson, Leon Warshay, and Wayne Wheeler.

The aim of the Society will be to provide a forum at which sociologists in the area and other social scientists with a serious interest in the problems of sociology may exchange ideas

University of Southern California.—Jon Simpson has been appointed assistant professor of sociology, to begin in the fall of 1961. He will teach criminology and juvenile delinquency

Negley K. Teeters will be visiting professor of sociology during the summer session, 1961

Maurice D. Van Arsdol has been elected secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Sociological Association.

The department has reactivated its population-research laboratory, long under the direction of the late Erle Fiske Young Georges Sabagh and Maurice D Van Arsdol are in charge of the research activities now being carried out in the laboratory under grants from the Haynes Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and the University Research and Publication Fund.

Thomas E. Lasswell has received an additional grant from the University Research and Publication Fund for the study of person perception and social status.

Charles C Crider and Marianne Schwartz are engaged in field research on the auditory and visual aspects of status perception, respectively

Sweet Briar College Professor Belle Boone Beard, chairman of the Department of Sociology, has been appointed as the first Fulbright Lecturer to go to Korea She left in April for Seoul, where she will lecture in sociology and anthropology at the new Seoul Woman's College and will give special lectures in gerontology and criminology at other universities in Korea. She will engage in research on "The Role of the Older Citizen" for comparison with her gerontological investigations in the United States.

Mrs. Bertha Wailes, associate professor of sociology, who retired in June, 1960, will return as substitute for Professor Beard.

Arthur Phillippe Jacoby is assistant professor in the department.

University of Washington —Clarence Schrag served as a representative of the American Sociological Association at the Sixth International Congress of Social Defense held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in May Dr Schrag was promoted to full professor in the fall, 1960.

William R. Catton, Jr, has been awarded a summer research grant by the research committee of the Graduate School to facilitate the completion of a monograph on the impact of success and failure on organized social movement.

Otto N Larsen is Editor of *Sociological Inquiry*, the new name for the official publication of Alpha Kappa Delta, the national sociology honor society He is also Editor-elect of the *Pacific Sociological Review* for 1961–62, replacing Editor Foskett who is on leave from the University of Oregon

Kaare Svalastoga professor of sociology at the University of Copenhagen will teach courses in stratification and research methods during the summer session.

During the spring quarter Norman S. Hayner was on leave of absence to bring up to date his study of social change in Mexico

L Wesley Wager assistant professor of sociology and Thomas Holmes, professor of psychiatry received a grant from the National Institutes of Health for a two-year study of hospital structures and the formation of tension

Washington University —Alvin W Gouldner will be on leave during the academic year 1961–62 when he will be a fellow of the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto working on two studies one on social theory and social policy, the other on the fundamental dimensions of moral codes His monograph on *Technology and Apollonianism* (with Richard A Peterson) will be published this year, as will a revised edition of *Studies in Leadership*, which is jointly edited with Richard De Charms.

Joseph A Kahl, associate professor of sociology and anthropology, who will act as chairman during the absence of Professor Gouldner, has returned from a year at the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences at

Rio de Janeiro where he completed field work on a study of changing career patterns under the impact of industrialization. The research will be extended by comparative studies in Argentina, Chile, and Mexico.

A Metropolitan Population Project has been established jointly by the Social Science Institute of Washington University and the Health and Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis to constitute a central source of information on the population of the St. Louis area for use by governmental and voluntary agencies, business firms, and research scholars. David J. Pittman will serve as project director. Participating on the project committee are David B. Carpenter, and Nicholas J. Demerath, director of the Social Science Institute.

David B. Carpenter is directing a comparative study of urbanization in the United States and Japan as part of a developing departmental program of comparative research on the international impact of industrialization and urbanization. He is also serving as assistant department chairman.

A study of the future needs and resources in outdoor recreation for the bi-state St. Louis metropolitan region has been contracted for by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. Gregory P. Stone, assistant professor of sociology, serves as project director.

John W. Bennett, David B. Carpenter, and Stanley Spector are serving with a newly activated Committee on Asian Studies. An extended program in Asian studies will be offered beginning in the academic year 1961–62, building on the program begun ten years ago under Stuart A. Queen, now professor emeritus.

Robert L. Hamblin has been advanced to associate professor. His National Institutes of Mental Health grant for research on adolescent behavior was renewed for one year (1961–62) and his O.N.R. grant with Professor Richard De Charms on experiments on structural factors in group behavior, for two (1961–63).

Nicholas J. Demerath was on leave of absence during the spring semester of 1961, serving as Ford Foundation professor in the School of Business at Indiana University. During his absence, David J. Pittman was acting director of the Social Science Institute. He has been advanced to an associate professorship.

Jules Henry, professor of anthropology and sociology, is a consultant on a social systems study of the Osawatomie State Hospital at Osawatomie, Kansas, sponsored by NIMH and the Menninger Foundation. Professor Henry is now vice-president elect of the American Orthopsychiatric Foundation and serves on the Advisory Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City.

John W. Bennett, associate professor of anthropology and sociology is currently serving as president of the Society for Applied Anthropology. His book on simulated kinship patterns in Japanese economic and work organizations, written with Iwao Ishino, is scheduled for publication in 1962. He has been planning a study of society, technology, and environment in the South Saskatchewan River Valley in connection with anticipated cultural changes in the region that will follow upon the construction of a large dam. This research will be initiated in the summer of 1961, following his return from the University of Puerto Rico, where he will serve as visiting professor of anthropology during June and July.

John C. Glidewell, lecturer in sociology, has recently been appointed to the Committee on Research, Center for the Behavioral Sciences, at George Washington University, Washington, D.C. He edited the volume, *Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior*, which will be published this year. Lee N. Robbins, lecturer in sociology, is serving as co-director of a 30-year follow-up study of former child guidance clinic patients, supported by the United States Public Health Service. She is also director of a methodological study of life-history interviews, supported by the National Science Foundation.

Mildred Kantor, lecturer in sociology, has assumed the duties of Director of Vital Statistics at the St. Louis County Health Department and continues as Assistant Director of the training program for research in community health at the Social Science Institute.

Carl Withers has been serving as Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology in conjunction with the direction of a Youth Culture Project undertaken jointly by the United States Childrens Bureau and Washington University.

BOOK REVIEWS

Prestige, Class and Mobility. By KAARE SVALASTOGA. ("Scandanavian University Books.") Toronto: William Heinemann Ltd., 1959. Pp. xii+466.

Encyclopedic yet integrated, this sample survey of Denmark may well be the most useful single report on class and mobility within the occupational structure of an industrialized nation. The Glass symposium on mobility in Britain and the occupational-prestige study made by the National Opinion Research Center are the acknowledged parents, but in the course of replication Svalastoga has given additional crucial detail and has probed the validity of key assumptions. The broad range of topics covered in the Glass volume, and many more, are here analyzed using a common national sample Startling originality in theory, insight, or method is not to be found in this book, nor was it the goal of the study. But we may marvel at Svalastoga's ingenuity, thoroughness, and overwhelming energy.

Amidst hundreds of tables and a painstakingly detailed text, the reader may overlook central findings and interrelations. Summaries conclude each of the five main sections, but neither they nor the final chapter cut through to the decisive accomplishments and weaknesses A high standard of candor and accuracy is set by Svalastoga, but he does not clearly point out the arbitrariness of certain assumptions, measurement techniques, and pieces of theory introduced.

Class remains the most problematic concept in national sample surveys of social mobility and occupational prestige. Of outstanding importance, therefore, are tables of intergeneration mobility (p. 410), party preference (p. 266), and other socioeconomic characteristics for respondents classified simultaneously by common-sense groupings of occupations and by social strata defined from a unitary occupational-prestige scale for Denmark. In *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Toronto: William Heinemann Ltd., 1959) Lipset and Bendix suggest that in Denmark (p. 23), Australia (n., p. 29), and other countries with a sizable farm population, mobility rates are distorted when farm and non-farm workers are included in the same prestige categories, as is done in Glass's study for Britain. Svalastoga's data do not clearly support their specific assertions. To justify the inclusion of farmers it is only necessary, it seems to this reviewer, that the upward and downward mobility rates of farmers' sons from a given prestige stratum be about the same as those of sons from other backgrounds in that stratum. Svalastoga's data for both farm owners' and farm laborers' sons meet this criterion It may be that too much fuss has been made about keeping farmers separate in tables of mobility for industrialized societies. Sons from any specific group of occupations, such as agriculture, in one stratum will arrive disproportionately often in that group in all strata (and indeed Svalastoga thinks of his table on p 410 as a study of horizontal mobility), but mobility rates between unitary prestige strata can have independent validity.

Often confounded with the farm versus non-farm split is the urban-rural dichotomy In Denmark about 24 per cent of the males are in agriculture or related work while about 37 per cent are rural by residence. Svalastoga also gives a table of social mobility by initial social stratum and residence of sons subdivided according to type of geographical mobility (p. 396) From comparison of this table with the data for farmers on p. 410, it seems possible that rural non-farm males are more likely to move and to drop to lower strata than farm males Unfortunately, about a fifth of the total sample is missing from p 396 mostly in the lower strata, and the N for the middle-middle stratum is impossibly large; so the results are suspect.

Within a prestige stratum the proportion adhering to socialist parties in Denmark varies widely among the common-sense groupings of occupations. Some groups, such as white-collar or various sorts of blue-collar workers, in neighboring strata yield the same proportion of socialists But from Svalastoga's data on this and on other (see p 228 esp) socioeconomic characteristics, prestige level generally has predictive value within a given grouping Moreover, low-prestige white-collar and other "non-manual" groupings are not much closer in proportion socialist to solid middle-class groupings than to blue-collar groupings; nor could farm

laborers (48 per cent socialist) and freeholders (29 per cent socialist) be reasonably lumped with farmers in the middle-middle (6 per cent socialist) and upper-middle (5 per cent socialist) prestige strata.

Mean and median income (and wealth) increases monotonically with rank of prestige stratum, although the distributions overlap greatly (p. 224). The data were obtained from Danish tax authorities after the respondents were assigned to prestige strata. Unfortunately, the well-known variability of tax collection by type of work vitiates the comparison of occupational groupings within strata, as Svalastoga points out.

The elaborate tables mentioned above report the responses of 2,520 males over twenty years of age—the 81 per cent who were interviewed of the national sample drawn randomly from communal registers within a stratified, systematic, self-weighting design A sample of adult women only a fourth as large was also drawn. To a 40 per cent subsample of both males and females was given the task of arranging cards for seventy-five occupations in five paper pockets labeled merely "1 (highest), 2, 3, 4, 5 (lowest)." The Danes did not avoid pocket No. 5 as much as N.O.R.C. respondents avoided the "poor" verbal category, although Svalastoga instructed respondents to rate "according to general opinion in Danish society." However, a high correlation exists between mean Danish and mean N.O.R.C. ratings of the twenty-six occupations common to the two studies. Mean ratings of all seventy-five occupations are reported separately by sex of respondents, by community size, by age, and by a conventional classification of occupations in eleven groups somewhat similar to the common-sense grouping mentioned above. Substantial consensus obtains among these group averages. In spite of the ubiquity of occupational titles in social intercourse in Denmark, for only fourteen occupations does the modal category claim more than 60 per cent of the respondents. But then if all agreed there would be only five different scores to assign seventy-five occupations; the N.O.R.C. approach rests on the shaky predictive value of differences in dissensus.

The striking new feature in Svalastoga's prestige study is the specification of a level of education and a number of subordinates on the card for each occupation given each rater. Only the five basic levels of education in Denmark (seven, nine, ten, twelve, and eighteen years of education) are used on the cards, and the spacing between different numbers of subordinates is higher at the higher numbers. The multiple linear regression of mean prestige rating on these two items (plus another described below) is used in assigning prestige scores to all respondents and fathers who do not match one of the seventy-five cards as to title, education, and number of subordinates. (Only occupational title was known for father-in-law, spouse, and grandfather; so Svalastoga gives less weight to, and detail on, marital mobility tables and other tables requiring the prestige position of these actors.) The description of the interpolation procedure used (p. 139–41) is condensed and ambiguous.

The variables used in the multiple linear regression of prestige score are actually the logarithms of years of education and number of subordinates. The fact that the logarithm is the best function of years of education for obtaining a linear relation may be an artificial result of the spacings in years of the levels of education described verbally on the cards; O. D. Duncan, working with census data, has used a roughly linear index of mean years of education in an occupation in a linear regression of an N.O.R.C. prestige measure on education and income. It also seems possible that linearity in the logarithm of number of subordinates reflects the respondents' tendency to perceive equal intervals between whatever stimuli appear on the cards rather than their reactions to variations in authority status when met in the flesh.

It is hard to believe that, in the multiple regression, education and subordinates were very meaningful or useful for assigning prestige by interpolation. Nineteen of the bottom third of the seventy-five occupation cards specify seven years of education, and 80 per cent of the total male sample had only that education. Twenty of the bottom thirty occupation cards specified zero subordinates and in the nature of things most of the population has zero subordinates In other words, the (partial) relations of education and number of subordinates to prestige represent primarily an arbitrary linear interpolation between, on the one hand, the few distinct points for the thirty low occupations and, on the other hand, the swarm of points for high occupations; and most of the individuals to be interpolated are low on the prestige scale where it is least likely to find variation on the predictor variables.

The primary burden of assigning prestige

scores to lower prestige persons must have fallen on the two other operations. The choice of a "most similar" occupation from the list of seventy-five to serve as a base point for the interpolation of an individual is crucial but is not described by Svalastoga. The remaining operation is an interpolation along the (partial) linear regression of the prestige score on an "activity score." The latter is simply the rank, from one to nine, of an occupation according to the assumed prestige of that sort of occupation. The nine "sorts" were a partial cross-classification of professional-clerical-manual, public-private, employee–non-employee, skilled-unskilled. The activity score, unlike the education and subordinate levels, has the familiar character of an imputation to an occupation of the value of an auxiliary scale which most respondents are assumed to associate with that occupation, although Svalastoga does not use census data as the basis of the imputation

Svalastoga found a correlation of 94 between his early personal estimates of the prestige scores of the seventy-five occupation cards and the mean scores from the raters (p 140). Given the crudeness of the interpolation method, one wonders in hindsight if it might have been better to dispense with the multiple regression paraphernalia and assign persons directly to strata by rules set up by expert judges, as in the Glass study. Information on the hierarchy of the seventy-five occupations with specified education and subordinates is interesting in itself but need not have been used as the basis for the remainder of the study.

Taken at face value, Svalastoga's demarcation of nine strata by equally short ranges of the mean prestige scores at the two ends of the hierarchy of seventy-five occupations and larger ranges in the center is extremely arbitrary, as is the rationale given (pp 136 37) Prestige-stratum boundaries more meaningful subjectively to the respondents might be derived from the self-assignments of the prestige raters to the five numbered categories used for the seventy-five occupations, but Svalastoga does not report these self-assignments (Question 156 on the interview schedule). Fortunately, the varying ranges were in fact chosen so that the six occupations in the next-to-bottom ("middle-lower") stratum are all unskilled work, the nine occupations in the "upper-lower" stratum are responsible skilled work (e g., locomotive engineer) and, in short, so that one's a priori ideas as to reasonable cutting points are satisfied, given that the scale should include all types of occupations. (None of the list occupations or the sample of persons fell in the highest or in the lowest of the nine strata.) Svalastoga found a high correlation between stratification of the list of seventy-five Danish occupations by his own nine-strata scheme and by the British seven-strata scheme (p.127). However, the absolute difference is great enough to obscure the comparison of Danish and British intergeneration mobility even when groups of strata are combined in an optimum way (p 346).

Rich data on subjective class identification have a bearing here An unstructured question elicited three classes generally Only half as high a proportion of respondents identify with the working class (or a verbal equivalent) on the unstructured question as on a structured question referring to nine classes of which the bottom three are working classes (p 240). Classification of the respondents in each prestige stratum by subjective class identification on the structured question reveals a wide spread in each case (p. 237) The majority of the upper-lower stratum identifies with the middle-working or lower-working class, and only 20 per cent identify with the upper working class The majority of the lower-middle stratum identifies with middle-middle or higher classes and only 20 per cent identify with the lower-middle class Yet the upper-lower and lower-middle prestige strata are not meaningless artifacts. In the lower-middle stratum the per cent preferring a socialist party of the group identifying themselves with a given class is for each class smaller than the per cent for the group with the same class identification in the upper-lower stratum. From a marvelous table showing per cent identification with working classes by occupational grouping within each prestige stratum the pattern seems to be a real difference between the same occupational grouping in neighboring strata, although, of course, there is often a wide variation among the groupings in a given stratum (p. 240) These subjective identification results strengthen the earlier argument from mobility and party-preference data for the meaningfulness of combining different types of occupations in the same prestige stratum.

Another major contribution by Svalastoga is the comparison of the intergeneration mobility table based on son's position "now" and father's position at age sixty (essentially the Glass

formula) with that for son's and father's positions both at the same age (thirty)—as remembered by the son. (It is the latter table which is summarized in Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*) Svalastoga confirms the common assumption that there is little difference, which until now was supported only by separate cross-tabulation of small samples of sons now aged sixty or thereabouts. It does not follow, however, that intragenerational mobility is entirely negligible; for example, Svalastoga reports that 46 per cent of the older males have moved up (exactly) one stratum in thirty years. As in other countries so in Denmark, it seems there is little evidence to suggest a marked change in intergeneration mobility rates between son's and father's eras. Detailed breakdowns are given of the non-respondents in many of these mobility tables, and a number of different mobility indexes are described and used in the comparisons.

In his use of mathematical models and formal theory Svalastoga is rather uncritical. He lumps the lower three strata into one class and the upper six into another in order to apply Markov chain analysis to intergeneration mobility between these two groupings. His propensity to report an unjustified and misleading number of figures in numerical results reaches a height here equaled only in his earlier reporting of four decimal places for the variance of prestige ratings of each occupation within each group of raters. The crude social distance "model" Svalastoga applies to Danish intergeneration mobility could perhaps more aptly be called a semi-empirical formula for describing the data, since no operational interpretation is suggested. It seems incredibly naïve to argue (p. 297) that a correlation coefficient of .44 between parental and filial statuses at age thirty, interpreted as the proportion of common "factors" to total "factors," "squares well with genetic theory" because fathers and sons have 50 per cent of their genes in common (and also about 50 per cent of environmental factors in common as measured by the fraction of overlap in their life spans!). It is more reasonable to attribute to ignorance reversals in prestige rankings of hierarchical occupational positions like colonel and captain than to treat the percentage of reversals as a validity measure (p. 121) for the prestige score.

Svalastoga's boldest claim is that the nine prestige strata "are equidistant in terms of social status" (p. 278). His arbitrary composite index of the separation of neighboring strata in terms of social status plus six other kinds of subjective and objective status (p. 279) is based on this claim. He specifically asserts the weakness of assuming prestige-rating scores constitute an interval scale (p. 43–44), and also the desirability of replacing prestige-rating score by more directly meaningful measures of social status (p. 426–27). The irony is that, on the one hand, the claim of equidistance and the definition of strata (pp. 136–37) both reassert that the prestige-rating score is not a valid interval scale of social status, while, on the other hand, his use of conventional statistical tests and his assertion of the log-normal form of the distribution of social status (p. 430) both assume the prestige-rating score is a valid interval scale of social status. Despite these internal contradictions Svalastoga succeeds in focusing attention on important issues. Svalastoga presumably chose for the list of seventy-five occupations those which he felt were fairly evenly spaced by social status. The average spacings on prestige-rating score of the list occupations within the nine strata are in fact nearly the same; so it seems plausible to entertain the idea that the prestige-rating score is a valid interval scale of some kind of social status. What is it, then, about social structure that confines 60 per cent of the population to the bottom 20 per cent of the social status scale? Why do more numerous distinct strata seem to form in a given range of social prestige at an end of the scale than in the middle?

Only a fraction of the varieties of information in this book have been mentioned. The most important omissions are the tables of the relations of sons' to fathers' education and of the relations between each and sons' mobility, in which craft as well as formal education is considered (pp. 401–2). The consistency among the mass of tables in this book is outstanding The only important unexplained discrepancy this reviewer found was between the summary on p. 430 and the full table of socialist-party preference by mobility experience (p. 393, and p. 330). It is unfortunate, however, that three different functional groupings of occupations are used (differentiated above by the terms "common-sense," "conventional," and "activity-score sorts").

Careful scrutiny should be made of the methods, the assumptions, and the findings in a book of this importance, but criticism should

not be allowed to obscure the magnitude of the contribution which Svalastoga and his Danish research team have made.

HARRISON WHITE

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Émile Durkheim, 1858–1917. Edited by KURT H. WOLFF. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1960. Pp. xiv+463 $7.50

Once again we are indebted to Kurt H. Wolff for putting together a commemorative volume. The subject this time is Durkheim, and the book contains, in addition to the essays to be mentioned below, some hitherto untranslated and, in one case, unpublished pieces. These include a letter Durkheim wrote to Radcliffe-Brown on November 9, 1913, acknowledging receipt of a reprint containing a point of disagreement about matrimonial rules in Australia, together with a facsimile of the letter; an essay entitled "The Dualism of Human Nature and Its Social Conditions," in which Durkheim, an agnostic, almost justifies belief in religion; the prefaces Durkheim wrote for Volumes I and II of *L'Année sociologique*, in which he presents his important views of 1896 and 1897 on the nature of sociology; a long essay, critical of Simmel, which he published in the *Rivista italiana di sociologia* and which appears here with the title "Sociology and Its Scientific Field"; a rather briefer essay on sociology prepared for the Panama-Pacific Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915, in which he refers to sociology as "an essentially French science"; and finally a series of lectures, reconstructed from student notes, that he gave on American pragmatism at the Sorbonne in 1913–14. These last, as might be expected, render a negative judgment: pragmatism, in its negation of rationalism, represents a danger to "our entire national culture."

These pieces, together with the editor's bibliography, would suffice in themselves to earn our appreciation. The larger portion of the book, however, is devoted to a series of thoughtful essays on various aspects of Durkheim's life and work. The authors include Henri Peyre, Joseph Neyer, Paul Bohannan, Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Talcott Parsons, Albert Pierce, Melvin Richter, Lewis A. Coser, Albert Salomon, Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr., Kazuta Kurauchi, and Paul Honigsheim, the last of whom supplies an extra and charming essay on some personal reminiscences of the Durkheim school. One regrets only that Harry Alpert is missing from the list of contributors.

It is customary to say about such collections that the essays they include are of unequal merit. In this case the customary would mislead. The authors we have here all maintain a high standard and every one of them has something to say about a man without whom our science would be a poorer and a thinner thing.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

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Psychological Scaling: Theory and Applications. By HAROLD GULLIKSEN and SAMUEL MESSICK. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. xvi+211. $5.00

This volume, and the conference upon which it is based, give illustration and emphasis to the increasingly recognized role of measurement in research. This role is of high relevance for the investigator as he proceeds from specific hypotheses based upon theoretical expectations to observation of relevant data and returns through the inferential process, to statements about the original hypotheses and theories. One wishes to be as certain as possible that the successes and failures of his theories depend upon their intrinsic worth rather than upon the particular measures adopted to represent the central concepts of the theories.

How does one arrive at a measure of attitude toward a certain object or behavior, or of power, or of interaction and preference? More important, how can one be sure that his measure has the desired properties, such as internal consistency, stability over time, agreement with parallel measures, etc., so that his findings will not be peculiar to his measure? Concern over these and other questions of measurement has not only been increasing greatly among the social sciences, it has been converging upon common problems. Economists, for example, once seemed to possess in monetary worth an enviably objective and ultimate measure. Now, however, they find themselves sharing a concern with psychologists and sociologists about subjective preference for money, or for other objects. Many of the papers in this volume reflect the expansion of the traditional interest in psychophysical measurement to provide also

explicit models for the measurement of social phenomena.

The contributors to this conference, sponsored by Princeton University, the Office of Naval Research, and Educational Testing Service in May, 1958, indicate the scope and caliber of the volume. They are Robert P. Abelson, Clyde H. Coombs, Ward Edwards, Bert F. Green, Jr., Lyle V. Jones, R. C. Kao, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Frederic M. Lord, William J. McGill, Roger N. Shepard, Sidney Siegel, S. Smith Stevens, Warren S. Torgerson, and Ledyard R. Tucker. The fourteen chapters of the book are grouped into: (1) category and quantitative estimation scales and their comparisons under various conditions, (2) psychophysical scaling, (3) test theory and psychological scaling, (4) choice and the measurement of utility, and (5) multivariate scaling models.

The first section treats the highly significant problem of invariance—the extent to which a measure is unchanged under various conditions or by various modes of measurement. Lyle Jones compares scale values and discriminal dispersions accorded twenty food items by two separate samples of nine hundred army enlisted men; one group responded on a nine-point category scale having four points of agreement, a neutral point, and four symmetrical points of disagreement, each anchored by a verbal statement; the other group responded on a six-category scale, identical with the foregoing except for the removal of the middle three categories. He finds identical results for the two situations. In cases employing other changes, results are identical except for a multiplicative factor, or an additive constant and a multiplicative factor. Warren Torgerson finds magnitude estimation and category estimation to give results which are related to each other by a logarithmic transformation. Roger Shepard discusses considerations involved in choosing among various transformations of behavioral data into "psychological distance."

Four papers—by Stevens and McGill, and Lazarsfeld and Lord—shed new light on psychophysical scaling and test theory, respectively. An area more germane to the interests of this journal, however, is that dealt with in the papers of Ward Edwards and Sidney Siegel. Both these papers are concerned with models for decision-making among risky alternatives and the implication for these models of the measurement of utility and of subjective probability. Edwards outlines a decision model in which, for example, subjective probabilities for a set of mutually exhaustive and exclusive events need not sum to one (thus corresponding to many empirical findings). Siegel constructs another decision model from which it is possible to measure utility on a higher ordered metric scale (in which not only the individual elements but *all* pairs of distances between elements are ordered). This can be done using only part of the subject's responses; the remainder can then be used to test the predictive ability of the scale.

In recognition of the basic complexity of social processes, attempts have been made to extend the various scaling procedures to include the multidimensional case. The final three papers of the volume are recent examples. Broadly speaking, these models extend Thurstone's then-pioneering concern to scale both stimuli and subjects; furthermore, they not only scale both stimuli and subjects simultaneously but also place both in the same multidimensional space.

The conventional multidimensional extension of Thurstone's Law of Comparative Judgment, made by Young and Householder in 1938 and later extended by Torgerson and by Messick, employs a common perceptual space—that is, all subjects are assumed to perceive the relation among the stimuli in the same way. Tucker, however, outlines a procedure which allows different individuals to have different perceptual spaces, although, in making this extension, he is forced to limit the dimensionality of the stimuli for any one subject to a single dimension.

A model which locates both stimuli and subjects in a multidimensional space is the unfolding model of Coombs. Thus, of the three particularly relevant aspects of a scaling model—unidimensionality versus multidimensionality; scaling of both subjects and stimuli versus scaling of only one or the other; level of measurement (e.g., ordinal, interval, ratio)—Coombs strategically achieves the desirable generality on the first two, while making only a slight sacrifice on the level of measurement. His scaling is at the ordered metric level—between ordinal and interval measurement—and the variance due to level of scale seems often to be considerably less than that due to additional dimensions or to subjects. In his present paper, Coombs demonstrates a relationship between his multidimensional unfolding model and factor analysis of preferences of the subjects for the stimuli. He shows that, if such preferences

are correlated over individuals and factored, the resulting space will be of dimensionality one higher than that in which subjects and stimuli are located; furthermore, the additional dimension will be one of social utility—that is, one on which the most central stimuli, those most like all the others, will be loaded most highly.

In the final paper, Abelson proposes a model for more efficient analysis of a wide class of three-way experiments by the use of variance components. Basically he considers processes involving a set of objects, discriminated among by a set of agents (such as judges), on a set of modes (such as test items). There are thus seven possible main and interaction variance components, only two of which are utilized by the conventional factor-analytic approach, where two of the three "ways," or classifications, must be combined somehow in order that correlations may be computed between elements of the principal classification. Abelson demonstrates how, in multiple-discriminant analysis, four of these variance components are employed, thus making fuller use of the data.

It is appropriate that this volume should close with multidimensional scaling models—so relevant for the representation of complex social phenomena. Further development of these and other models and greater use of such models in social research can be expected to continue; the papers in this volume should stimulate both.

JACK SAWYER

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The World of C. Wright Mills. By HERBERT APTHEKER. New York: Marzani & Munsell, Inc., 1960. Pp. 128. $1.65.

How an avowed Communist regards the works of C. Wright Mills should be of interest to the student of the sociology of knowledge. Aptheker, a historian, seems to have the role of evaluating sociological writings for other "official" Marxists, and his analysis of Mills is thorough. On the one hand, he admires Mills for his popular success with an attack on "the power elite"; on the other, he criticizes those points where Mills deviates from the Communist interpretation. Mills seems to provide "reality-testing" for American communists, since his strictures against American society are very similar to theirs. But Mills is not one of the "faithful," and therefore they cannot accept him wholeheartedly.

Aptheker's main criticism of Mills is that he is too negative toward the lower classes and does not give them enough credit for resisting the power elite. Aptheker likes neither the word "elite" nor Mills's hopes for a more critical intellectual elite, and he believes the orthodox notion of class conflict more accurate. Aptheker misses a point which weighs heavily with Mills—that the masses vote for the maintenance of the present power elite in free elections—but he makes the telling criticism that Mills ignores completely the American race problem and the history of feudalism in the South. In a sense, he considers Mills too radical in his insistence on the absolute dominance of the economic elite.

Aptheker, as a trained historian and not here involved in the usual venomous attack which Communists launch on social science that fails to support their doctrines, gives a fairer picture of American weaknesses than does Mills, in many respects. His comparison, of course, is with a thoroughly idealized and unrecognizable Soviet Union, and one wishes that he would occasionally turn his talents toward a criticism of the countries he admires so much. He is so relaxed in this book that he does make a few indirect criticisms of the Communist view of the American race problem (pp. 22, 24). He is, of course, pleased that Mills favors "peaceful coexistence," but he damns him for interpreting war in terms of many factors instead of the one "true" cause—capitalist imperialism. He complains that Mills finds one "cause of World War III" in the Soviet elite but is pleased to note that Mills "corrects" some of his errors after his recent visit to Russia. But Mills's hope in the intellectual elite, as over against the masses, leads him to the one truly vicious stab in the volume—a likening of Mills to Buckley and the other neoconservatives.

Aptheker does not understand Mills's attack on fellow sociologists in *The Sociological Imagination*, and this gives rise to some amusing errors, such as referring to Everett Hughes as a "young and unorthodox" sociologist! But he does make the valuable suggestion that Mills should have not only criticized the sociologists but also sought to explain the sociological causes of their errors.

Despite his criticisms, Aptheker shows great appreciation for Mills. He likes his style and his content, but above all he admires him for getting on the best-seller lists. After all, Mills is swaying the minds of men, and Aptheker is aware that he and his brethren have not been able to do that.

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Indian People in Natal. By HILDA KUPER. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1960. Pp. xx+305.

The anthropologist author and her husband, the noted sociologist, Leo Kuper, are two of white South Africa's most dedicated political liberals; but this tightly written volume is not a political polemic. Instead, it is a sober and straightforward sociological appraisal of the life and situation of the Union's Indians, particularly the Hindus of Natal Province. In its unpretentious way, it is perhaps more forceful than any polemic could be in describing a proud but persecuted people.

The study is based largely on field work carried out in three different Indian districts in the metropolitan area of Durban, an area that contains roughly two-fifths of the Union's approximately 400,000 Indians. While focusing on family life and kinship structure, the author also provides separate chapters on the migration of the Indians to South Africa, the caste changes that migration made necessary, the new Indian elites, the vast array of Indian associations, Hindu religion in South Africa, sectional ceremonies, and health.

Perhaps the most interesting thread running through the study involves the complex accommodations to a generally hostile culture that the Indian Hindus have made since the nineteenth century. Alterations in the caste system offer examples. While it has never taken deep root in the Union, the caste system's influence, molded and shaped by a new environment, can still be discerned. Thus, upwardly mobile individuals with low-caste names often change them to non-caste names. Caste considerations are still important, though increasingly overcome, in marriage; and most of the community's "accepted leaders are from 'good families' with high-caste names" (p. 37). But, concludes Dr. Kuper, "even when caste is a major interest in a South African Indian family and is recognized as giving it status in a community, it regulates only a limited range of social life" (p. 23).

The weakening of the caste system has resulted in a variety of new elites—political, business, intellectual, sport, and entertainment—based on Western standards. These link together the numerous voluntary associations, the most interesting adaptation of urban Indians to their South African existence and one which gives to the Indians their distinctive unity. They are the main units making for internal cohesion in a disfranchised minority group totally excluded from the central power of the state. Comparing this phenomenon with the relatively meager development of associations among the more tightly controlled Africans, the author suggests that the multiplicity of associations may be an expected reaction of a voteless urban minority that is both highly stratified and literate.

The inability of Indians to influence directly the policies of the Nationalist government continually poses desperate problems. Plagued by chronic poverty, widespread unemployment, poor sanitation, gross overcrowding, and an acute shortage of housing, Indians find their plight compounded, rather than aided, by the government. The Group Areas Act of 1957, for instance, seems certain to intensify all of these troubles by requiring vast relocation schemes.

The author sums up the precarious position of the South African Indians with the terseness that characterizes the entire volume: "Assailed on one side by rising African nationalism and on the other by increasing European antagonism, the small heterogeneous Indian population has developed its own complex pattern of identification. A community of struggle is not sufficient to create a united community. 'Protest' leaders attempt to work with Africans, 'compromise' leaders with White politicians, there are separate Indian religious, linguistic and cultural groups, numerous associations that sometimes work together, sometimes separately, and sometimes against each other. It is by reaction to an externally imposed identity that there are 'Indian South Africans'. . . . Like the Jews in other countries, the Indians in South Africa can be, and have been used as a scapegoat by other national groups. Sufficiently wealthy to serve as bait for greed, too few to be feared,

and, in the main, ideologically opposed to counter aggression with physical violence, their ethnic difference and cultural diversity serve as excuses for discrimination and oppression" (pp. 270-71).

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

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City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East. Edited by CARL H. KRAELING and ROBERT M. ADAMS. (Special Publication of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Pp. xiv+448. $6 00.

I commend this work to sociologists concerned with the historical dimensions of city life or with long-run sociocultural change. Although this monograph contains little really new data or theory, it does much to focus attention upon various of the disagreements among scholars interested in the origins of cities and civilization and to point up the paucity of data on certain facets of early urban life.

This book—an outgrowth of a symposium held at the University of Chicago in December, 1958—is divided into two main sections. The first involves a series of papers presented at the symposium and the dissection of these by historians, anthropologists, and the like. The second part, entitled "Background Papers," includes a number of informative contributions—those by Milton Singer, Robert M Adams, Mircea Eliade, and Max Rheinstein

With this background in mind, I shall confine my further remarks to unsatisfactory features of the book. First, why did the Press fail to include an index to what might have been a useful reference work? Second some of the observations, even of renowned scholars, are open to criticisms. Gelb lays proper stress upon writing as a key element in civilization, but how is one to explain his statement that Aztec writing "never developed beyond a fairly crude pictographic level" (p. 55)?—for it did have certain ideographic-phonographic signs. Nor could Gelb support the contention that the Maya used their writing "only within very narrow religious and calendrical contexts" (p. 55), for the bulk of Maya documents have been lost.

But more significant, I think, is the general failure of the participants to heed Hoselitz' admonition that much more attention should be given to clarifying what we mean by the "city" (p. 183). For one's definition clearly structures his discussion of the earliest cities (see my *Preindustrial City: Past and Present*, pp. 32 ff. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960). To label as a city any relatively large community with stone structures, as some scholars tend to do in the case of Jericho (58-60), creates far more problems than it resolves.

The reader should approach Wilson's discussion with considerable reservations. He (with Woolley and some others) believes that early Egyptian civilization existed over several millennia without benefit of city life. Although Oppenheim, Edgerton, and Kantor are doubtful of this (pp 140, 145, 156), I would take a much stronger position. Then, too, one must not accept unquestioningly Willey's concept of Maya cities which slips in through the back door (p 157). He sees these as having been dispersed, essentially rural communities. Yet, in other writings, he admits that an elite resided in the principal centers But did not this ruling group have a myriad of servants, merchants, and the like in attendance who must have lived near at hand?—a point generally overlooked with respect to Wilson's thesis as well In the Maya area the recent excavations at Tikal do seem to indicate greater density of habitations about the ceremonial nucleus than some scholars had previously assumed.

There is a tendency for sociologists to accept uncritically the writings of scholars in other fields—say, of V Gordon Childe on early city life. But certain of his interpretations and analyses are subject to attack especially with the accumulation of new findings Thus even though the work under review bypasses some central issues it does provide the nonspecialist with a glimpse into the controversies that beset researchers who investigate the nature of early city life Thus, this work offers the sociologist a springboard for achieving sounder generalization and reinterpretation concerning cities and civilizations.

GIDEON SJOBERG

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Community Resources in Mental Health By REGINALD ROBINSON, DAVID F. DEMARCHE,

and MILDRED K. WAGLE. New York: Basic Books, 1960. Pp. xxvi+435. $8.50.

This book, the fifth of a series of monographs to be published by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health as part of a national survey of mental health, is a gold mine of material on community mental-health resources. Its comprehensiveness and systematic nature can be gauged by a list of chapter headings: "Public Health Services," "Public Welfare: Insurance," "Public Welfare: Assistance," "Child Welfare," "Court Services," "The Schools," "Recreation and Group Work," "The Churches," "Family Casework," "Mental Health Clinics," "Planning, Coordination, and Financing Agencies," and "Configurations of Community Resources." Not only do these chapters provide, wherever possible, data from a variety of published sources such as the census, but the authors also report on surveys of fifteen counties, analyzed in greater detail than could be done for the 3,103 counties of the United States which constitute the universe upon which is based the bulk of their statistics. This reviewer can enthusiastically indorse the technique of combining a small number of intensive studies of counties with the national county statistics. Sometimes the presentation appears encyclopedic; it is never *merely* encyclopedic. It is unnecessary to belabor the point that such a compendium should be useful to workers in many fields.

The non-specialist (and there will be few readers who are specialists in the wide range of topics covered) will find this volume not merely interesting but, in certain respects, shocking. It is hardly news that Louisiana is not alone in the sort of moralistic immorality which deprives dependent children of public assistance because of moral judgments on their mother's behavior. But an estimate that "an additional 40,000 to 55,000 qualified teachers would be required to meet the educational needs of the mentally retarded children," cited in the chapter on the schools, is certainly arresting. This is, after all, a book about social problems which, as Waller phrased it twenty-five years ago, "are phenomena of secondary society in which the primary group is no longer willing and able to take care of its members."

But, if this book is to be regarded as a reference volume, a comment may be in order on its reference facilities. The table of contents is clear and adequate. References to books and articles are copious and in all respects proper The shortcoming lies in the Index, a very common failing of "readers" and reference works. Inclusion of incidentally mentioned names of individuals and organizations in an index seems far-fetched and useless. Perhaps worse than irrelevant inclusions are what would appear to be important omissions. The word "sex," as, for example, in "sex education" or "planned parenthood," does not occur in the Index. The word "adolescent" seems curiously neglected—there is one reference to "Adolescent, Church Aid to" and another reference to "*Adolescent Girls*" which turns out to be a study of the topic indicated, mentioned in some detail and apparently the longest discussion of adolescence in the book —three short paragraphs.

It is perhaps unfair to criticize a book by going outside its frame of reference. But it 's part of a series which began with Marie Jahoda's *Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health*, which leads us to consider whether a book about the administratively institutionalized mechanisms for dealing with problems of mental health should not, on occasion, take cognizance of the fact that its subject matter is restricted to the administratively recognized problems.

More abstractly, this book is about institutionalized forms of mechanisms of social control. Our frame of reference leads us to consider the other major stream of forces tending toward uniformity of action and compliance with norms, namely socialization. Social control is to a very large extent remedial action, to correct deviations or to inhibit anticipated deviations which would not occur had socialization been more complete. But is there no concern with the problems of socialization which, unsolved, make for problems of mental health which later require remedial action?

School and recreation activities are treated briefly, but hardly as socializing mechanisms tending to integrate community life. The possibility that there might be something wrong with the mechanisms of socialization or that to some extent our institutional structure is anything but a force toward community integration is not countenanced. Admittedly, it does not fit into the frame of reference. It is the function of switching frames of reference to point up serious shortcomings of those frames of reference to which we are habitu-

ated. For example, a study is cited "which showed that over 18 per cent of all third graders and over 21 per cent of all sixth graders in the county were poorly adjusted and in need of some kind of mental health aids" (p. 169), and, while there is discussion of special classes in the schools, etc., the attitude, as expressed in the title of the book, is that services must be provided—it is simply not the proper occasion to ask whether, instead of the children, it is their community or society that needs doctoring.

Altogether, this series of monographs appears to be suffering somewhat from a lack of mortar between the psychological brick and the administrative brick of mental-health administration. It is true that many references, and even concrete suggestions, are made in regard to community involvement and participation in mental-health programs or in matters which have a bearing on the solution of mental-health problems—e g, those encountered in the courts. But the mortar that might bind the psychological and administrative problems into a more fruitful structure is not a systematic part of the studies in this series, to date. In this *Journal,* but not merely as an expression of our special interest, it may be suggested that problems of community integration and socialization, systematically surveyed, may point to mechanisms more fundamentally related to "positive mental health" than the remedial and preventive measures at present envisaged. Perhaps the volumes still to be published will contribute more directly to this sociological concern.

ARNOLD SIMMEL

New York State Department of Health

The Management of the Doctor-Patient Relationship. By RICHARD H. BLUM New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960. Pp. xiv+304. $8.50.

Several specters are haunting organized medicine today: the specter of socialized medicine and federal controls in medical education and practice, the specter of poor public relations with an aroused public, the specter of non-payment of bills, the specter of the dissatisfied, unreasonable, and unco-operative patient always ready to sue at the drop of a hypodermic needle, and many others. This book sets about helping the medical profession in exorcising some of these specters by providing good sound advice on the handling of relationships with the patient. It is, in a sense, dedicated to the proposition, made by L. J. Henderson some years ago, that the doctor-patient relationship is a "social system" in which "the sentiments and the interaction of the sentiments are likely to be the most important phenomena," and *not* simply the tinkering on the part of a specialist on an essentially passive biological mechanism.

With advances in scientific medicine and the application of ever more complicated techniques to the treatment of the sick and injured, the doctor-patient relationship as interaction between two human beings has tended to become slighted and neglected It is this impersonalization and mechanization of treatment that are often so obnoxious to patients and which contribute not only to their dissatisfaction but also to therapeutic difficulties This book attempts to explain to the doctor, in simple language, the patient's side of the story It examines the importance of cultural and sociological factors in the definition of illness and what causes it and the range of possible human reactions to the threat implied in illness and injury It gives pointers to the doctor in the handling of unreasonable unco-operative, and ignorant patients It suggests certain steps to be taken during and after the office call and in handling hospitalized and surgical patients, where special problems are created by hospitalization The book also includes a useful chapter on involving the patient's family in the process of treatment. The last chapter examines the doctor's different roles (healer, businessman gentleman, counselor and confidant, individual with certain predispositions teacher partner in treatment, and administrator) and the difficulties inherent in them The book illuminates the complexity of the job of helping human beings, particularly when these human beings behave in irritating and irrational ways

Not only is the book simply and well written, it often uses humor to drive its points sharply home Witness the following, which illustrates one of several types of physicians meeting a patient for the first time (the others are "The Strong Silent Type," "The Smiling Mortician," "The Misdirected Greeting"):

Too Busy to Talk The receptionist nods her head toward the door and says to the patient,

"You can go in now." The patient enters furtively but sees no doctor. The patient stands awkwardly, wondering if he is in the right pew. A flash of white skids to a halt in front of the desk and riffles through papers. The only audible sounds are mutters from the very busy white blur which suddenly stops, its back to the patient and in front of the cabinet. At that moment the mouth on the other side of the white coat makes crisp quick noises that can be interpreted as, "Sit down, sit down." The patient sits down. Eventually the physician turns to him and in more crisp quick words asks, "What brings you here today?" It's all very impressive, but the patient is convinced by then that the doctor will never have time for his case [p. 160].

While this work is intended primarily for physicians who practice private medicine, it could be read with benefit by most specialists and those social scientists who are interested in the sociology of the professions and of medicine, in whose courses it would also make useful collateral reading.

MARK G. FIELD

Harvard University

Social Science in Nursing: Applications for the Improvement of Patient Care. By FRANCES COOKE MACGREGOR. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. Pp. 354. $5.00.

Sociologists who work in medical settings often find that nurses are their most receptive audience. This may be because the nurse and the sociologist share a certain marginality in the physician-centered world of the hospital, or perhaps because the nurse deals with whole wards of patients and hence has a sense of "group" or "community" not shared by others of the hospital staff. Whatever the reason, an alliance between social science and nursing has been growing for some time, marked by collaborative research, opening lines of communication, and the introduction of social science into formal nurses' training—an alliance to which Professor Macgregor's new book adds considerable impetus.

Social Science in Nursing reports a three-year demonstration conducted at the Cornell University-New York Hospital School of Nursing. Sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation, the project was designed to prepare and evaluate a course in elementary social science for nursing students. It is divided into three fairly distinct sections: an emphatic argument for the use of social science in medicine, an outline of the content of the experimental course and evidence of its effectiveness, and a discussion of some problems which often arise in the collaboration of nurses and social scientists.

The book is quite good, both as a text for nursing students and as a guide to the prospective instructor. Some readers may share the reviewer's occasional discomfort with the tone of the introductory section (where the author expresses concern about medical "mistakes" in diagnosis and treatment), but it should be short-lived. The bulk of the volume deals with the experimental course itself, moving smoothly over a wide range of sociological topics and handling the gap between sociological abstraction and clinical application very sensitively. The same text could be used profitably with any professional group—teachers, dentists, physicians, clergymen, and so on. Four guest lectures, including an excellent discussion of culture by Margaret Mead, are woven into the text with good effect. All in all, Professor Macgregor's evidence that the course was successful comes as no surprise.

The concluding section of the book, which describes difficulties likely to occur when social scientists and nurses collaborate professionally, deserves careful reading—particularly by those who teach social science in medical settings.

The reader may notice that the author's fine sensitivity to the lot of the patient is not always evident when she writes about the physician. It is true that doctors are often slow to appreciate the help offered by social scientists, but this is a subject more proper to sociological inquiry than to sociological indignation. The major fault of the book is that the sociological perspectives it teaches are not used to examine the hospital setting itself. The hospital, after all, is an intricate social system, and, while it might profit from a heavier dose of social science, it might not be able to afford a high degree of social sophistication at all levels.

But this is a minor complaint. On the whole, the book deals competently with a difficult subject matter and stands out as a pioneer effort in the real sense of the term. If the social sciences and medicine continue to benefit

from association, both fields will owe a good deal to the thorough work offered by Professor Macgregor.

KAI T. ERIKSON

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University of Pittsburgh

Social Workers' Perceptions of Clients: A Study of the Caseload of a Social Agency. By EDGAR F. BORGATTA, DAVID FANSHEL, and HENRY J. MEYER. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. Pp. 92. $2.00.

The work reported in this book was undertaken to isolate dimensions in terms of which caseworkers perceive clients, to describe the caseload of a particular agency, and to locate further research on clients of social work. The bulk of the book is devoted to a report of factor analyses of ratings made by caseworkers of three samples of clients (males, unmarried mothers, and other females) of a large casework agency. The remainder of the book, the last chapter, consists of sections dealing with the determinants of agency caseloads, some questions in casework diagnosis, and research on clients. Whether the intended audience of the book is the profession of social work or social science is not made clear.

The principal result of the factor analyses constituting the empirical portion of the book was that the factor structures for the three classes of clients were essentially different except for a single common factor. The factor structures were interpreted as exposing underlying dimensions in terms of which caseworkers perceived the three different types of clients, and the conclusion follows that caseworkers employ different frames of reference in describing these classes of clients. On this basis it is recommended in the last chapter that standardized personality inventories be used as a part of diagnosis. It should be noted, however, that the authors, in Appendix 2, indicate several limitations of the data and analysis and encourage care in examining the results. Perhaps the interpretations and recommendations might have been advanced more tentatively. Further, can recommendations be made on scientific grounds concerning practice and research in social work without a more systematic analysis of the nature of the task of casework than has been given here?

One section of the last chapter which stands out as especially interesting, "Describing the Client," consists of a brief but cogent explication of the relationships between "art" and systematic categorization in diagnosis. This discussion is a significant step in bypassing the sterile dichotomy of "clinical" versus "statistical" judgments.

The authors do not present this book as a definitive study but, rather, as an effort to stimulate research in social work. Given the reservations which must be held concerning the substantive conclusions, this heuristic function is the primary value of the book. Consideration of the problems encountered in it, especially from the perspectives of role theory, formal organization, and the sociology of professions, should prove useful in designing future research on the way caseworkers in an agency perceive and act toward clients.

THOMAS P. WILSON

Columbia University

Premarital Sexual Standards in America: A Sociological Investigation of the Relative Social and Cultural Integration of American Sexual Standards. By IRA L. REISS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 286. $4.95.

Existing studies of sex tend to deal with the norms and practices of restricted usually minority groups or with sexual activity independent of the moral dimension. Ira Reiss is dissatisfied with the concentration on the behavior to the neglect of standards and has attempted to fill a gap. His aim is "to compare [various] standards as to their characteristics, consequences, and trends, in order to show their relative integration in our culture" (pp. 84–85).

After a review of the sexual nature of man (in which ethnologists will be surprised to learn that animal sexual behavior is not learned) and of the cultural traditions and social forces which have left their work on our morals, Reiss advances a typology of standards for premarital sexual standards. The classification, into abstinence, double standard, permissiveness with affection, and permissiveness without affection, purportedly comes from one thousand questionnaires administered

to high-school and college students; but how, we are not told.

Reiss's concern is, eschewing psychological and biological approaches, to follow out how each standard "fits" with more general values. He deals only with a narrow range of values: "individual rights and dignity, equality of the sexes and the marriage institution." Those parts of the value system which relate to economic and occupational-political aspects of life are not considered. The classification he has adopted sounds more ideal typical than empirical, and the exploration of the integration of the standards and the culture becomes a logical exercise.

Reiss proceeds to examine the "negative-" and "positive-value consequences" of different standards. At this stage the author switches to behavioral and psychological concepts. Negative consequences include pregnancy, venereal diseases, social condemnation, feelings of guilt, and weakening of marriage. Positive consequences are physical and psychic satisfaction and enhanced marital adjustment. Here the logic is somewhat tortuous; opposite consequences follow from the same standard.

Theoretically, there is nothing wrong with focusing on the normative level and holding psychological considerations in abeyance, but, as might be expected, psychological assumptions do penetrate. Psychoanalysts, who have also devoted some attention to sexual behavior and moral standards, are mentioned in passing and often with gross distortion. There is little reason why sociologists should operate on naïve, oversimplified, and superficial models of psychological processes.

Reiss's main contribution is to go beyond the formal norms to suggest the variation in standards that occurs within a single society. One wishes the same analytical powers had been brought to bear on related subjects. A consistently romantic, ideal, middle-class conception of marriage is advanced throughout; and little notion of the patterning of sexual standards by social variables other than education is attempted.

It is difficult to form any final evaluation of Reiss's classification of standards, since the analysis is unencumbered by data. Reiss refers to "hundreds of informal interviews and discussions" and one thousand responses to questionnaires but utilizes only occasional tables and quotations from Kinsey, Terman, Burgess, Wallin, and others. Indeed, it is hoped that this book is an introductory essay to a much-needed research report Reiss will give us in the future.

NORMAN W. BELL

Harvard University
and
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L'Inceste en milieu urbain ("Incest in an Urban Environment"). By DENNIS SZABO. Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1959. Pp. 62.

This book about incest seeks to take the phenomenon out of the range of typically rural events. It is based upon ninety-three cases of unusual—and even criminal—behavior. The author is not correct in his explanation of the incest taboo: he refers to the works of many anthropologists who have often mentioned the fear of inbreeding in this connection. Nor is he right when he defines incest simply as a matter of sexual intercourse with near blood relatives: rules of marriage and the incest taboo are as varied as are the rules of exogamy in different societies. It is only in our own society that the rules of marriage forbid nothing else than the marriage of near blood relatives. In preliterate societies rules of exogamy are frequently both more complex and relate to more remote relationships between those apprehended for incestuous behavior.

The Englishman Lord Raglan has given us probably the best sociological explanation of the horror of incestuous relationships. As an anthropologist, he has talked about the order prevailing in many preliterate societies because of the established marriage rules. The position in marriage determined, he explained, the place of work, the place in ceremonies, the place for everyone in either hunt or warfare. Consequently, incestuous behavior was bound to create an all-encompassing chaos in preliterate society, and that alone could explain the deep feeling of disgust which still assails us if marriage rules are broken.

This book is replete with numerical analyses which throw light upon the age and attitude of those who take part directly or indirectly in the incestuous relationship. The father is of early middle age (in the beginning

of his forties), the mother is just a little younger than he, and the daughter is an adolescent. The father's attitude develops more from frustration than from inborn aggression. The wife may just have been in the hospital, or she has for other reasons not been able to have regular sexual intercourse with her husband.

Mr. Szabo is confused as to the different levels of causation indicated in the relationship. Alcoholism, whose frequency is analyzed, is singled out as one of the causes of incestuous behavior. Actually, causes of incestuous behavior seem to be operating at different levels. The prevailing family situation has certainly much to do with it, but there are also the directly releasing conditions, such as alcoholism or overcrowding. Incidental prerequisites and necessary preconditions of incestuous behavior are mentioned side by side. Probabilities are considered as well as cause and effect.

We may wonder why the concept of "anomie," which is important with regard to behavior in the rural as well as in the urban environment, has never been used to explain the predisposition of either individuals or families to incestuous behavior This circumstance alone may help explain why the romantic isolation of the rural environment has often been considered as effective as crowding in the slums of large cities.

Over and above previous investigations, the author discusses not only one but several types of domestic conditions as leading to incestuous behavior as either cause or probability. He discusses the degree of family integration, for one thing, in connection with the origin of the crime of incest. He arrives at the classification of no less than six family types (pp. 79, 80) which are prone to provoke incestuous behavior. He eliminates, in this manner, the necessity of looking for the one and only cause.

SVEND RIEMER

*University of California
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The Unmarried Mother and Her Child. By VIRGINIA WIMPERIS. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960. Pp. 397. 35*s*.

This book treats illegitimacy as a social problem; sociological and psychological interests are secondary. After outlining its scope as reflected in data on birth registration and in a number of local surveys, the author devotes about two-thirds of the book to description of conditions under which unmarried mothers and illegitimate children live and to appraisal of public policies affecting their welfare. Primarily concerned with Great Britain, the book includes some comparative information about other European countries in order to give perspective to the English materials. The underlying welfare values of the author are unconcealed, and at times a moralizing tone appears in discussions of how mother and child are treated. On the whole, however, the presentation is objective, conclusions from admittedly inadequate data are guarded, and analysis of the complex cross-currents of conflicting values is balanced.

A topical rather than theoretical approach unifies the book. Sociologists will, therefore, be less interested in the author's interpretations than in such factual content as the following: A summary of birth registration statistics for England and Wales for the years 1938–56 shows the stability of conceptions out of wedlock (about 13 per cent) and the fluctuation of those regularized by marriage prior to birth of the child (from 37 to 70 per cent) Data from an unpublished survey of 1949 of all (278) illegitimate births in a midland city show that one-third to one-half of the children were born to couples "cohabiting in a more or less permanent relationship" but barred from marrying by a still-existing marriage Often (28 per cent) there are older illegitimate siblings with the same parents Most of the children (over 80 per cent) were living five years later with two parents usually (64 per cent) their mother and a legal or unofficial husband. As the author points out "any picture tends to be either superficial or unrepresentative," but information of the kind carefully presented in this book is a welcome contrast to most studies that are limited to obviously biased agency or institutional samples.

Legal rights and public protection, especially economic support, are discussed in considerable detail More attention might have been given to the actual operations of programs in the various European countries whose provisions in law are summarized. Nevertheless,

those interested in comparative institutions will find useful information in this book.

HENRY J. MEYER

University of Michigan

Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living. By ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR., and DONALD M. WOLFE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xxi+293. $5.00.

To the enormous body of research on the family, published since World War II, *Husbands and Wives* represents a worthwhile contribution. The findings are based on a probability-sample survey of 731 urban (Detroit) and suburban wives and 178 farm wives. But, whereas some of the previous confections growing out of the Detroit-area survey have been on the stodgy side, the volume by Blood and Wolfe is both informative and lively. There are some defects in the plan of study to be sure, but on the final accounting of debits and credits the end product is clearly superior.

The complete interview schedule contained over a hundred questions, so that the items chosen for cross-tabulation and analysis were somewhat arbitrary. The authors focused on the dyadic components of decision-making, division of labor, the economic function, children, companionship, emotional understanding, and love. Variables controlled included age at marriage, number of children, race, religion, nativity, duration of marriage, cycle of family life, occupation, education, income, and urban-rural residence.

Tabular results comprise an extensive body of information, though the authors correctly point up the hypothetical nature of the findings. As a matter of fact, the interpretation of the findings is often more rewarding than are the findings themselves, which speaks well for the analytical ability of the authors. (Is it not in the diagnosis and conceptualization of research findings that the sociologist is likely to be superior, say, to the psychologist, whereas in the areas of research design and induction the reverse is probably true?) At any rate, it is the interpretation in *Husbands and Wives* which is the heart of the book.

On the debit side, it is regrettable that "wives only" were interviewed. Topics such as decision-making and the division of labor would surely have yielded different results had husbands as well as wives been consulted. Also, the authors' handling of divorcees can be questioned. Divorcees who had not remarried were excluded, and those who had remarried were interviewed on the basis of their second marriage. The over-all findings thus tend to be optimistic in nature, a phenomenon due in part to the residual nature of the sample.

Nevertheless, the findings and the diagnosis of the research add up to a genuine contribution. The authors worked hard and long at their task, and the results will be discussed by sociologists for some time to come. Chapter vii, "Understanding and Emotional Well-being," is one of the best accounts of the subject to appear in the field.

In view of the optimistic nature of the results, it may be paradoxical to report that the most important substantive finding is on the dark side; that is, there is an apparent tendency for American marriages to deteriorate with the passage of time. The finding is indisputable and occurs in several analytical areas. The authors refer to this marital hourglass as "the corrosion of time," and the phrase is an apt one. Curvilinearity in marital adjustment had been studied previously, but Blood and Wolfe's findings are the first that can be called definitive, and the importance of time in marriage seems now to have been established.

For these and other reasons, a copy of *Husbands and Wives* should be within arm's reach of family sociologists. The design of the book, incidentally, is superb and could serve as a model for our more prosaic publishers.

WILLIAM M. KEPHART

University of Pennsylvania

Society and Adjustment to Old Age: A Sociological Study on the Attitude of Society and the Adjustment of the Aged. By FAINA JYRKILA. ("Transactions of the Westermarck Society," Vol. V.) Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard Ltd., 1960. Pp. 129.

Society and Adjustment to Old Age is a study based on secondary analysis of data collected by the Social Science Research Center of Cornell University for a survey of prob-

lems of old age, conducted in 1952 in Elmira, New York, on a random sample of 468 individuals over sixty years of age. Both the approach and the findings are similar to those reported in earlier works based on the same data.

This study is addressed to the following four problems: whether and to what extent the attitude of the social environment toward old people has been accepted by them; whether deprivation in old age is related to the acceptance of the negative attitude; the adjustment of old people; and the relationship between acceptance of society's attitude, deprivation and adjustment (p. 43).

Unfortunately, there is no discussion of much of the data which indicate that an overwhelming proportion of the sample does not accept what is assumed by the author to be society's negative attitude. (Acceptance of the judgment "old" as opposed to "middle-aged" is defined as acceptance of a negative judgment.) Table 12 (p. 51) shows that only 58 out of 468 individuals accept the judgment of themselves as old. Reanalysis of the data presented in Tables 5, 6, and 7 indicates that the perceptions of an overwhelming proportion of the sample do not reflect society's negative attitude: of 468 respondents, only 26 per cent claim that they think of themselves as old, while 59 per cent view themselves as middle-aged; only 20 per cent claim that they are judged as old by others. Finally, 19 per cent claim that people treat them differently because of age, while 79 per cent claim they are not treated differently. Needless to say, these data merit discussion since they are addressed to the first and most interesting of the four focal problems and appear to contradict the author's statement that the attitude toward the aged "can be said to be rather negative" in "modern universalistic-achievement-oriented societies" (p. 17).

The definitions of adjustment, adjustment to aging, and acceptance of society's negative attitudes present many conceptual difficulties, as does the choice of items used as indicators. For example, the concept of acceptance of society's negative attitude used in this study is indicated only by the criterion of judging one's self as "old" as opposed to "middle-aged," when one thinks others, also, are making these judgments. Since the data show that acceptance of judgments of "old" increase significantly with advancing chronological age, these judgments reflect realistic self-appraisals. The assumption that these are also negative self-appraisals is questionable.

Simultaneous and independent treatment of many related items in the tables, lack of separate pages to indicate new chapters, references to the first person throughout, and errors in grammar and spelling leave much in the style to be desired.

RUTH GRANICK
Columbia University

Regions, Resources, and Economic Growth. By HARVEY S. PERLOFF, EDGAR S. DUNN, JR., ERIC E. LAMPARD, and RICHARD F. MUTH. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (for Resources for the Future, Inc.), 1960. Pp. xxv + 716. $12.00.

On several accounts this book must be reckoned a monumental study. To anyone interested in regions, resources, or economic growth it will be an indispensable source of data, concepts, and appropriate analytical procedures. The study represents the collaborative endeavor of three economists and an economic historian, working under the sponsorship of Resources for the Future, Inc., and addressing themselves to providing useful information about the conditions and characteristics of economic growth in America and then developing a methodological framework for analyzing it. In its design it is a companion piece to *Metropolis and Region*, by Duncan and associates, and both belong to a series of studies by Resources for the Future "aimed at deepening our understanding of the role of natural resources in economic growth" (p. viii).

The central framework of the study is provided by general equilibrium theory, though this is used more as a device for stating empirical problems in a theoretically meaningful way than as a system of propositions to be proved. In terms of general equilibrium theory the authors propose "input-output access" as a strategic concept for explaining "the national forces making for differential growth among regions specifically in terms of the changing input and market requirements of the major industries" (p. 65). This economic framework is supplemented by appropriate

emphasis on such other variables as technology and organization, in recognition of the fact that "natural resources do not acquire significance for economic growth until they are confronted by a highly motivated population equipped with technology and organization to develop them" (p. 287).

For the research methodologist the book offers a model of the skilful application of elementary statistics to data of varying degrees of aggregation, to ferret out obscure associations among variables and reveal unexpected causal relationships. A number of analytical devices are developed with remarkable effectiveness. "Share analysis," for example, allows the authors to chart regional growth on several dimensions in relation to the total national economy. "Shift analysis," applied both to "differential shifts" and "proportionality shifts," allows the ascription of a region's economic growth either to atypical local growth in a particular employment sector *or* to the specialization of the region in an employment sector that happens to be experiencing nationwide growth. A typology of regions in terms of input-output variants "forces attention on the variety of growth experiences that can be found in regions of different types" (p. 90). The distinction between "volume" measures of growth (e.g., total employment) and "welfare" measures of growth (per capita income) points up the fact, often overlooked in regional promotion, that population changes bear no close relationship with changes in welfare.

The substantive findings of the study are no less noteworthy. Many previous research findings are confirmed, and new ones are reported. All of these are presented from a historical perspective that gives the work unique comparative significance.

WALTER FIREY

University of Texas

Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities. By LUIGI LAURENTI. Pp. xxi+256. *The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas: A Study of the Nature of Neighborhood Change.* By CHESTER RAPKIN and WILLIAM G. GRIGSBY. Pp. xx+177. *Privately Developed Interracial Housing: An Analysis of Experience.* By EUNICE and GEORGE GRIER. Pp. xii+264. *Studies in Housing and Minority Groups.* Edited by NATHAN GLAZER and DAVIS MCENTIRE. Pp. xvii+228. *Residence and Race.* By DAVIS MCENTIRE. Pp. xxii+409. Berkeley: University of California Press (for the Commission on Race and Housing), 1960. $6.00 each.

With financial support from the Fund for the Republic, the Commission on Race and Housing was organized in 1955 to study the inequalities of housing opportunities for Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Orientals. According to its own report, the Commission undertook "to conduct an impartial study comprehending all important aspects of the subject and conforming to the highest standards of scientific research" (*Where Shall We Live? Report of the Commission on Race and Housing*). In addition to the work of the research director and his staff about thirty studies and research memoranda were prepared for the Commission.

The belief that the entry of non-white residents into a formerly all-white neighborhood depresses property values is the main rationalization, made by realtors, builders, lenders, and homeowners, of practices and policies supporting residential segregation. *Property Values and Race* reports an investigation of the actual trend in house prices in neighborhoods experiencing succession of whites by non-whites. Information was collected on nearly ten thousand selling prices in twenty test areas and nineteen control areas in three cities (San Francisco, Oakland, and Philadelphia). The research design emphasizes longitudinal study of selling prices in areas experiencing non-white entry and comparable control areas which remained all white. Previous studies in four other cities are reviewed.

Laurenti's analysis demonstrates that there is no uniform pattern of non-white influence on prices in the areas studied. The most serious limitation to generality is the focus on middle-class areas of single-family homes not adjacent to existing non-white concentrations. In addition, the data refer to the postwar period of tight housing supply, strong demand by whites and non-whites, and generally rising prices. Little account is taken of the large quarterly variation in prices. The thirty-four test-control comparisons on which the main conclusions are based are not all independent.

for some test areas are compared with more than one control area. Of the twenty test areas prices prior to non-white entry are lacking for four, and prices in two were observed for one year or less.

Whereas Laurenti analyzes the behavior of prices, Rapkin and Grigsby investigate the mechanisms by which racial factors affect the housing market. *The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas* is a detailed study of over two thousand purchases of single-family, owner-occupied units in four racially mixed areas of Philadelphia in 1955. The study was supplemented by sample surveys of three groups: 196 Negro families who purchased single-family dwelling units, 194 white families who bought houses within one block of a Negro homeowner, and 100 white renter families in apartment houses of better quality. (The text is contradictory in indicating whether or not this sample was chosen from one area or all study areas.)

The location of purchases and the characteristics and attitudes of purchasers are considered in an analysis of the process of residential succession within local areas. Reading is difficult because the discussion shifts from sample to sample and from all areas combined to individual areas. The crucial chapter discussing white demand in relation to Negro proximity is disappointing. Purchases are confused with demand (despite the authors' stated awareness of the distinction), elaborate models are used to illustrate simple concepts, and cross-sectional data are used to make longitudinal inferences. The authors' treatment of demand falls short of the straightforwardness of their subsequent volume, *Residential Renewal in the Urban Core*, in which they develop estimates of the components of potential demand.

Privately Developed Interracial Housing reports a study of all developments meeting the following requirements: new private housing with at least ten units, open initially to whites and Negroes and successful in attracting at least one Negro family, but not more than 90 per cent Negro-occupied. It is a peculiar feature of segregation patterns that a development more than 90 per cent Negro-occupied is regarded as segregated, whereas one with more than 90 per cent white occupancy is still regarded as interracial if there is but one Negro family.

The authors interviewed the management and residents of many of the projects to ascertain the original conception of the project and the problems of site location, financing, and marketing. Their case-history style of presentation is appropriate for their task of preliminary delimitation of a new pattern in the marketing of housing.

About fifty interracial developments containing a total of eight thousand dwelling units were located in the entire United States. It is evident that segregation is virtually complete in new housing throughout the country and that it will take a manifold expansion of open occupancy before a noticeable proportion of the new housing market is affected. This study was conducted too soon to be able to include any assessment of the effects of the open-occupancy laws now in force in some localities.

Studies in Housing and Minority Groups is a collection of seven local studies: Negroes in Atlanta and Birmingham; Mexican-Americans and Negroes in San Antonio and Negroes in Houston; Negroes in New Orleans; Negroes in Dade County, Florida; Puerto Ricans in New York, Japanese-Americans in San Francisco; and a case study of neighborhood transition in Detroit. All the studies provide the reader with local color, permitting those unfamiliar with the specific details to gain some understanding of the situation as seen by local observers.

Each study is self-contained, and, although there was some attempt to insure that each would cover certain general topics, the emphasis, format, and quality vary considerably. The careful reader can locate many observations and inconsistencies meriting elaboration. In an interesting but brief introduction Glazer develops a series of hypotheses based on the interrelations between the prejudice displayed against a group and the economic power it wields. A lack of co-ordination of the studies, however, makes difficult the testing of these hypotheses. For example, liberal-minded Jewish builders are noted as important in providing minority housing in Houston and New Orleans. Are Jewish builders unimportant, non-existent, or merely overlooked in the other cities? The major task of systematic comparison is left to the reader, but he cannot proceed far with the partial information here presented.

Residence and Race is the "final and comprehensive report to the Commission" and presents the main results of the entire study. McEntire, who served as research director, presents in this volume his summary and interpretation of all research sponsored by the Commission.

The first third of the book is based primarily on census data. Focusing on twelve large cities containing about a third of the total urban non-white population of 1950, McEntire describes the existing residential patterns of the several minority groups and discusses the determinants and consequences of their segregation. Following a brief presentation of changes in selected characteristics of minority groups and a description of their housing in 1950, the author turns to the crucial question of the relation of economic factors to the quality and cost of housing occupied by minorities. From his information, derived from special tabulations for eight metropolitan areas, a familiar pattern emerges: at each income level and at virtually every level of rent or market value, non-white households are more often crowded and their dwellings more often substandard than is the case of whites.

A more incisive analysis of the census data would have added appreciably to their value. There is a failure to present consistently the same measure for comparable areas for each minority in each year. A more systematic approach would have revealed that the relation between increasing density and room-crowding is not "obvious." Similarly, one would expect some relation between changes in the characteristics of minorities, particularly their economic characteristics, and in the type and quality of their housing, but it is impossible to examine such a relationship on the basis of the diverse data offered in chapters vi and vii. The unsystematic approach extends to the graphic presentation: not all cities are mapped, and the legends on maps for 1940 differ from those for 1950.

The remainder of the book reviews the effects of the policies of government and the housing industry on the housing of minorities. There is a brief history of legislation on minority problems and a summary of the various federal housing programs.

The determinants and consequences of urban patterns and processes can perhaps best be discerned through the study of variation among cities. To produce the verified principles necessary as guides to planning and action, it is imperative that comparative research be carried out in a systematic manner. The compilation of unrelated case histories and interesting but diverse bits of information can seldom be made to yield cumulative scientific knowledge.

The major task of a summary volume should be the integration into a conceptual framework of the newly gathered information and the existing research and writing. In the present volume, however, the summaries of the various research findings remain strictly compartmentalized. For example, the discussion of the relationship of race and property values is a brief summary of Laurenti's volume. There are no cross-references to Rapkin and Grigsby's data on price behavior or to their criticism of Laurenti's price-oriented approach. The case study of neighborhood change in Detroit as well as one of Rapkin and Grigsby's areas are overlooked negative cases in which prices declined relative to prices in similar areas.

Consider again Glazer's reference to the role of Jewish builders in providing housing for minorities. If liberal-mindedness is a trait of Jews, then it might be predicted that Jews would be more likely to reside in interracial housing developments, but the Griers found no evidence of it. The report of neighborhood transition in Detroit indicates that the nondiscriminatory liberal attitudes of the Jews were accompanied by a concern with neighborhood quality and educational standards so that those least likely to move out of a neighborhood solely because Negroes move in were most likely to move out when that influx of Negroes was accompanied by a decline in the quality of neighborhood services. There is no mention of the possibility that the Jewish builders in the South were more business-minded than liberal-minded and turned to minority housing for profit. The New York study reported that landlords (Jewish?) "turn" their buildings to Puerto Rican occupancy for increased profit. Can these diverse findings be reconciled with previous literature reporting that Jews are among those ethnic groups least likely to remain in neighborhoods with increasing Negro populations?

Another example of the failure to integrate diverse findings is the discussion of income, rent, and quality of housing. Glazer's point that non-white family income is of poorer

quality (i.e., less stable and more dependent on secondary workers) than is white family income is overlooked. The assertion that nonwhites at given income levels pay a smaller share of their income on housing is not consistent with some previous studies. The conclusion that this pattern probably "reflects a preference for competing objects of consumer expenditure as compared with housing" (p. 111) is undemonstrated and illustrates a tendency to interpret facts by imputing values and attitudes.

Rational social engineering requires a knowledge not only of relevant variables but also of their relative importance. It is necessary to evaluate the reciprocal interrelations between induced change in one variable and changes in other variables. This must be done in the context of a general theory of community structure and growth. *Residence and Race* does not accomplish this. The residential segregation of minorities is never adequately placed in the broader context of the social and economic differentiation of residential areas. Will not "socioeconomic segregation" lead to increasing racial segregation if Negroes continue to constitute an increasing proportion of the lower income and occupational groups? The author eschews statistical analysis and methodological innovation. The reader will search in vain for measures of segregation, migration, and suburbanization or for techniques such as correlation, age-standardization, or analysis of variance.

There is a large literature specifying the relevant variables and something of their patterns of interaction: Abrams (1955), Weaver (1948), Drake and Cayton (1945), Myrdal (1944), Charles Johnson (1943), Woofter (1928), and even DuBois (1898). Surely social scientists can now make more precise and verifiable statements than they could sixty years ago. By failing to assess adequately what we already know about relevant variables, and thereby failing to ask the appropriate questions about the dynamic interrelationships of these variables, the Commission on Race and Housing has not made the significant contribution it might have made to scientific knowledge.

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Ortsbestimmung der deutschen Soziologie. Translated by Helmut Schelsky. Düsseldorf and Cologne: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1959. Pp. 154.

In this booklet Schelsky takes stock of the recent "gains" and "ills" of German sociology and its practical application. The discussion proceeds from an account of the postwar changes in the German social sciences. Most German sociologists, particularly the younger generation, have withdrawn from the ideological involvements of their prewar predecessors and renounced their all-inclusive, synthetic program.

Schelsky ascribes this about-face to two developments: On the one hand, the two disciplines, economics and philosophy, which gave German sociology its original impetus, became narrowly specialized and thus forced sociologists to consolidate the remaining unclaimed territory in the social sciences under a new flag. On the other, the defeat of Germany and the consequent disillusionment with all points of view created an ideological vacuum which the missionaries of American sociology—both Americans and returning refugees—were anxious and able to fill. Thus, the United States became not only the master of the political destinies of Germany but also the purveyor of a particular academic frame of reference which is, in spite of its claim to ideological detachment, made up of a mixture of liberalism, Christian-social humanitarianism, perfectionism, and socialism. The uncritical adoption of the American model and the resulting provincialism of German sociology explain the current absence of a theoretical orientation and fruitful controversy among German sociologists. Under the spell of the American paradigm the postwar generation of Germans has become engrossed in a competition for maximum precision in research. The earlier interest in the major social processes has become secondary to the sheer exercise of exact methods yielding pretentious banalities. The younger colleagues who have become absorbed in this routine seem oblivious of the major decisions which are maturing in Germany. The author contends that, while Germans should become familiar with American techniques, their objectives and procedures should be tailored to German realities.

The previous German concern with the over-all meaning of the social process can

still provide a fruitful ground for sociological theory. The author accepts the current structural-functional theory as a point of departure, provided that it centers on institutions, the key phenomena of history, rather than on such individual attributes as status and role. German "philosophical anthropology" might contribute another theoretical focus, namely, the question of what types of behavior are attributable to the environment and what distinct modes of conduct are instinctive. The proposed theme of a third type of theoretical inquiry, to which the author refers as the "transcendental theory of society," is intimated in the following passage:

> What general point of view places man in our society beyond its constraints and in juxtaposition with society? The answer would be: it is the reflecting subjectivity [*reflektierende Subjectivitaet*] which no social attainment expresses with any measure of finality and which no social force can ultimately determine; the moral conscience whose stirrings or refutation are not subject to the criteria of social reality; the religious belief which is not committed to any social reality, including its own. Stated summarily, the underlying juxtaposition is . . . that of "subjectivity and the institutions" [p. 105].

One cannot escape the impression that at least some portions of this volume are addressed to a limited segment of the sociologically interested public—limited by the implicit manner in which the author delivers his message. Particularly the sections dealing with the future of theory in Germany and the role of the sociologist as a diagnostician of his society do not readily convey the author's meaning to readers who, for reasons of political geography or training, do not share his climate of discourse. Whether this is by design or accident I do not know, but the early sections of the study leave no doubt about Schelsky's impressive power of articulation. Be that as it may, the publication should come to the attention of those who take an interest in the development of postwar German sociology. Of this Schelsky is, unquestionably, an eminent spokesman.

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Die drei Sphären der Geschichte: Systematische Darstellung und Versuch einer kritischen Analyse der kultursoziologischen inneren Strukturlehre der Geschichte von Alfred Weber ("The Three Spheres of History: A Systematic Presentation and Attempt at Critical Analysis of the Cultural-sociological Inner-Structure Theory of History of Alfred Weber"). By MATTI LUOMA. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1959. Pp. vii+169. Mk. 890.

This Finnish scholar's study will be a welcome boon to those sociologists who are fighting the tough fight to wedge a bit of humanism back into the discipline. It was Alfred Weber's profound conviction that what really brings man to the sociological analysis of history is his desire to know his fate, to know where he stands in the historical process. Weber would have had little to do with the opinion, so often expressed in the book reviews in this *Journal*, that, "since the book is primarily an historical study, its value to the sociologist is less clear."

Dr. Luoma has given us, instead of a general analysis of Alfred Weber's role within his chosen discipline, sociology, or within the other disciplines over whose fences he so freely clambered, a concentrated critique of Weber's theory of the inner structure of the historical process, the vital aggregations which make up the life of man, historically conceived.

Alfred Weber saw the totality of history as manifesting itself through an outer structure which was the relationship of man to earth and through a three-sphered inner structure which he defined as the social process, the civilization process, and the culture process. These, though separated in theory, are in fact interrelated. Out of their different constellations (*Konstellationen*) emerges the concrete course of history. Of the three spheres, the last, the sphere of culture, was for Weber by far the most important. For it is here that man by his spontaneous actions transforms historical facts into culture, thereby making each historical fact unique in itself. It is this belief that culture is not simply transferable but, rather, that it rests with the creativeness and spontaneity of man that most separates Alfred Weber from his colleagues in sociology and from the conservative historians. Luoma has done a thorough job of research on it and sees it as a reaction to Hegel and dogmatism.

Alfred Weber was not unaware that cultural phenomena always have an empirical

element, something that can be measured. But there is also the other element, which manifests itself in the Upanishads, the poetry of Dante, the music of Beethoven—in other words, in the genius which gives to culture the force of "breakthrough." Cultural phenomena in themselves are not transcendental phenomena, any more than are those of social or technical life. As Luoma points out, Weber regarded the world as having two levels, the empirical and the transcendental. The phenomena of the empirical are a bridge to the transcendental, and thus, for Weber, transcendence is immanent, not, as for Hegel, speculative. It becomes evident in cultural creations; it can be experienced.

Luoma offers the criticism that Weber ranged beyond his discipline and dealt with concepts difficult to prove by empirical methods, that he overemphasized the cultural, and that he projected history to the point of warning about man's future destiny. But then Alfred Weber was more than just a sociologist. He was a *man*.

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The Two-Way Mirror: National Status in Foreign Students' Adjustment. By RICHARD T. MORRIS. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960. Pp. xii+215. $4.50.

This work is the latest to be published of a series of studies on exchange students started some eight years ago by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council. Previous works in this series dealt with particular nationality groups: Japanese, Mexican, Indian, Scandinavian. These earlier studies were, in the main, rather broad exploratory attempts to find factors influencing the adjustment of foreign students in the social and academic American environment and their readjustment back home. The time has now come for a more concentrated attack on a few of the variables which the earlier works have suggested as particularly effective.

Richard T. Morris concentrates on the "national status" of the foreign student at the University of California at Los Angeles. To study this relationship, a detailed questionnaire was administered to 318 foreign students there. Considerable emphasis was put on "establishing rapport" with the subjects. Though the questionnaire was filled in by the students, "interviewers" (themselves foreign ex-students) were in attendance to explain the purposes of the study and to discuss the procedures. In this way a high degree of co-operation seems to have been achieved. The questionnaire (reproduced with tabulations in a fifty-page appendix) is a detailed and highly sophisticated instrument. It taps dimensions of the variables investigated which in less carefully designed studies are often left untapped, to the later distress of the analyst. For instance, in addition to items designed to get at the student's perceptions of America, there is also a measure of how the student feels about the feature of the United States which the item identifies, what he thinks his own country's position is on the feature, and how important he thinks this feature of American life is in shaping his over-all view of America.

In dealing with adjustment, Morris' main "outcome" variable, the author concentrates on six indexes—"favorableness," as measured by a battery of attitude items; "satisfaction" (e.g., with housing arrangements, religious facilities, etc.); "academic satisfaction," that is, satisfaction with American academic procedures and methods of teaching; "volume of contact" with Americans (how much time spent with them); "range of contact," or with how many different people; and "depth of contact" (how many Americans are their close friends).

In treating his main independent variable—national status—Morris provides measures not only of "objective" status of the student's nation (by an index of education level) but also of the student's estimate of the status of his nation relative to that of other nations ("subjective national status"), the status ascribed to the nation by Americans ("actual accorded national status"), the student's perception of Americans' ranking of his nation ("perceived accorded national status") and the difference between the student's estimate and his perception of Americans' estimate ("national status, gain or loss").

It is clear from the way in which Morris proliferates the reflexive aspects of the variables—and from the very title of his book, so reminiscent of Cooley's "Looking-Glass Self"—that he is paddling his canoe in the mainstream of a theoretical tradition that extends from Mead's "significant other" to Hyman's "reference group" and embraces the social aspects of perception theory developed by

Sherif and others. It is curious that no reference is made whatsoever to the relation of his investigation to all these theories, neither in the early chapters where he develops and explains his concepts nor in the summary where he discusses "some implications for the social scientist."

He does refer repeatedly to the theory of stratification, this being the area in which much of his own previous work and interests lie. But, since the propositions used in the theory to explain self-identifications of status and differential attitudes formed among strata are likely to be, themselves, derived from social-psychological frameworks (such as reference-group theory), Morris' task would have been easier and might have resulted in a greater contribution if he had made more explicit use of the available social-psychological tools. As it is, he is often forced into apparently tenuous ex post facto sociopsychological explanations of his correlations or lack of correlations. Thus, one finds, suddenly, relative deprivation used to explain why students of countries of low status are more favorable to the United States than are those from high-status (more developed) countries. Morris suggests that the "relatively deprived" students are "more apt to like and admire a country that is highly developed" (p. 87).

At another point, when the author is dealing with the foreign students' response to twenty-seven attitude items (Chap. viii, "Image of America"), work might have been enriched by the use of some more advanced statistical techniques than those which he employed. Three themes are used to classify some of the items: "Materialism," "Immaturity," "Democratic." These themes were selected because they appeared to summarize students' attitudes toward the United States found in previous studies of exchange students. In this analysis, which involves merely calculating percentages of replies to individual items, the classification suddenly takes on an arbitrary appearance; there is no way of telling whether the items subsumed under the headings fit together in any sort of pattern. It would have been useful to know what themes, or attitudes, or latent attributes would actually emerge if a procedure like a scalogram or latent-attribute analysis were employed.

One wishes that Morris had another year or two to spend on the rich data he has collected; but, outside Palo Alto, few social scientists have such leisure. A real contribution is made by this work in the elaboration of the variables of national status and in the sophisticated instruments evolved for measuring them and the other variables involved in his work. It is an excellently designed study, aimed at illuminating important facets of perception and the formation of attitudes. A richer analysis than is found in the seventy-eight pages of the volume devoted to presentation of findings would have been fully justified.

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Organizational Systems and Engineering Groups: A Comparative Study of Two Technical Groups in Industry. By LOUIS B. BARNES. Boston: Division of Research, Harvard Business School, 1960. Pp. xv+190. $3.50.

To the ever-growing body of theory and evidence identifying inadequacies in traditional bureaucratic theory as a basis for effective organization, Barnes' study makes significant contribution. The author studied two work groups in different companies. The groups were engaged in roughly similar engineering and applied research activities and were about equal in size. Organizational and procedural arrangements differed in a number of ways, however, and the monograph explores the consequences of these differences as expressed in productivity, social relations, and orientations to self and work.

The differences in organizational context on which Barnes based his hypotheses were differences in opportunities for autonomy, interaction, and upward influence. In one setting these opportunities were highly restricted; it was a relatively "closed" system; by contrast, the other was relatively "open."

Internally, the closed system of "Department A" was characterized by subgroups with rigid boundaries. One of these, called by Barnes the "Professionals," was highest in job status, and its members were also highest in education, age, seniority, sex, and religion. They stood aloof from participation in most informal de-

partmental activities. They identified themselves with the values of science as opposed to those of management and business. They were relatively dissatisfied with their jobs; their performance was the highest of the three groups.

A second subgroup, the "Organizationals," ranked second in job status and in informal social status factors. They were active in informal departmental activities, identified themselves with the values of business and the goals of organization, and, while they were somewhat more satisfied with their jobs than were the Professionals, their performance was not as good.

The "Socials" were lowest in job and informal social status. They identified themselves with familial and friendship values. They expressed more job satisfaction than either of the others, and their performance was poorest.

The "status congruence" characteristic of Department A was accompanied by clarity and firmness in its structure and procedures. Jobs were clearly defined, and it had a well-developed, "rational" bureaucratic structure. Supervisors stressed productivity and practicality and provided clear direction and evaluation. There was little mobility of personnel in and out of the department. Within the department, work-related communication remained in chain-of-command channels, and the direction of influence over work-related decisions was almost exclusively downward. Members knew where they stood and what they were expected to do.

"Department B," in contrast, was bureaucratically "unsound." It was marked by "status incongruence," there was little informal subgrouping, the formal structure was not highly differentiated, and its members did not know where they stood. Interaction, autonomy, and upward influence were high within the department, and rates of interaction and mobility between B and other departments were fairly high. Help on tasks was freely sought and freely given without regard to formal or informal status differences. Each member had a range of choice in the selection of his work and procedures; evaluation of performance came primarily from the ultimate consumers of the department's product, rather than its superiors, and productivity and practicality were not emphasized by the management.

Barnes finds B markedly superior to A in productivity, enthusiasm for work, satisfaction with the job and organization, and identification with organization's goals coupled with high professional standards of work. Whereas members of Department A were preoccupied with security of job and status, members of Department B were preoccupied with the task.

Methodologically, the study is first-rate. The evidence is carefully developed in each setting, the author making use of a variety of devices for quantifying the variables, with which he is concerned. The populations are small but the differences clearcut. It is a modern model of the "patient, pedestrian research" which has characterized the work of Roethlisberger and his students. The study is indeed firmly and self-consciously based in the human relations tradition of the Harvard Business School. But in common with other recent productions of the younger group, it has succeeded in overcoming the biases of Mayo's outlook which at one time dominated the School's output. The overworked concept of the 'administrator," the aristocratic value judgments, the conservative pessimism, the antipathy to theory—these are nowhere to be found in Barnes. It is a sound and sophisticated work.

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The Strategy of Conflict By THOMAS C. SCHELLING Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press Pp vii+309. $6 25

It is symptomatic that this very important contribution to the sociology of conflict is written by a scholar who is not himself a sociologist The author is a professor of economics and an associate of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard—but in addition to these more "macroscopic" disciplines his book cuts across interdisciplinary borderlines into psychology and sociology with much elegance and perspicuity Few books give a better testimony to the nature of conflict as an interdisciplinary field within the social sciences than does *The Strategy of Conflict*.

This, indeed, seems to be one of many reasons why the author perhaps is entitled to say: "There is no scientific literature on deterrence that begins to compare with, say, the literature on inflation, Asiatic flu elementary-school reading or smog" (p 7) And nobody would deny that deterrence is most significant in the "common interest and mutual dependence that can exist between participants in a conflict." Much

of the book is centered around this concept. Many examples come from child-parent relations, and the book is made even more intriguing because matters of life and death connected with "the great deterrent" are treated in much the same style as the more trivial problems of everyday life.

The author defines the strategy of conflict as the field of study that concentrates on the "rational, conscious, artful kind of contest, in which the participants are trying to win." This formulation at once suggests game theory as a suitable point of departure for conceptualization and analysis, and three of the ten chapters are concerned with a reorientation of game theory (reprinted from the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*). From a formal point of view this is perhaps the most interesting part of the book. Schelling discards the zero-sum game as a suitable model for conflict in general, because the co-operative element in many conflicts is lost when the interests of the adversaries are orthogonal to each other, when "my gain is your loss." Instead, he introduces "pure conflict" where the interests of adversaries are orthogonal to each other, and "pure co-ordination" where the preferences with respect to outcomes are perfectly positively correlated—in the latter case, the players are no longer adversaries, but partners. In between are the mixed games that occur in most cases in practice, as in wars, strikes, and negotiation (p. 89)—where there is an element of co-operation.

There are two difficulties: First of all, by way of definition, the more irrational aspects of conflict are not dealt with, or, rather, the utilities in irrational behavior are not spelled out. Secondly, although the concept of a "player" in a game deals symmetrically with individual and collective contestants, the focus of the social scientist will in the latter case very often be on the processes within the collectivities, as much as on those that take place between them. However, much of the co-ordination game theory that the author posits as the other extreme of the continuum where the zero-sum game is one extreme takes care of this. And the author does not pretend to write a theory of conflict: the scope of the book is the strategy of conflict.

The book does not have data in the sense in which the social scientist is accustmore, except for some interesting experiments reported in chapter iii. Rather, his explications of conflict behavior must be seen as ideal-typical, under conditions of rationality that perhaps only rarely hold true. Therefore, his concepts and lines of thought may be better for *post hoc* analysis than for *ex ante* prediction. Schelling points out possibilities in conflict, as when he describes, for example, striking Japanese railway workers, sitting "down on the tracks of more than 300 stations, halting close to 200 trains" (p. 139), with the comment that the appropiate countertactic seems to be for the engineer to set the throttle for slow forward speed—then conspicuously to climb down from the moving train and walk through the station unable to control the train. Provided the railway workers do not lock themselves to the rails with chains, and throw away the key in sight of the engineer, before he ascends—etc., the example is fairly typical. The actors in Schelling's conflicts must have a good portion of Schelling's intelligence and imagination to act out the possibilities he envisages, and some of the examples show an almost Machiavellian insight into human shrewdness. This makes the reading great fun, in addition to the theoretical rewards the reader will get if he works through the sometimes quite difficult examples. It is hard to find many works in contemporary social science with the same number of intriguing, untrivial, and really illustrating examples as Schelling has managed to get into this book. In particular, the examples of how threats can be made effective as deterrents through proper communication are extremely well chosen or constructed.

Some years ago Jessie Bernard made a plea for the theory of games as the modern tool of a theory of social conflict (*American Journal of Sociology*, LIX, 411–14). *The Strategy of Conflict* is an answer to her challenge. But in the process, Schelling has also contributed greatly to the theory of games, and indicated more precisely how the assumption of rationality is to be understood. The next step seems to be the empirical exploration of how well this base line fits actual human behavior. In the meantime, this superb contribution to the theory of conflict deserves a very wide reading.

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The Changing Soviet School: The Comparative Education Society Field Study in the U.S.S.R. Edited by GEORGE Z. F. BEREDAY, WILLIAM

W. BRICKMAN, and GERALD H. READ. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960. Pp. 514. $4.50 (cloth); $3.50 (paper).

This book proved to be a pleasant surprise, for the facts about its origin were unpromising. In August and September, 1958, a group of no less than seventy American educators spent a month in several major Soviet cities. Only one in six could manage Russian, and fewer had any detailed knowledge of Soviet society or its educational system. The large group broke up into smaller teams, however, following lines of special interest and competence. Each group kept careful notes of its interviews with Soviet specialists and of its observations in schools and institutions. Happily, the decision was made to intrust the writing of the final report—presented in this book—to only three authors, each familiar with Soviet affairs. The result is a readable book, informative even for the expert, which smoothily blends formal description of institutional arrangements and fresh first-hand observation by competent specialists.

The Changing Soviet School is divided into three sections. The first provides historical background and reviews the stages of development in Soviet education. This is done competently, although quite without inspiration. In the second, which describes the usual range of school levels, problems of administration, research on education, and the like, there is much more substance. In the third section, which will be of greatest interest to sociologists, the education of the gifted, the role of the family, and the problems of character training are discussed. The text is illustrated with four sets of informal and attractive photographs and the whole supplemented with a brief but competent bibliography.

Two themes emerge throughout the book. On the one hand, we have the typically Soviet pattern, a monolithic educational structure which specifies in endless detail exactly what everybody should do, when he should do it, and how. Each chapter is full of officially promulgated detailed plans, multisectioned directives, lengthy statements of goals, and precise charts and schedules for carrying everything out. The process starts in kindergarten and continues through the university. Even the development of character is organized in a plan, which, step by step, outlines the qualities to be inculcated in the young. At each school level the outline contains eight major headings, starting with ideas of good and bad and ending with norms of conduct. It is no wonder that the American educators felt the students lacked spontaneity and imagination: the atmosphere, they report, emphasizes "catechism routine rather than questions on meaning." The same complaint is now informally expressed by Soviet educators, especially upon their first contact with the much more spontaneous and more independent American student.

Yet beneath the monolithic surface there is obviously a great deal of variation, depending on the subject, the region, and even the particular teacher. At the preschool level, for example, the atmosphere was less rigid, the tone "warm, friendly and calm," and the children "happy and unafraid." In the Russian Republic teachers are overwhelmingly women, and boys and girls sit together; in the Uzbek schools the teachers are more likely to be men, and boys and girls often sit separately—a response, of course, to the local Moslem tradition. As for control of the inner life of the family, the regime seems to have largely given up the struggle. In the words of Mme Markova, an official in a pedagogical research institute: "We can only advise and teach; if parents do not listen we are powerless to act. *Who can interfere in family life!*"

Despite the book's title, the authors unfortunately do not deal systematically with change in the Soviet school. Substantial attention is given to the regime's groping effort to preserve the "polytechnical" ideal while yet responding to the demands of contemporary reality. Beyond this, however, the most intriguing problems posed by the relations of the larger social structure to the school system are either bypassed or treated superficially. Very little is done to expose the aspects of change in the larger society which compel adjustment in the school system, and little attention is given to the implications for the future of Soviet society inherent in decisions taken about education today. Nevertheless, as a general and comprehensive survey of the educational system, and as a rich source of first-hand observation, this book is a valuable addition to the literature on Soviet society.

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DUBOIS, CORA. *The People of Alor: A Social-psychological Study of an East Indian Island.* With Analyses by ABRAM KARDINER and EMIL OBERHOLZER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. Pp. xxxvi+654. Vol. I, $1.95; Vol. II, $1.75 (paper). Reprint of pioneering work in culture and personality, first published in 1944, with brief discussion by the author entitled "Two Decades Later."

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GARBETT, G. KINGSLEY. *Growth and Change in a Shona Ward.* ("Department of African Studies Occasional Papers," No. 1.) Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1960 Pp. iii+100. Study of five villages, intended to be comparable to earlier research by another who did fieldwork in the same villages in 1948

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INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON REGIONAL ECONOMY. *International Aspects of Regional Economy Problems*. Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1958. Pp. 538. Belgian Fr. 450 (paper). Papers and discussions at two conferences held in Belgium in 1958.

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MINON, PAUL. *Katuba: Étude quantitative d'une communauté urbaine africaine* ("Katuba: A Quantitative Study of an Urban Community in Africa"). ("Travaux de l'Institut de Sociologie de la Faculté de Droit de Liège," X.) Liège: L'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Liège, 1960. Pp. vii+90. Largely descriptive study of the population and dwellings of a *quartier* in Elisabethville.

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PREFACE TO A METATHEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIOLOGY*

LLEWELLYN GROSS

ABSTRACT

To provide room for new ideas, sociology needs a metatheoretical framework referable to the largest possible universe of rational and intuitive knowledge. The central premise of the framework, called "neodialectical," implies that all words, either as opposites, complements, or synthesizing terms, must have directional sense before their use can be understood. A number of different perspectives in social science are described and discussed, and the limitations of the neodialectical framework are explored. Finally, the relationship of neodialectical thought to science and to analytical theory construction is briefly examined

When one views sociology through the eyes of other disciplines, one is impressed by its diversity of topics, methods, and aims. The development of subspecialties has reached the point where widespread discussion about the course and direction of sociology as a whole seems no longer relevant or significant. Consequently, whatever unity of pattern there is appears to stem from self-inclosed viewpoints that prevail because competing alternatives are either not learned or not accepted. Insulated from the broad stream of scholarly endeavor, much of what we write is alienating professionals and disenchanting the educated public mind.[1]

There is, for instance, our general neglect of what is being said outside of sociology on language usage and theory formation, empiricism and operationalism, objectivity and humane values; at least, references to the lively discussion of these topics in other disciplines rarely appear in our journals. There is also the explicit tendency of several leading sociologists to identify all sociological theory with functionalism, together with their apparent disinclination to face the limitations of such identification. Furthermore, we are making no serious effort to develop an intelligible theory of the sociologist's civic responsibilities. We show little interest in the part played by individual capacities and dispositions in social change, as if knowledge of individual behavior could throw no light. We do not regard "creative" sociology as worthy of study; consequently, what may be called the ethnology of the sociologist, including his faiths, myths, rituals, fashions, and aesthetic propensities, seems to have escaped all but the few who are interested in the social bases of knowledge.

That sociology needs an improved theoretical framework becomes more apparent when we sample the historically urgent questions frequently raised by critics of our society. What have we to declare on the issue of "human development" and "the right to

* Revised and expanded version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1960.

[1] The sense of this statement, as well as most others in sociological writing, would be clearer if it were subject to neodialectical analysis.

survival"? On the role of personal freedom in our conception of cultural determinism? On the place of ideals in a bureaucratic society? On the persistent notion that languages may be meaningful though they contain no direct reference to empirical phenomena? Can sociology establish the premise that our discourse *should* be systematic, statistical, or operational? Are we ready to admit that we hold beliefs about the characteristics of society that cannot be adequately defined or tested? Obviously, sociologists have not spent enough time asking questions about the kinds of questions which should be asked.[2]

Presumably, the questions posed by science are self-corrective since they attempt to circumscribe the properties of inquiry that are reasonable and significant. We are, therefore, led to ask: Is a reasonable question one that must have a conclusive answer? Or one that directs us to a limited set of consequences by virtue of explicit pre-suppositions? Or one that provides definite criteria of confirmation? Or one that is testable in the special sense of enabling us to visualize the qualities of events? Or one that satisfies our anticipations (predictions) even though it has no other characteristic (e.g., "truth")?

Are significant questions those that are meaningful to large groups of people or simply those that are prompted by the inclinations of private motives? In short, are really significant questions rooted in the troubles of an unstable society, including the current dilemmas of right and wrong?[3]

PREMISES OF THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK

Perhaps the metatheoretical framework required for the present situation can be derived from a mode of inquiry that originated in ancient methods of dialectical reasoning:[4] for want of a more suitable name we shall label this framework "neodialectical," though it might as well be called "perspectival assessment" or "contextual appraisal." We propose an approach less bound than earlier ones by fixed commitment to concrete ideas and actions.[5] The new word

[2] For a useful start in this direction see Robert K. Merton, "Notes on Problem-finding in Sociology," in R. K. Merton, L. Broom, and L. S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today* (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. ix–xxxiv, and C. Wright Mills (ed.), *Images of Man* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960), pp. 1–17.

[3] Gilbert Murray has said that not all books are "meant to be statements of fact. They are cries of distress, calls of encouragement, signals flashing in the darkness . . . they often make their effect not by what they say but by the tone in which they say it, or even by the things they leave unsaid" (*Tradition and Progress* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922], p. 131).

[4] Modern sources of dialectical thought and criticism in philosophy, history, and literature include Mortimer Adler, *Dialectic* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927); Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941); Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution* (New York: Humanities Press, 1954); Wilmon H. Sheldon, *Process and Reality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944); K. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950); J. D. Bernal, *Science in History* (London: Watts & Co, 1954); A. D. Ritchie, *Studies in the History and Methods of the Sciences* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1958). See also the illuminating attempts to bridge nuances of human diversity in such books as Herbert J Muller, *The Uses of the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952); J. Frank, *Fate and Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1945); M. Edel and A. Edel, *Anthropology and Ethics* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1959); R W. Leopold and A. S. Link (eds), *Problems in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957); G. L. Anderson (ed.), *Issues and Conflicts* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1959).

[5] We would, for instance, attempt to avoid the several strictures raised by Sidney Hook in *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy* (New York: Humanities Press, 1950). Perhaps our detachment from the conventional usage of the word "dialectic" can be indicated by our agreement with the following passages from Arthur Bestor, *The Restoration of Learning* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954): "The kind of unity we require in intellectual life is the kind that comes when educated men are able to command several, not merely one, of the distinctive ways of thinking that are central in the modern world. There is no genuine unity of intellectual life if men have merely learned the same sets of facts from so-called "subject-matter" fields. There is merely a specious unity if men have been taught to think in their respective disciplines alone and have been offered merely a smattering of in-

is not limited to a particular method or objective, situation, or class of substantive propositions.

The neodialectic referred to shares with earlier dialectics the supreme intellectual value of joining issues by posing questions and answers. It recognizes that men live in different conceptual worlds constituting nearly unique as well as universal qualities of experience. Hence, any social subject, topic, text, or leitmotiv is the proper object of neodialectical inquiry. It further assumes that all historically restricted species of dialectical theory, whether Platonic, Kantian, Hegelian, or Marxist, must contend with antithetical viewpoints in their claims to know what is real. Thus, insofar as dialectical materialism can be shown to hold the unqualified principle that matter is ontologically prior to mind and hence not open to future revisions, it must be contested. Similarly for the partisan theses of war over peace as preferred means, society over the individual as primary sources of change, and economic relations over cultural superstructures as unlimited explanatory categories. Neodialectic's central premise is that every viewpoint, including its own, must consider an indeterminate number of opposite, complementary, and synthesizing principles. For this reason it accepts argument as suitable but denies the desirability of debate for the sole purpose of intellectual conquest and the winning of converts.

The proposed framework would encourage the perpetual search for questions of the widest possible concern and flexible criteria for augmenting the revelation and appraisal of new ideas. It would caution us as to attitudes and rules for disengaging scientific assumptions usually taken for granted. It would ever be a reminder that competence and objectivity, agreement on schemes of analysis and reference and on criteria of validity and verification should be responsive to the several traditions of the entire scientific community. Insofar as these traditions are insufficient, so is science. Insofar as certain sciences are exclusively theoretical, empirical, metaphysical, mathematical, mechanistic, organic, intuitive, or some limited combination of these, they tend to perpetuate separate customs that preclude other viewpoints. Thus, neodialectic would defer to the absence of any sharp line between scientists and non-scientists (artisan and artist, poet and naturalist, politician and reformer) when both groups engage in a shared enterprise.

Such a framework would bring to the forefront of attention the crucial role played by imagination, conjecture, serendipity, and non-demonstrative inference.[6] In complementing these, it would recognize that the cognitive capacity of the individual scientist is limited by sensitivity, retention, and repertories of response to a small portion of the universe of scientific writing. This means that each scientist is faced with having to pass egocentric judgments on the works of colleagues in some respects more competent than he. Thus we have a universal principle of incapacity that must be countered neodialectically by a principle of critical evaluation that will maximize the scientist's powers of intellectual assimilation. Only through encouraging variability of response will the disparities between discrete languages and

formation *about* other ways of thinking. And there is only a narrow and shackled unity if one way of thinking has been exalted above all others and made the *sine qua non* of education." Bestor adds the footnote: "Despite its many strong points, the so-called "great books" program seems to me at fault in this respect. It tends to emphasize dialectical argument at the expense of all those intellectual processes that call upon men to sift multifarious evidence and draw conclusions from it" (p. 396).

[6] Of course, all styles of neodialectical sociology would have to proceed according to communicable norms of reasoning; but these need not fulfil present rules of logic. They need only fulfil general criteria of credibility acceptable to some body of respondents, together with criteria for appraising the reciprocal modification and mutual incorporation of diverse viewpoints. Contrary to sociological positivism, rhetorical norms may be considered Universal consensus may be questioned. unchallenged unanimity implies certainty of truth and completeness of knowledge—impossible goals for our time If these goals are ever realized, all discussion of method including the dialectical will be archaic.

the continuum of phenomena be reduced. Only by co-ordinating the abstract languages will a more complete representation of phenomena be achieved.

The central premise of neodialectic implies that all words, either as opposites (antonyms), or as likenesses of equivalent terms (synonyms), have sense or direction which must be indicated before their properties and relations can be understood. The sense or direction of properties and relations is provided by their context: specified elements, qualities, occurrences, events, incidents, items, units, dimensions, factors, components, episodes, categories, conditions, or circumstances. Because of man's inability to isolate permanently any part or aspect of the things of experience, regard for the features through which they are known is always essential. This is what is meant by context. Each thing is itself a composition of contexts, and every context requires, in due course, an assessment of its context, and so on, through an endless regression, limited only by the successive deficiencies under which man labors.

Admittedly, there will always be some ideas or things that must be assumed as invariable for a given period of time. On separate occasions these points or core regions of constant reference will themselves be taken as contexts for other co-ordinates in the process of scientific appraisal. Consequently, every idea or thing may have a turn at playing the part of essential element (essence) and contingent element (circumstance).

Further indication of the bearing of context on constancy can be seen in the effects of shifting perspectives on our key terms. Take, for instance, the comprehensive term "opposite." This word describes or implies that "things" are situated or placed in front of, or lying against, one another. "Things" that are opposite may be terms, statements, characteristics, ideas, beliefs, opinions, members, states, bodies, tendencies, results, actions, motions, forces, qualities, quantities, motives, intentions, judgments, policies, values, spatial referents, temporal sequences, and indeed almost any category of thought that can be called to mind. Even though they stand in opposition to one another, their metalingual and semantic designations (conceptual contexts) may differ widely in scope and inclusiveness. Two or more things may be opposite in that they are antagonistic, conflicting, colliding, contradictory, contrary, contrasting, extremely divergent, diametrically different, antithetical, polar, antipodal, figuratively inverse, generically unlike, implicatively nullifying, mutually denying, complementary, reverse, converse, adverse, counteractive, etc. When we reflect, we are compelled to admit that all assertions on behalf of clarity must cope with an indeterminate array of meanings, each of which overlaps with others in subtle ways. Their shades and grades of comprehensiveness are so indefinite that each can be found to incorporate, in one respect or another, a large portion of the English language.

DIALECTICS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

In the social sciences, patterns of dialectical exposition appear most frequently at scientific conferences or associations in which speakers, panelists, members of the audience, or some combination of these, spontaneously debate a range of topics within a common area of discourse. Prominent specimens include the eighty-three-page verbal exchange reported in Blumer's appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, and the more lengthy exchanges between anthropologists in the volume edited by Tax and others entitled *An Appraisal of Anthropology Today*.[7] Both books conclude with summary analyses suggestive of the kinds of synthesizing principles characteristic of one phase of dialectical reconstruction.

Other cases in social science exhibit a contrived dialectic in which the authors ap-

[7] Herbert Blumer, *An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America"* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939), pp. 101–84; Sol Tax, Loren C. Eiseley, Irving Rouse and Carl F. Voegelin (eds.), *An Appraisal of Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

pear to talk to themselves or to their own alter egos, deliberately structuring their arguments in a manner conducive to the rational weighing of diverse perspectives. Through the balanced articulation of personal soliloquies their listeners are engaged in a public debate. In this vein, Kluckhohn and Kelly discussed the concept of culture and Goldschmidt, with others, dramatized the ways of mankind.[8] In both treatments, ideas are presented through the projected roles of actors occupying typical social statuses, the advantage being a more nearly complete coverage of main issues. Despite some loss of spontaneity, there is an orderly progression of ideas in the language of ordinary discourse.

Contrived dialectics are not only rehearsed beforehand in the forum of private and public thought but are often structured by explicitly stated norms and conceptual guidelines. Thus, the first program of UNESCO included a project devoted to studying differences in the philosophical and historical foundations of the rights of man through the instrumentality of opposing conceptions of democracy.[9] A list of fundamental texts on the subject of democracy was reviewed, on the basis of which review and after consultation with experts a questionnaire was prepared and sent to leading scholars in philosophy, law, and social science. Finally, an analysis of the coincidences and divergencies of doctrine found in their replies was reported. Relevant to the same topic is the equally significant work on *The Idea of Freedom* under the general editorship of Mortimer J. Adler.[10]

Of direct pertinence to academic sociology is a paper by Bendix and Berger in which the perspectives of paired concepts with dual tendencies, linked and opposite at the same time, are extracted from the writings of Simmel, Tocqueville, Weber, Park, G. H. Mead, and Freud. The authors find paired concepts useful in the study of interaction, institutions, culture, society, and group conflict, but point out that such concepts have not been fully analyzed. "Instead social theorists have frequently produced new paired concepts which in part overlap with, and in part differ from, analogous formulations of the past. The most familiar example is the similarity of Sir Henry Maine's distinction between societies of status and societies of contract to Durkheim's contrast between organic and mechanical solidarity, to Toennies' contrast between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, to MacIver's contrast between culture and civilization, to Redfield's contrast between folk and urban societies, and still others."[11] The question of finding a proper balance between central concepts and dichotomous classifications can be drawn from the authors' analysis: Simmel was preoccupied with interaction, Durkheim with group coercion, Weber with the meaning of action, and Parsons with the concept of system. Insofar as these writers may have sought some stable area of reference between conceptual alternatives their efforts

[8] Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly, "The Concept of Culture," in R. Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 78–107; Walter Goldschmidt (ed), *Ways of Mankind* (Boston. Beacon Press, 1954).

[9] Richard McKeon (ed.), *Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium Prepared by UNESCO* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[10] (Garden City, N Y : Doubleday & Co , 1958); also see a modified version of contrived dialectics in Robert Lynd, *Knowledge for What* (Princeton. N J : Princeton University Press, 1946), pp 59–63 These illustrations of spontaneous and contrived dialectic fail to do justice to the sources of dialectical thinking in book reviews, editorials, rejoinders to published articles, and referees' reports on manuscripts prepared for professional journals A content analysis of these sources together with a systematic tracing of scholarly preferences regarding citations and footnoting would do much to make us aware of the implicit dialectic that governs scientific writing. These sources should be open to public examination if widely admissible criteria of appraisal are desired

[11] Reinhard Bendix and Bennett Berger, "Images of Society and Problems of Concept Formation in Sociology," in L Gross (ed.), *Symposium on Sociological Theory* (Evanston, Ill : Row, Peterson & Co , 1959), pp. 98 99.

would amount to a dialectical exploration of opposing tendencies.

Apart from Marx and early theorists of conflict, we would mention Mannheim, Simmel, Sorokin, and Pareto as representative sociologists who utilized aspects of a dialectical scheme. Mannheim suggests that objectivity is attained by synthesizing perspective insights.[12] After particularizing points of view and becoming conscious of their limits, one may find a common denominator by translating one perspective into another. The fact that various party doctrines correspond to various social situations means that the separate doctrines of different political parties can be integrated into a dynamic synthesis. For Mannheim, the best perspective "is the one which gives evidence of the greatest comprehensiveness and fruitfulness in dealing with empirical problems"; it is the point of view which "allows a perfect adjustment of the action to the objective we wish to attain."[13] That this judgment is in turn subject to dialectical examination is suggested by Mannheim's antinomy between ideology and utopia, both ideas which transcend the existing social order. Since the former is adapted to some past situation and the latter to a future social order, they are poorly adapted to the present. The best perspective, then, would be the one which gives the broadest synthesis of viewpoints at a given moment of history; being more comprehensive, it provides for more than one aspect of reality.

In Simmel's view, conflict is designed to resolve divergent dualisms and achieve some kind of unity.[14] In every moment of social unity, conflict and contradiction, convergence and divergence, attraction and repulsion operate. Without some ratio of harmony and disharmony, of association and competition, of favorable and unfavorable tendencies, society would have neither shape nor reality. Actual society "is the result of both categories of interaction which thus manifest themselves as wholly positive." The total group synthesis of persons, energies, and forms covers the wholeness of both unitary and dualistic relations. In this more comprehensive picture negative elements are seen to play a positive role. Thus suffering as opposed to happiness, vice as opposed to virtue, and failure as opposed to success do not represent things to be subtracted or eliminated from the positive context of life but as polar differentiations of one life, as dualisms which are intimately and ultimately enmeshed in all existence.

For Sorokin, there are three great cultural systems: ideational, sensate, and idealistic.[15] The latter is an integration of the other two since it contains elements that are supersensory as well as sensory, super-rational as well as rational. The opposing relations of "integration," "non-integration," and "contradiction" may pertain to various levels of persons, groups, and cultures, only some of which possess the harmonious balance of the idealistic system. Thus, the ideological level, consisting of meanings, values, and norms, may or may not be integrated with the behavioral and material levels of the cultural world. Truth and reality are composed of all three systems: they unite and reconcile the rational and irrational, the laws of identity and contradiction, the limited and unlimited, though no specification or definition is applicable to them. Sorokin's dialectic is further manifest in his theory of immanent change. The reality of historical and cultural supersystems contain their own nega-

[12] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, trans. L. Wirth and E. Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936). See the excellent analysis of Mannheim's writings by Jacques J. Maquet, *The Sociology of Knowledge* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951), pp. 19–104.

[13] Maquet, *op. cit*, p. 70.

[14] George Simmel, *Conflict*, trans. K. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1945); see also Kurt H. Wolff (trans. and ed.), *The Sociology of George Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950). Note the passages selected by L. Coser and B. Rosenberg (eds.), *Sociological Theory* (New York: Macmillan Co, 1957), pp. 199–203.

[15] Pitirim Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Co., 1937–41), esp. Vols. II and IV; see also Pitirim Sorokin, *Society Culture and Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), and Maquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–228.

tion and are therefore objects of contradictory affirmations. Like certain classical students of divinity, Sorokin regards the Absolute and indeed all concepts as oppositional (*coincidentia oppositorum*).[16]

Pareto has frequently criticized "simplicist" theories that neglect the influence of a wide variety of interacting phenomena on society. His concept of equilibrium requires a balance between disrupting and integrating forces; his various residues, especially those of combination, are functions of opposing processes. Just as the residues and derivatives are mutually inconsistent, contradictory, or non-logical, so is the whole of human behavior. Pareto's thematic emphasis on correlations, undulatory movements, and successive approximations in the dynamics of social change is compatible with a dialectical viewpoint.[17]

This group of writers could include all theorists who recognize the pluralistic interplay of conditions and consequences: Toennies, Tocqueville, Tarde, Weber, Veblen, Michels, Mosca, Mead, Dewey, Cooley, Freud, Maine, Durkheim, Sumner, Ellwood, Baldwin, Ogburn, MacIver, Schumpeter, Thomas and Znaniecki, Park and Burgess, certain Social Darwinists and diffusionists, and some contemporary sociologists, including Parsons, Merton, and Becker. In Parsons, egos and alters entertain expectations concerning role that may or may not be compatible on the diverse levels of systems of culture, society, and personality. Modalities and types of elements of action are joined to processes of institutional integration, and the whole is assessed within the relational context of social systems. Along with certain points of invariance, the differentiation of structural components in different societies is seen against the dichotomies of choice open to the actors. Not only do we read of the polarity and fusion of pattern variables (ascription-achievement, universalism-particularism, etc.) that combine antithetical values in various ways, but of the contrast and integration of instrumental, expressive, and moral orientations. Likewise, Parsons' discussion of mechanisms of social control vis-à-vis the genesis of deviance may, on one level or another, be cast in a dialetical framework.[18]

The dialectical elements in Merton's writings are probably more explicit than they are in other contemporary works. His emphasis upon the diversity and interconnections of theories and procedures, upon the reformulation and refocusing of disparate empirical generalizations, and upon the contrasts of manifest and latent, alternative and equivalent consequences, in functional analysis, attests to the frequency of opposing conceptions. In his concern for the reciprocal bearing of sociological theory on empirical research, and in his several typologies of alternative responses to social structure, thematic hypotheses are implemented by combinations of acceptances and rejections.[19]

A very different composition of dialectical alternatives may be witnessed in a line-by-line exposition of current theory of the sacred-secular.[20] Becker states that the terms "sacred" and "secular" "designate

[16] See Maquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 11.

[17] Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, Vols. I IV (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935). See also Nicholas S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory* (New York: Random House, 1957), pp. 158–67

[18] Talcott Parsons and Edward A Shils (eds and co-authors), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1951); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, [illegible] dialectical implications of the concluding paragraph of Parsons' "Pattern Variables Revisited A Response to Robert Dubin," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (August, [illegible]

[19] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (rev. and enlarged ed ; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957). The thoroughness and versatility with which he questions each scientific contribution are balanced by a readiness to adapt what can be directed to the interest of systematic exposition: a near representation of the neodialectical process.

[20] All quotations are from Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development," in H. Becker and A. Boskoff (eds), *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p 134

certain kinds of orientations toward any objects of any needs—that is to say toward values." He adds, "A value may be tangible or intangible, attractive or repellent, 'private' or 'public,' 'real' or 'imaginary,' 'vague' or 'definite,' and so on; its character as an object is constituted merely by the fact that it is defined as an object by an organism having a need related to it." Then, we are told, "Swiss cheese, 'pie in the sky,' well-being, misery, concealed pride, a prestigeful Cadillac, an enemy soldier, Satan, glory and a ten-dollar debt are all objects of needs of some kind, and in our sense are values."

Becker's second paragraph states that "needs likewise may be many and varied. Needs are always *of* an organism but by no means always *for* an organism, in the sense of ministering to survival, much less to adequate functioning." And while all needs are needs of living beings, "they may manifest themselves in ways such that the beings possessing them cease to live." This suggests that needs may contribute to the death of living beings.

Undoubtedly, dialectical elements are so ubiquitous in the writings of sociological theorists that no listing is likely to be complete.[21] Neodialectical analysis would do much to reveal the underlying obscurities in current conceptions of associative, dissociative, and mixed types of social processes; in research by Moreno and his followers on the social dynamics of repulsion and attraction; in Blumer's separation of collective behavior from cultural prescription;[22] in Bakke's fusion and problem-solving processes through which individual and organizational goals are presumed to meet;[23] in recent views on the congruence of modal personalities with sociocultural patterns; in the many-sided question of a rural-urban dichotomy as it relates to the total community; in our present interpretation of the conflicts and incompatibilities of role expectations and reference groups; and, indeed, in every issue that captures the attention of sociological research. What prevents most of these formulations from being explicitly neodialectical is that they take the relations which bind opposites to one another without skilled analysis. Isolation, interaction, equalization, differentiation, domination, adaptation, competition, individualization, equilibrium, and similar types of dialectical relations require greater specification in respect to contexts of meaning, boundary conditions, and transitional qualities. Otherwise, each may be treated as a monistic or unilinear process possessing the primacy of an unalterable historical image.

If a fruitful social science includes both the case for conceptual opposites and the case for transitional continuums, then the language of sociology should be repeatedly examined for its complementary, co-ordinate, interdependent, mediating, and unifying elements or relationships; similarly for the language of diversities, contrarieties, multipolarities, and disjunctive othernesses. Thus a considerable number of metaphysical or methodological opposites are useful for sociological analysis: they include structure versus function, objective versus subjective, logical versus psychological, external versus internal, central versus peripheral, theoretical versus practical, dependent versus independent, universal versus particular, continuity versus discontinuity, permanence versus change, intrinsic versus instrumental, organic versus atomistic, true versus false. Of course, a single term may have several opposites depending upon the context of analysis. For instance, some of the opposites of "rational" are represented by the words

[21] To say that sociology is *virtually* dialectical is not to say that all its processes are equally evident. In large measure, their acceptance is a function of linguistic preferences as, for instance, when derivations of the word "dialectic" are consciously introduced in the flow of discourse. But in all cases, it seems, dialectical elements *can* be discovered.

[22] Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Joseph B. Gittler (ed.), *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), pp. 127–58.

[23] E. Wight Bakke, *Organization and the Individual* (New Haven, Conn.: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1952).

"empirical," "practical," "aesthetic," "sentimental," and "irrational."

LIMITATIONS OF NEODIALECTIC

From the neodialectic standpoint there are no fully adequate guidelines, though there may be plausible, even useful, criteria for assessing specific aims and objectives, criteria that hold within the perspectives of certain groups, and then only until they are challenged by altered circumstances. If there are no permanent criteria, but only those which can be taken as useful standards for the duration of each study, then there is no way of escaping the arbitrary quality of our intellectual choices. Neodialectic may reduce the number of such choices but cannot expect to do away with them. It assumes that every historically persistent belief is a candidate for inquiry; that all scientifically accepted interpretations can be reckoned with, and that some highly unpopular ideas must be seriously entertained. Neodialectic cannot now indicate which of these issues should be joined to present research, but that they must be faced it does affirm as basic premise. Accordingly, it recognizes that careful deliberations proceed from the widest range of perspectives rather than from any narrow base, and that colligation of perspectives is essential to the advancement of learning.

If these suppositions are granted, the central issue of whether the neodialectical framework presupposes its own special kinds of opposites is frankly acknowledged. No doubt, any particular phase of neodialectical inquiry can be viewed from the perspective of what it excludes; but at the terminal points of analysis, contrasting perspectives provide the resources for its subsequent enlargement. Through these resources neodialectic attempts to find a place for the views which oppose it; to account, in principle, for both truth and error, clarity and confusion, sense and nonsense. In striving to be inclusive it strives to explain the degree of partiality and adequacy of that which is directed against it, and if this can be shown as expressible within it, and not permanently set apart, then neodialectic may be regarded as an "open system," with "open textures" of meaning. For what appears to stand outside of it constitutes the essential conditions of its growth. Without successively expansible contexts, the affirmation of new structures and new unities would be barren of significance. Beyond such unities, the advocate of "antidialectics" as a self-contained realm of knowledge must claim that neodialectic offers no more than a partial view of the universe.

Confronted with issues like these, we would do well to define our concepts within overlapping contexts, for in this way we can locate their radii of agreement and disagreement. Quite frequently, one group of sociologists is asserting that "*X* is the case" while another is asserting that "*X* is not the case." The problem is aggravated by the likelihood that two unqualified sentences may be logically contradictory but not inconsistent in their intended meanings, within the customary usage of words. Thus the two sentences, "Culture is inherited" and "Culture is not inherited," are not inconsistent if "inherited" refers to groups transmission in the first and genetic transmission in the second. The two expressions are not necessarily inconsistent unless they are applied in the same circumstances to the same thing at the same time and place. But since sociology is notorious for studies that are locally and temporally limited, comparative analysis is necessary to eliminate inconsistencies. Moreover, the elimination of both "real" and "apparent" inconsistencies is an essential condition of useful generalizations. We cannot know what anything is like unless we closely examine similar but opposing verbal expressions and attempt to assess the range and respects in which they seem to be incompatible. This assessment will depend upon whether we are able to estimate the degree to which the context of each expression is meant to refer to distinguishable classes of things.

Even though sociological writing is presented as rational discourse, the transition from one sentence to another does not usu-

ally follow precise steps of logical reasoning. Although such sentences are judged to be not inconsistent we would hesitate to affirm their consistency. For example: what kinds of incompatibilities are suggested by the expressions (1) "*X* is dysfunctional," (2) "*X* is not functional," and (3) "*X* is non-functional"? Expression 1 suggests (4) that there is something, *Y*, that is functional; thus 1 and 4 are complementary for they are opposites in respect to some likeness. Expression 2 is less specific with respect to its opposite; it has a wider range of incompatible predicates and for this reason the meaning of its opposite (the term "functional") is less precise. Hence its range of complements is open to broader formulation. Expression 3 is still more indeterminate; it seems to assert the irrelevance of its opposite together with the tacit concern for some set of opposites which would be indifferent to functional distinctions. Similar problems arise in using such expressions as "An ethnic group is not a racial group," "Ethnic groups are socially (culturally) defined," or "Ethnic groups are non-biological in nature." Unless we attempt to exhaust the respects in which such sentences designate compatible, incompatible, and non-compatible meanings, that is, to be decided in sense without remainder, we may find ourselves saying nothing.

All competing "systems," then, must be seen to contain neodialectical instances or elements. Moreover, competing claims, though admittedly incomplete, must be answered sympathetically and accommodated to the neodialectic framework if we are not to deny the initial plausibility of every possible perspective. Failure to reply to counterclaims is tantamount to prejudice, and in the "psycho-logic" of discourse such a failure is a decisive limitation. The only escape would be to go beyond the frameworks of both neodialectic and antidialectic for tests of truth or validity that neither recognizes. Presumably such tests would in no way contradict or oppose the neodialectic, but stand beyond it in an ontological sense; they would obtain without reference to, or reflection from, any other thing. Still, it is within the scope of neodialectic to examine the grounds of all such contentions and, if possible, to incorporate their antidialectics as special expressions of its own framework. Regarding alternative frameworks, the main objective is not cancellation but mutual assessments of language and perspective.

From this standpoint, it may be said that neodialectic is related to scientific sociology in the same way that new attitudes and methods are related to the data of an academic subject—where data are interpreted to include not only present content and procedures but also such as arise from the new approach. Thus, neodialectic would foster continuous inquiry into many problems believed by some professionals to have been settled long ago. As previously stated, these include certain current theoretical alternatives as well as numerous public issues which remain unrecognized. With the former in mind we propose a minimum list of questions to be asked of any sociological theory: (1) What are the opposites implied by a sociological term, proposition, or scheme? (2) What are the transitional or intermediate regions through which opposites are joined to one another? (3) What are the contexts of opposition and apposition that appear on various levels of logical and empirical analysis? (4) What are the methodological and substantive principles through which opposites can be integrated, synthesized, or unified? (5) What opposites are given priority by being treated as premises or antecedents for analysis? In other words, what are the conditions under which different individuals, groups, and societies favor various sets of opposites over others? Once again, the basic issue revolves around the possibility of finding alternative schemes of inquiry that are not themselves neodialectical or expressible within a neodialectical framework. We must ask questions such as the following: (6*a*) If all ideas fall short of certainty on the one hand and of nonsense on the other, are there any ideas which are not subject to neodialectical inquiry? (6*b*) If all facts are conditional or circumstantial, what

is a non- or antidialectical fact? (6c) If all theories are confronted by competing theories against which they must contest for primacy, what is a non- or antidialectical theory?

In brief, does not every form of knowledge, every form of criticism, rest upon contrast and comparison? To characterize anything must it not be collated with qualities or events that serve as opposing standards of appraisal and evaluation?

A neodialectical sociology would sanction greater flexibility and resourcefulness among scholars at every professional level. The popular notion that competent scholars necessarily maintain the same approaches and images of reality throughout their careers would be offset by the view that such men are more than likely to change the direction and course of their intellectual endeavors. Indeed, there is no escaping the observation that every developing mind must cope with the internal oppositions of its own thought. Certain ideas hold temporary ascendancy to be replaced at some later date with ideas that are distinctly different and often incompatible with those previously held. Lifelong intellectual consistency is often opposed to the spirit of human discovery.

Ideally, of course, thought patterns which are incompatible should be brought together at simultaneous periods in each scholar's career. But, given the prevalent antidialectic viewpoint, the case against the hypotheses, methods, and conclusions of a research product are rarely written by its author and only infrequently by others who are prepared to appreciate its positive contributions. Quite often, articles in sociology are written like lawyers' briefs; but, it seems, we have too many prosecutors and not enough judges.[24] The scholar who holds tenaciously to a polemical but essentially undialectical viewpoint appears to fare much better in the estimation of his colleagues.

Lest misunderstandings remain, it must be said that neodialectical inquiry purports to be a rational approach to human understanding. Its principal aim is to dissect and compose those modes of experience that carry the labels "rational," "non-rational," and "irrational." In doing this it attempts to manage the "emotional" or "mysterious" elements within itself but accepts the necessity of such elements when rational analysis condones their occurrence. Thus, neodialectic appears to offer the widest possible foundation from which "analytical theory construction"[25] may appraise the formal and empirical content of science. It provides a metatheoretical framework from which the propositions of every science or discipline, including sociology, may be selected and reviewed. By reforming the contextual opposites of imagination, logic, and fact, it is in strategic position to properly assess their contribution to sociological theory.

Should "analytical theory construction" prove to be our most promising next step it will withstand the neodialectical interplay of such alternatives as positivism, behaviorism, organicism, formalism, and functionalism. Should it constitute the most suitable mode of synthesis to be derived from neodialectic inquiry, it will meet the criti-

[24] Throughout history, "great works" of science have been challenged and often supplanted by rival interpretations. Why shouldn't every author write the strongest possible case against his own thesis? Is it true that the alleged conclusiveness of a paper on sociological research varies inversely with its range of hypothetical alternatives—without which it can have no genuine "validity"? If on these grounds we told our students that we expect them to work with opposing theoretical concepts but do not expect them to achieve conclusive results, wouldn't we be coming closer to the ideal norms of science, though departing radically from their practice?

[25] The phrase "analytical theory construction" is used by Don Martindale to identify the body of writings which appeared in L. Gross (ed.), *Symposium on Sociological Theory* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1959). For commentary on this new effort, see Don Martindale, *The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), pp. x–xi, 537–39, and Wilbert E. Moore, "The Whole State of Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (October, 1959), 715–18.

cisms that ensue from rival attempts to integrate the othernesses of form and substance that govern the character and authenticity of every sociological statement. Through the composition of languages, "inner" images are compared, ideas become visible, and the contours of reality are as nearly manifest as they can ever be. In Cassirer's words, "Life cannot apprehend itself by *remaining* absolutely within itself. It must give itself form; for it is precisely by this 'otherness' of form that it gains its 'visibility,' if not its reality."[26] Since absolute certainty is closed to us, we must "journey around the world and see whether it may not be open somewhere in back." Little remains but to traverse the compass of ideas from border to border.

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[26] Ernest Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957), III, 39.

COMMENT

TALCOTT PARSONS

Professor Gross's paper is rather difficult to comment on, not so much because of clear-cut issues on which I disagree with him, but because of the difficulty of pinning him down to any clear issues. He starts with a very sketchy critique of the present state of sociology, but the proposals he makes seem to me likely to compound rather than to remedy the very difficulties to which he calls attention.

The critical keynote is that there is too wide a "diversity of topics, methods, and aims" and a multiplication of subspecialties, and it is then alleged that such unity as there is results from "self-inclosed viewpoints that prevail because competing alternatives are either not learned or not accepted." He then suggests that there is an undesirable degree of isolation from what is being said outside sociology on such subjects as "language usage and theory formation, empiricism and operationalism, objectivity and humane values." He then speaks of the need for "an improved theoretical framework."

The direction of the remedy proposed by Gross is not at the level of theory, as this is generally understood, but as he indicates in his title and elsewhere, of "metatheory." Here his master conception is that of "neodialectic," which seems to consist mainly in the assertion that it is dangerous to assume that any single integrated conceptual scheme can prove adequate to the analysis of the rich complexity of experience, that every positive interpretation put forward can and should be countered by one or more different and conflicting interpretations. He then suggests that whenever theoretical ideas are put forward there should be a systematic search for the statement of their contradictories and opposites, on all levels and at every point. In this way sociology can be expected to remain open to new ideas and presumably the perpetuation of "self-inclosed viewpoints" prevented.

Taken at a certain level, neodialectic seems to be nothing more than the generally accepted canon of science that no proposition is ever definitively established, but that, even where facts seem to be clear, alternative explanations should continually be sought and investigation directed toward their establishment. The difficulties concern not this conception itself but the ways in which Gross proposes to use it. It is my view that, far from improving the situation, his proposal would favor steps even further in the direction of eclecticism.

Though speaking of the need for an improved theoretical framework, Gross does not give any clear conception of what it should be, or of its functions in the development of a scientific discipline. At the

risk of appearing to reiterate the commonplace, I should like to state what seem to me to be a few of the most fundamental considerations:

Science, if it is to surpass the level of common sense, must constitute a body of empirical knowledge which is systematically ordered and generalized. New knowledge of fact discovered through technical procedures is one, but only one, component of such knowledge. Even here the problems by virtue of which the knowledge of fact has significance are likely to be at least in part theoretical in a technical sense, and also the relevant statements of fact are likely to be empirical generalizations rather than the most detailed descriptive statements.

Theory, then, in the scientific sense, consists in a logically integrated set of propositions about the relations of variables, that is, abstract conceptual entities, in terms of which many statements of fact can be systematically related to each other, and their meanings for the solution of empirical problems interpreted. Besides the all-important empirical relevance, the principal criteria of good theory are conceptual clarity and precision and logical integration in the sense not only of the logical compatibility of the various propositions included in a theoretical scheme, but of their mutual support, so that inference from one part of the scheme to other parts becomes possible.

Theory, of course, always exists in a still more generalized matrix of assumptions about the nature of the systems of empirical reality to which the theory is relevant. This matrix, or "frame of reference," seems to indicate at least in part what Gross refers to as the sphere of metatheory. Examples here are the frame of reference of classical mechanics, involving the basic conceptions of particle, mass, Euclidean space and location in it, motion as change of location over time, etc. In the sociological field the primary frame of reference seems to be that of "action" as some of us have called it, using such concepts as that of "actors" who are motivated and goal-oriented, who act in situations which impose conditions on their action, and who are subject to normative regulation in the sense of "desirable" goals, values, and procedures which are not directly given in the situation itself.

Gross speaks of the need for improved theory but, in fact, pays practically no attention to what I should think of as the problems of theory. His discussion of neodialectic concerns mainly what I would call the frame of reference and the philosophical penumbra in which a frame of reference rests. The lack of direct discussion of the problems of theory seems to me to be an expression of an inadequate conception of the processes by which a science develops.

What may be characterized as the protoscientific phase of such development seems to involve eclecticism to a high degree on two levels: One is the more strictly empirical, where very wide ranges of empirical statements and much curiosity about, and investigation of, new empirical problems occur, but there is little systematic codification of empirical knowledge, hence little basis of cumulative development of the empirical organon. Then, on the second, the "theoretical" level, in a more general sense which includes frames of reference, there is likely to be a pluralism of "schools," each of which offers general interpretive schemes, usually including very broad empirical generalizations. Often these extend into the more general philosophical foundations underlying frames of reference so that it is alleged that for philosophical reasons one frame of reference "must" be adopted and another eliminated. This, for example, was true of the radical behaviorism of the early part of this century, which purported to exclude "subjective" data from scientific consideration. The conflict, particularly conspicuous in Germany in the late nineteenth century, between "idealistic" and "ma-

terialistic" schools is another important case in point.

The beginning of the crystallization of a science which, like sociology, is built about a theoretical scheme rather than a concrete class of objects (which is therefore comparable to physiology rather than to geology) tends to involve the dropping out of the "war of schools," especially at the level of the frame of reference. Beyond this will tend to emerge a common theoretical scheme, first the definition of categories, then gradually more and more closely integrated generalized propositions. With this goes both empirical and theoretical critique of older empirical generalization and the gradual codification of available empirical knowledge.

At all levels this process of crystallization tends to occur in "dialectical" opposition to previously and currently important views in disciplines concerned with the same or overlapping subject matter, both empirical and theoretical in the broad sense. Thus, in the case of sociology, there has been a dialectical opposition to economic interpretations of many social phenomena and, to a less extent (because political theory is less clear-cut than economic), to those in "political" terms. In another direction there has been dialectical opposition to the "psychologizing," in various ways, of the phenomena of social structure and functioning. Even less clear, but still important, has been opposition to the tendency of some of our anthropological colleagues to hypostatize "culture" as a kind of general explanation of all phenomena in this area and thus to treat "social organization" as a rather minor subdepartment of culture.

It is my view, partly documented in my *Structure of Social Action* (1937) and much more fully in *Theories of Society*,[1] that sociology entered this stage in the generation which spanned the turn of the century and ended about 1935. During that period the "war of schools" drastically diminished. Though with far from perfect clarity, and with incomplete consensus, still by and large a frame of reference, namely, that which we have called "action," crystallized; for that period it was most sharply formulated by Max Weber.

Within this frame of reference the concentration on the phenomena of social interaction, or more technically of social systems, has come to be relatively well agreed upon, in contrast, on the one hand, with the personality and organism of the individual, on the other hand, with "patterns of culture," as such. The lines vis-à-vis economics and political science have not been so clear, but some such formula as the sociological concern with "institutional" phenomena, in contrast with the "rational" pursuit of "interests" in wealth and power, gives a rough idea of the division of labor vis-à-vis economics and political science, though many unclarities still linger.

There is an interesting recent confirmation of this broad diagnosis of the situation in sociology. This is the rise of something like a chorus of complaints about the existence, in the United States, at least, of a kind of sociological "orthodoxy," of a "dominant school," usually defined rather broadly and vaguely as "structural functional." With varying emphases, of course, this school is said to have neglected many important problems such as those of conflict and of social change, and is sometimes alleged to use a type of theory which is inherently incapable of dealing with such problems. The types of alternative theory are also various, though probably a broad neo-Marxian type, merging with more general "historical" points of view, is the most prominent, with a certain type of "culture and personality" emphasis next.[2]

[1] A publication consisting mainly of selections from the literature in the period 1890–1935 (ed. Talcott Parsons, Edward A. Shils, Kaspar D. Naegele, and Jesse R. Pitts [2 vols.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961]).

[2] Of the former type, such names as C. Wright Mills, Ralf Dahrendorf, Barrington Moore, and David Lockwood come to mind; of the latter type, David Riesman, Eric Fromm, perhaps Dennis Wrong, and various of the writers about "mass culture."

It is perhaps not stretching things too far to suggest that this situation represents a kind of emergent "two-party system," imparting to the development of sociology a kind of internal dialectic of its own. If this is the case, the growth of an "opposition" clearly does not make sense unless there is something at least partially crystallized and integrated to oppose. Though there is less than complete unity among the critics (as certainly is true of those alleged to be "orthodox"), there does seem to be something in common in their conception of what they are opposing, though again this something is not as specifically defined as is often alleged, and there are many points at which what seem to be serious misconceptions about it are current.[3]

It is because of considerations of the type just outlined that I can neither agree with Gross's diagnosis of the present state of sociology, nor accept his proposed remedy. On the one hand, I think he greatly exaggerates the formless eclecticism of the present situation. Of course, there is a great deal of eclecticism, but this is clearly not the dominant feature of the situation, and the trend has been to decrease it rather than to increase it. Furthermore, I should strenuously disagree with Gross's suggestion that the formula "self-inclosed viewpoints" which are unaware of competing alternatives, constitutes the most important feature of the current state of theory in sociology. Indeed, I would go further to seriously question his view that unawareness of the intellectual currents flowing around its peripheries constitutes a major negative feature. We all have our parochialisms, but if one surveys the literature he will find a great deal of sensitivity to happenings in other fields, including philosophy and scientific method, and certainly mathematics, biology, psychology, anthropology, history, linguistics, political science, law, and economics.

The other side of this picture, which Gross almost altogether ignores, is the importance of getting on with the central tasks of the field itself. The two central tasks are clearly empirical research on theoretically significant problems, and theory-building in the specifically technical sense. Both tasks require not only high competence but persistent sustained effort by many people over long periods. Openness to other points of view is, of course, important and at the proper points essential. But we can never know whether a research idea or a theoretical scheme is of the first importance until it has been fully worked out and tested in innumerable ways. With all due tentativeness, this requires heuristic acceptance of it for purposes of exploration, development, and testing and, if preliminary results are not too drastically negative, it requires acceptance at this level over long periods.

Indeed it seems to me that Gross's formula of emphasizing neodialectic is not only not likely to be very fruitful but may positively impede progress. The simple reason for this is that making a primary principle of continual confrontation with alternatives at all levels is incompatible with giving any one line of analysis a fair trial. This would be true even at the level of the time and preoccupation of creative people, who would be forced to spend a disproportionate amount of time and energy defending their heuristic choices instead of acting upon them. Of course, a certain amount of this is inevitable and healthy. It is the last of my intentions to suggest that constructive criticism should be suspended: what I am suggesting is that to be constructive the critical function needs to be institutionally regulated. One of the most important functions of such regulation is relative protection of the all-important function of scientific risk-taking. The type of personality best adapted to such risk-taking is open-minded, but is also willing to make commit-

[3] An example is the conception that "structural-functional" theory is inherently incapable of dealing with the processes of social change. For an able general critique of this view see Francesca Cancian, *American Sociological Review*, February, 1961. For an empirical study of change using such theory see Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

ments, to invest heavily of his time, energy and reputation in lines of work—in particular, theoretical work—which many of his professional colleagues think less promising than the alternatives they are pressing for.

The net effect of wide acceptance of Gross's suggestion would, I fear, not be increased creativeness in the sociological field but, on the contrary, a dampening of the creativeness now existing. This is because building a science requires organization and systematization, however true it may be that any particular level of organization is tentative and temporary. Let us by all means consider all the possible alternatives, but let us not nip in the bud the creative contributions which can only be evaluated after extensive periods of development.

My plea, therefore, is for a sociological policy, of "inner-directedness" rather than an excessively "other-directed" sensitivity to the "winds of doctrine" which blow in the complex intellectual situation of our time. Neodialectic seems to me to be a doctrine of eclecticism in the undesirable sense.

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REJOINDER

LLEWELLYN GROSS

This rejoinder is written from at least two viewpoints, which taken singly or together admit of countless impenetrated issues. The first (Rejoinder A) approximates conventional methods of criticism; the second (Rejoinder B) approximates one phase of neodialectical analysis, as I at present see it.

Rejoinder A often assumes the best way to appraise a writer's work is to declare his contribution unclear, confused, contradictory, misguided, deficient, or futile. Having asserted these, or similar words, the critic is then free to discourse upon his favorite topics, leaving it to the patient reader to find some connection between what he says and what he was asked to discuss. Professor Parsons adapts aspects of this approach. Thus, (1) he has difficulty pinning me down to clear issues and finds I do not give any clear conception of my theoretical framework. (2) He has no difficulty with the conception of neodialectic at one level but disapproves of how I propose to use it; it would, he says, further the "eclecticism" I deplore (3) Referring to my remarks on the need for improved theory he states that the lack of direct discussion of theory expresses "an inadequate conception of the processes by which a science develops." (4) Moreover, he claims I greatly exaggerate the formless eclecticism of the present situation and disagrees with my "formula" of "self-inclosed viewpoints." (5) I "almost altogether ignore" the importance of getting on with the central tasks "empirical research on theoretically significant problems and theory-building in the specifically technical sense." (6) My "formula" is "not only not likely to be very fruitful but may positively impede progress" and dampen the creativeness now existing (7) Finally Parsons makes a plea for a "policy of 'inner-directedness rather than an excessive 'other-directed' sensitivity to the 'winds of doctrine' which blow in the complex intellectual situation of our time." I shall take up these points seriatim

(1) Clarity is relative to competence of reader as well as writer, and neither Parsons nor I can support opposing claims in this regard without analysis of conditions and criteria for judging this quality.

Even it clarity proves reducible to some version of tangibility, simplicity or consistency, evidence for the statement, "What is not clear to X is not clear to all sociologists" will have to be judged against evidence for its opposites: "What is not clear to X is clear to all (or some) sociologists," "What is clear to X is not clear to all (or some) sociologists," etc (2) If we take eclecticism to mean "selecting and using whatever is considered best in all systems" (*American College Dictionary*), why should

Parsons disapprove, unless, perhaps he prefers to use the best in some *one* system? Surely, a more fruitful line of inquiry would bear on the possible meanings of "best" as they relate to theoretical limitations. (3) Parsons says, "In the sociological field the primary frame of reference seems to be that of 'action.'" He concludes that although I am concerned with frame of reference I pay practically no attention to problems of theory. But Parsons does not tell us how I could possibly have discussed metatheory and dialectics, raised numerous questions, explored the language of problems and examined the problem of language without either talking about or implying problems of theory. Nevertheless, isn't discussion of "frame of reference" sufficient for a single paper? (4) Parsons projects attitudinally negative words into my essay by introducing the phrase "formless eclecticism." I would assume that if anything could be named and identified it could not be formless. Here, indeed, neodialectical analysis would be helpful! (5) Parsons' insistence that we get on with the central task — empirical research on theoretically significant problems and theory-building in the scientifically technical sense — begs some of the fundamental questions of sociology. Many of the questions raised in my essay are designed to reopen the problem of what constitutes our central tasks. Until sociologists provide analyses of what constitutes "empirical meaning," "theoretically significant problems," and "technical sense" we will remain in the dark on issues resolved by philosophers, humanists, and physical scientists. To use key terms repeatedly without critical analysis is oral ritual. (6) Whether my "formula" will prove to be unfruitful, impede progress, or dampen creativeness is anyone's guess. I would not offer strong claims without further analysis and application. Suffice it to note that Parsons warns us against destroying "by nipping in the bud the creative contributions which can only be evaluated after extensive periods of development." Are we to conclude that the deviant voice of this single essay may have catastrophic consequences? I had not looked for as much. Certainly the preponderance of essays on action theory far outnumber the few pieces that are admittedly dialectical. And who, then, is doing the nipping? (7) Parsons' plea for a policy of inner-directedness rather than excessive other-directedness could hardly be disputed by anyone who is against excess. Short of additional analysis, this phrase, like Parsons' other value judgments, is fully countered by merely asserting the opposite. Thus, when I have made a plea for a policy of sensitivity to other scholars rather than an excessive inner-directedness to the revelations of a crystallized doctrine I have said as much as Parsons. As they stand both statements may be intemperate. A central question for all theory is just the issue of what constitutes excess. In order to avoid [illegible] that any scholar is equipped to be the sole arbiter of his own errors, we must place some reliance on the judgment of others. Nothing I have said [illegible] should lead the reader to [illegible] excessive [illegible]. Parsons' views are a part of the current sociological ethos [illegible] is an [illegible] popular [illegible] in the public eye [illegible] most academic circles. For this reason [illegible] with excessive other-directedness would surely [illegible] Parsons' theories [illegible] have [illegible].

There are other observations on Parsons' comment which I present as questions for professional [illegible] before my phrase "diversity of topics, methods, and [illegible]" [illegible]. How may we scientifically assess the use of such metaphors as [illegible] of the [illegible] of complaints and words of doctrine when referring to [illegible]? What should we do with such phrases as [illegible] at the level of theory [illegible] understood [illegible] value terms like [illegible]? I raise these questions, not because I disapprove of value terms — they are sometimes indispensable — but because they deserve more discussion.

Why has Parsons [illegible] so much of the

main content of my paper? Much of his discussion of dialectical trends accords with my views but despite the apparent agreement he nowhere refers to the principles or illustrations I use, thus managing to conclude that he cannot agree with me! To summarize, Parsons' comment bears signs of self-inclosure: He ignores what I said and disapproves of what I did not say; talks above, around, or beyond my essay; never raises explicit questions; introduces his own values without joining issues; expects others to adhere to norms he does not follow; uses dialectical terms, ignoring their implications; identifies the central task of sociology with what he is doing; and fears that a prefactory theory (or metatheory) will threaten crystallized viewpoints.

Rejoinder B assumes that every scholar should supplement negative criticisms with positive ones. Faced with nearly universal inclinations to premature closure, he takes the role of the other and states the case for opposing viewpoints in the strongest possible terms. This process of "undoing" is followed by successive attempts to reconstruct (or "synthesize") diverse perspectives. What, now, is of actual or potential value in Parsons' comment and what are some of the unsolved difficulties of my presentation? He agrees that I am writing primarily on the level of metatheory rather than substantive theory and speaks of my strictures regarding the limitations of any single conceptual scheme. On these and several other points his summary is reasonably accurate. By reminding us of the need for logical integration he accents one of the fundamental requirements of sound theory.[1] By mentioning the possible overlap between metatheory and his "frame of reference" he widens the possibility of commerce between the two. Most of his remarks on the pluralism of "schools" and their claims in behalf of one frame of reference are, in my impression, historically accurate. Especially encouraging is his statement: "At all levels this process of crystallization tends to occur in dialectical opposition to previously and currently important views in disciplines concerned with the same or overlapping subject matter, both empirical and theoretical in the broad sense." If, on this premise, Parsons can grant that current action theory is probably not the final stage of conceptual crystallization, the way may be open for greater rapprochement between his and other theoretical schemes. Parsons' regard for the sensitivity of sociology to other fields is worthy of fuller discussion. To be sure, he has drawn generously from substantive areas in philosophy, economics, psychology, and anthropology. My reference was primarily to recent concepts of natural science, philosophy, linquistics, ethics, and the humanities—hardly touched upon in our current writings on theory.

Two questions call for careful analysis. Do we use other fields of knowledge in ways designed to support pre-existing conceptions or do we use them to develop new ideas? Which fields can we safely leave uncultivated without sacrificing openness of thought? Perhaps on these questions Parsons could agree, since they are pertinent to the confirmatory (test) basis of sociological theory. I believe, too, there are good reasons for concern over what Parsons terms the problem of continually confronting alternatives at all levels. Acceptance of this practice might, in some instances, lead to the over-refinement often characteristic of logical and philosophical discourse. If he means that we cannot make effective appraisals or evaluate scientific accomplishments until they are expressed in written language, and moreover, that we must often jump to conclusions before we can judge consequences, his point is well taken, as is his concern over the possibility of spending disproportionate amounts of time and energy on heuristic choices at the cost of acting upon them and his insistence that openmindedness should be supplemented by willingness to make commitments. Assessment of these antithetical tendencies is a challenging problem for neodialectical analysis.

[1] Cf Llewellyn Gross, "System-Construction in Sociology," *Behavioral Science*, V (October, 1960) 281–90.

The unsolved problems in my own framework are more numerous than can be discussed here. Some are mentioned in my Preface. A host of problems stem from issues surrounding the relation of objects of knowledge to acts of knowing. In simple terms, if objects of knowledge (the "external world") exist independent of processes by which they are known (the "production of minds"), then there must be some kind of identity (immanence or instant equivalence) of mind and object. No change (or transformation) of objects or minds would be necessary for knowledge to occur. This interpretation would make every form of theory construction and empirical research an empty endeavor; all judgments of human error and prejudice and all concepts derived from them would be vacuous. On the opposing view, that mind produces or reconstructs objects of knowledge (including "real reality"), real things themselves are not known but only their models or likenesses. But if we cannot know real things themselves how can we know that our models are similar to or resemble reality? To assert that *A* is a model of *B* we must have some way of knowing *B* apart from *A*. Still, if we know that we cannot know *B* apart from *A*, are we not saying we know something about reality and thus contradicting ourselves? These issues, and scores of others dovetailing with them,[4] have deep roots in the history of thought and are not easily put to rest by either established sociology or [illegible].

I end abruptly but leave the reader with one final question. Is it correct to say that insofar as Furfey has [illegible] paper he has [illegible] and insofar as he has not [illegible] his commentary is self-[illegible]? Of [illegible] question [illegible]

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[4] [illegible] LXV [illegible]

ANALYTICAL MODELS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS[1]

EVERETT E. HAGEN

ABSTRACT

Theory gains power as it moves toward the analysis of the systems. The logical requirements include definition of mutually interacting, functionally related variables, each with a single dimension. The system must be closed, but will be opened and reclosed for analysis. Systems need not be in either stable or unstable, static or moving equilibrium. To gain empirical relevancy and analytical power analysis must include systems not in equilibrium. In the study of societies, these logical requirements have been imperfectly understood.

As judged by the history of the physical, biological, and social sciences, study in any field is apt to begin with a none-too-ordered description of phenomena in the field, followed by a cataloguing of them on bases that seem to make sense. As understanding grows, the systems of classification become more closely related to the functioning of interacting elements. Gradually, generalizations about functioning are reached which are useful in predicting future events. As the generalizations gain rigor, they take the form of analytical models of the behavior of the elements being studied. An analytical model is a mental construct consisting of a set of elements in interrelation, the elements and their interrelations being precisely defined.

The first stage in the analysis of functioning is usually study of processes at narrowly defined points within the general area of the science. Attention is focused on how the elements at the point being examined would function in the absence of change elsewhere. Then a mental model of the processes at this point is formed, which is a simplification of reality that retains only the features essential for predicting similar processes elsewhere. Such analysis of a narrowly defined point in a system may be termed "partial analysis."

Later comes the development of more comprehensive analytical models, which in some sense encompass a complete system rather than simply one point in relationships. Such a model is termed a "general system" or "analytical model"; its construction and use are "general analysis" or "system analysis." There is no sharp distinction between partial and general models, for analysis of a general system also holds in abeyance change beyond certain boundaries. As a science is able to move to more and more comprehensive systemic analysis, its power increases greatly.

Since the work of Willard Gibbs in the physical sciences and mathematics some three-quarters of a century ago, thinking in the physical sciences has been self-consciously in terms of models. Since Walras, theoretical analysis in economics also has rapidly come to be stated exclusively in terms of models. The analytical model has only recently become prominent in the other social sciences, however, probably mainly because of their greater complexity but also because of their slighter contact with the general science of relationships among magnitudes, that is, mathematics.

In the evolution of theory, concepts found useful at various stages are later discarded as analysis grows in rigor. In the study of social systems, many early concepts, for example, those which reified society, have been sloughed off. But certain concepts and methodologies remain which, it seems, are incompatible with rigorous analysis of causal relationships.

LOGICAL REQUIREMENTS OF GENERAL SYSTEM ANALYSIS

The following requirements of general system analysis are of most interest here:

[1] I am grateful to Robert Solow for comments on the first draft of this paper.

1. An analytical model is defined by defining the elements and their interrelations.[2] The relationships among the elements of a system are statements of the alternative values (magnitudes) or states of one of the elements associated with alternative values or states of one or more of the other elements. Because the elements are assumed to vary in magnitude or state, they are termed variables— which, broadly, includes constants— that is, the variation in some may be zero. If two variables are related in this way, each is said to be a function of the other without regard to the direction of causation between them. While the flow of causation between any two elements may be in one direction and not the other, among all of the elements taken as a group, apart from the impact of forces from outside the system, all depend on all. Let it be noted clearly that this concept of mutual interdependence or interaction does not involve circular reasoning or indeterminacy.[3]

2. The variables of a system must exist either in conceptually measurable amounts, or in one or another set of definable states. It is impossible to conceive of variation in one element associated with variation in another if the two cannot be conceived of as varying by measurable amounts, or from one state or structural form to another. If a variable (such as "community spirit" or "love of family") is not defined so as to be conceptually measurable or as existing in one or another set of definable states, it cannot have a precise reasoning, in an analytical model or otherwise.

A variable is a single dimension of an entity, not the entity itself. Thus a variable is not a physical body but one of its qualities, for example, length. In a model of society, it is not an individual but, say, each value and each need (motive) attributed to him and each component of his perception of the nature of the world. The individual as a group of interacting elements may be a subsystem within the model.

3. For use in analysis a system must be "closed." A system which is interacting with its environment is an "open" system; all systems of "real life" are therefore open systems. For analysis, however, it is necessary in the intellectual construct to assume that contact with the environment is cut off[4] so that the operation of the system is affected only by given [illegible] established by the environment and not changing at the time of analysis. [illegible] is the relationships among the elements of the system.

Elements of the system whose magnitudes are wholly determined by the environment and which are therefore constant rather than variable so long as the system is insulated from change in the environment, are termed *parameters*. For example, in some analyses in economics the size of the population and [illegible]

[2] Physical scientists refer to a set of elements in interaction as an "analytical system" or simply a "system." They include as systems entities of the real world. I use the term analytical model to emphasize that the concept relevant in theoretical analysis is one of an intellectual construct.

For definitions of systems and discussions of their properties, see the following articles in *General Systems*, Vol. I (1956): Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "General System Theory," pp. 1-10, reprinted with footnotes added from *Main Currents of Modern Thought*, LXXI, 17 ff.; Kenneth Boulding, "General Systems Theory—the Skeleton of Science," pp. 11-17, reprinted from *Management Science*, II (April, 1956), 197-208; and A. D. Hall and R. E. Fagen, "Definition of System," pp. 18-[illegible]. See also W. Ross Ashby, "General Systems Theory as a New Discipline," *General Systems*, III (1958), 1-6, and *Decision Processes*, ed. R. M. Thrall, C. H. Coombs, and R. L. Davis (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954).

[3] Henderson's mechanical example provides a beautifully simple visual illustration of mutual dependence or interaction. Lawrence J. Henderson, *Pareto's General Sociology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 14.

[4] [illegible] term energy, [illegible] information. For this reason Ashby [illegible] suggests that instead of being termed [illegible] such a system should be termed [illegible] tight," or "noise tight," the last term of course coming from the terminology of the modern study of communication.

eters, that is, it is assumed that they remain constant.

In the process of analysis a closed system is not assumed to remain closed. Only extremely limited analysis is possible except as the theorist opens the system to a change in the environment, and observes its effect. Thus in a model of a society, the sequence of effects when some one type of relationship with other societies is changed may be analyzed.

4. It is often useful to construct a model which is in equilibrium, and in stable rather than unstable equilibrium.

Equilibrium in its simplest sense refers to a condition in which the variables in the system are in such a relationship to each other that all remain constant in value, not by assumption, but by their interaction. If the magnitude of a variable has been changed by a temporary change in the magnitude of some external force that affects the system, its change will necessarily cause at least temporary changes in the magnitudes of other variables, because of the functional relationships among them. (If change in one variable affects no other variable, then that one variable is not in any significant sense a part of the system.) These changes will in turn react on the magnitudes of the variable which first changed, and of each other. The equilibrium of the system is stable if the final result of this interaction, after an initial temporary disturbance, is a return to the initial values. The equilibrium is unstable if a temporary disturbance causes the values of some or all variables to move cumulatively farther from the initial equilibrium.

The equilibrium of a system may, of course, be stable with respect to one type of disturbance and not with respect to another. Further, the equilibrium of a system may be stable with respect to a small disturbance ("stability in the small") but not with respect to a large disturbance ("stability in the large"). Stability of equilibrium, moreover, implies only that the equilibrium values of the variables will remain unchanged as long as the system remains closed except for temporary "disturbances." If permanent changes in the environment are communicated to the system, there will be corresponding permanent changes in the equilibrium values of variables in the system (that is, the values they will have when the system has settled down into the new equilibrium).

To illustrate equilibrium and related concepts, suppose that deposits in a certain commercial bank are at a "normal" level, and a rumor that the bank is unsafe (a "disturbance") arises. The rumor causes a few depositors to withdraw their money (a movement away from equilibrium). If the total network of circumstances is such that the withdrawals do not lead to a spread of anxiety, but instead the outflow stops, and the funds are redeposited, then by definition the equilibrium was stable; if the initial withdrawals cause a run on the bank so that it fails, the equilibrium was unstable. The bank's equilibrium might be stable with respect to a rumor that a nearby bank was about to close, but not with respect to the unexplained disappearance of the cashier.

The stability of equilibrium is caused, not by (*a*) the degree of confidence depositors had in the bank, nor by (*b*) the magnitude of the net demand for withdrawals by depositors, nor by (*c*) the ability and willingness of the bank to supply funds taken alone, but by the interrelationships among the three --the magnitude of rise in net demand for withdrawals caused by a given decrease in confidence; the ability of the bank to supply an increase of this magnitude in the demand for funds, and the seeming lack of concern with which it does so; the effect of withdrawals of this magnitude in causing further decline in confidence; and the effect of the bank's readiness to supply funds (and the attitude of its officers) in increasing confidence.

Suppose that total income in the community increased because of opening of a new factory. With this change in one of the parameters, deposits in the bank may

be expected to rise to a new higher level, at which their value will be in a new stable equilibrium.

Comparison of the equilibrium positions of the variables of a model under two differing values of one or more of the parameters—in the example above, comparison of the level of bank deposits at the two different levels of income—is termed *comparative statics* in economics. There is no comparable term in the other social sciences.

If one or more of the parameters of a system goes through a process of continuing change—for example, if total income in the community steadily increases—the values of the variables at which they are in equilibrium may be expected to change continuously. We may then refer to a "moving equilibrium."

It is especially important, in the application of models to the study of societies, to note that the presence or absence of equilibrium in a system and the stability or instability of equilibrium are results of the interrelationships among the variables. Equilibrium or its absence, and its stability or instability, cannot be caused by the nature of one variable considered without relation to the others. If we knew the interrelationships accurately we could tell in advance whether equilibrium would be restored after a given temporary disturbance. Stability of equilibrium is not merely an *ex post facto* fact.

5. It may also be fruitful to study a system which is not in equilibrium.

Often we are concerned only with the conditions for equilibrium. We may solve a set of equations to determine the value each variable will have in equilibrium. But we may also be interested in a sequence of change, in time, in the values of the variables. A change in the position of one variable has an effect on one or more other variables only after a time interval.[9] For example, a change in birth rates will affect the age composition of the population throughout many generations. A change in the environment in which the children of a group are brought up will affect their personalities as adults only after the lapse of years necessary for them to become adults, and through their impact on their children, will continue to cause alteration in adult personality for generations thereafter.[8]

A new equilibrium will be reached only after a time interval.

In contrast to comparative statics, analysis may be made of the path of change of the several variables of the system (presumably from one equilibrium to another) when a change in a parameter occurs. Such analysis is termed "dynamics," and a model whose process of change is thus analyzed is said to be a dynamic model. The term "diachronic analysis" in [illegible] is apparently identical in meaning with dynamic analysis.

It is unfortunate that the terms *dynamic* and *dynamics* are used [illegible] with reference to [illegible] a different [illegible]. Both [illegible] they must be [illegible] introduced [illegible] to two elements [illegible]. One was the study of [illegible] personality that [illegible] is a study of [illegible] sense [illegible] the term "dynamic" [illegible] the terms [illegible] dynamic psychology [illegible]. The other [illegible] unconscious motivation. [illegible]

[8] It [illegible]

[9] We [illegible] variable is said to be a "predetermined variable."

ments appeared at once, and by terminological inaccuracy, "dynamic" became a synonym for "motivational." Thus the terms "personality structure" and "personality dynamics" are sometimes used interchangeably, and the term "personality dynamics" is also used to refer to the study of the influences which cause a person to behave as he does.

Sociology has taken over, somewhat out of context, this extension of psychological terminology. Parsons, for example, frequently refers to dynamic factors or processes in any social system, including one which is in stationary equilibrium. And, on the other hand, sociology has no technical terms for the distinction between a social system in equilibrium and one in movement not in equilibrium. Parsons discusses such movement; he entitles the relevant chapter of *The Social System* simply "The Processes of Change in Social Systems." In this essay, to prevent confusion, I shall avoid the psychological-sociological use of the term *dynamics*.

6. When the system moves to a new position of equilibrium, not all the variables necessarily change in value. The interrelationships of the system may be such that, in spite of permanent change in one or more parameters, some of the variables, after being temporarily disturbed, will return to their initial magnitudes. This is the condition termed homeostasis: it is usually illustrated by organic or mechanical examples. If the temperature in the environment of an organism falls, the fall will cause heat to drain more rapidly from the organism, which, in turn, will activate a mechanism which will increase the body's generation of heat, so that unless the fall in external temperature is too great, the temperature of the organism, after a temporary fall, returns to normal.

Homeostasis (or an analogue, if it is preferred to reserve the term for reference to biological or mechanical cases) may also be illustrated by an example from economics. Suppose that in a certain city, the price charged for putting new rubber heels on a pair of shoes is 75 cents. Suppose that the city now grows rapidly; because shoe-repair shops find themselves flooded with business, they can and do obtain 90 cents for putting new rubber heels on shoes, and obtain similarly increased prices for other shoe repairing. The increased profit margin, however, draws more artisans into the shoe-repair business, so that after a time the supply of these services increases so much that it is no longer possible to obtain more than 75 cents for putting on heels. The new equilibrium of the price of equipping a pair of shoes with rubber heels is the same as the old: a "negative feedback mechanism" has restored the former price.

Note, however, that one variable (the body temperature or the price for supplying a pair of rubber heels) could return to its old value only if another one (the bodily consumption of energy and generation of heat, or the quantity of shoe-repair services available) changed permanently in magnitude. This is an aspect of homeostasis sometimes overlooked. Homeostasis with respect to one variable necessarily implies an altered position of another—"heterostasis"—for as long a period as the changed external condition that brought the homeostatic mechanism into play prevails.[7]

CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY

It will be obvious that these requirements of analytical models are necessary characteristics of the interrelationships within any set of variables in any field. Hence concepts concerning society which contradict them are either logically mistaken or, at best, not useful. Concepts which either contradict the logical requirements or, at best, are ambiguous are found, however, in the writings not merely of lesser students but of some of the most creative and influential of recent theorists.

Some of these errors or instances of imprecise formulation of concepts may have arisen originally from a state of mind char-

[7] The term *heterostasis* is from R. C. Davis, "The Domain of Homeostasis," *Psychological Review*, LXV (January, 1958), 8–13.

acteristic of the early stages of anthropology and sociology, social constancy being regarded as good, and social change (perhaps because it created tensions, or because it was imposed, willy-nilly, from without), as bad. Some may have arisen from concentration on social structure rather than on social processes. Perhaps the explanation of their persistence is that the study of societies has not yet fully reached the stage of precise definition of variables. In any event, the social sciences are now moving toward greater precision in the definition of variables, analysis of functional relationships, and creation of models, and in this transitional phase it may be useful to call attention to some concepts that seem obsolescent.

1. In much sociological writing the concept of society is viewed as necessarily involving stable equilibrium (either static or moving). Thus in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Parsons writes, with Shils:

> The most general and fundamental property of a system is the interdependence of parts or variables. Interdependence consists in the existence of determinate relationships among the parts or variables as contrasted with randomness of variability. In other words, interdependence is *order* in the relationship among the components which enter into a system. This order must have a tendency to self-maintenance, which is very generally expressed in the concept of equilibrium. That is, if the system is to be permanent enough to be worth study, there must be a tendency to maintenance of order except under exceptional circumstances. It need not, however, be a static self-maintenance or a stable equilibrium. It may be an ordered process of change—a process following a determinate pattern rather than random variability relative to the starting point. This is called a moving equilibrium and is well exemplified by growth. Furthermore, equilibrium, even when stable, by no means implies that process is not going on; process is continual even in stable systems, the stabilities residing in the interrelations involved in the process.[8]

Note that the word *stable* here is used to refer to static as distinguished from moving equilibrium, and not to stable equilibrium in the sense in which the term is defined above.[9]

In this statement, it is not entirely clear whether the reference to moving equilibrium is to that concept as defined above (continuing shift in equilibrium caused by continuing change in an exogenous force) or to a dynamic process (change in time in the values of variables in the system caused by the relationships within the system). However, in the latter case the statement is tautologous, and means merely "Do not study a system unless it is a system," for the only possible states of a system are equilibrium and dynamic. Hence, and because his own analytical models are purely static,[10] I conclude that Parsons is warning against formulation of models not in equilibrium.

Related is the implication in the terms "dysfunction," "eufunction," and "nonfunctional" in Merton and in Levy[11] that tendency toward equilibrium is somehow good and toward disequilibrium somehow bad. While these authors may disavow the implication [illegible]

Parsons [illegible] noted that [illegible] possesses [illegible]

[8] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 107.

[9] [illegible]

[10] [illegible]

[11] Robert K. Merton, [illegible] Free Press, 195[illegible], p. 51; Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 195[illegible]) [illegible]

stable equilibrium, but only that it is not worth studying unless it does. The restriction is thus logically permissible. It also has empirical relevance. Some societies certainly have had a tendency toward stability of equilibrium; their internal dynamics have at best brought rather slow change. But adherence to this model as the general case unnecessarily limits the domain of sociological theory, and excludes from sociological theory important problems that ought to be treated within it. First, it tends to exclude from the theoretical system consideration of what kind of force is necessary (and sufficient) to push the society away from the equilibrium and lead to the disruption of the social system. Second, it excludes study of the relationships within the society which will determine the nature of the sequence of change in time, once the equilibrium has been disturbed - or the nature of a sequence of change in time in a society conceived of as never having been in equilibrium, but rather under continuing change from its own dynamics. Virtually all societies in the world at present are in a process of change which, however it began, is best analyzed as continuing partly by virtue of the dynamics within the system itself. A model of stable equilibrium is not a satisfactory theoretical analogue for use in studying their behavior. If sociologists are to analyze change in a society as a whole, rather than merely to describe it loosely, they must go beyond models in equilibrium and construct models involving dynamic processes.

Further, even with regard to a society - or a model---in stable equilibrium, or changing only very slowly, study of the relationships that bring about the stability or quasi-stability may be extremely friutful. It is illuminating to isolate the network of relationships which, if a temporary disturbance brings change within a society, determines whether the change will be cumulative or whether the system will return to the initial equilibrium. Out of studying precisely this question great advances in the understanding of societies, even of societies in stable equilibrium, may come.

2. Perhaps underlying these difficulties are undesirably vague definitions of *function.* The question of the meaning of the concept has been much speculated upon since Radcliffe-Brown's essay of 1935,[12] yet in 1954 Parsons had not yet arrived at a precise meaning. Referring to testing the significance of processes, he states "That test of significance takes the form of the 'functional' relevance of the process. The test is to ask the question, what would be the differential consequences for the system of two or more alternative outcomes of a dynamic process."[13]

And in 1957, Merton defined function as "the observed consequences" of "a sociological item" for "the social or cultural system in which it is implicated,"[14] a statement which in addition to being vague suggests that the nature of a single "item" can lead to stability or instability.

These statements are not incorrect, only

[12] A R Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," *American Anthropologist,* Vol XXXVII (1935), reprinted in his *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses* (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1952)

[13] *The Social System,* pp 21 22 The term *dynamic* here does not refer to change in the equilibrium of the system, but to a process of action by an individual or a group in a role In neither *The Social System* nor *Toward a General Theory of Action* does Parsons define *function*

[14] This definition is arrived at by joining phrases from two sentences, on the assumption that *function* and *dysfunction* as contrasting concepts are subcategories of the general concept *function*

"We have observed two prevailing types of confusion enveloping several current conceptions of 'function'.

"(1) The tendency to confine sociological observations to the *positive* contributions of a sociological item to the social or cultural system in which it is implicated; . . .

"Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system." *Social Theory and Social Structure,* p 51

vague. In them precisely what does the word *consequences* refer to?

These writers have made great contributions to sociological theory, as Radcliffe-Brown did to anthropology. It implies no lack of appreciation of their work to suggest that, in the most fruitful usage, only a quality can be a variable; only a variable has a functional relationship; a functional relationship consists of the change in the magnitude (or state) of one variable (not in a system) associated with change in the magnitude (or state) of another; and no single variable, but only the functional relationships among variables can lead to stability (adaptation, adjustment) or instability in a system.

Though system analysis is used more in psychological theory than in that relating to societies or communities as wholes[15] failure to state theory relating to social systems in terms of variables, functions, and a general system has not been for lack of sophistication. Rather, the difficulty has been one of substantive complexity. The applicability of functional analysis, in the mathematical sense, in any science does not become apparent to students of that science until they have been able to arrive at a certain precision and breadth of understanding of causal relationships. This is why each discipline slowly and stumblingly rediscovers concepts concerning method already discovered long ago in other disciplines—why, for example, economics clumsily and painfully groped its way to the concept of marginal productivity and only subsequently realized that it was merely applying elementary calculus to its problems; and why anthropologists groped toward the concepts of synchronic and diachronic analysis, and not all anthropologists realize fully even today that they are referring to static and dynamic analysis of an analytical system. Scholars are not apt to realize the applicability of the concepts of variable, function, and general system until they understand [illegible] in their field of study well enough so that their images of the phenomena in the field of analysis begin to resolve [illegible] in interaction.

Freudian and post-Freudian analyses of personality formation has [illegible] possible to formulate [illegible] of individual personality and its [illegible]. If we incorporate [illegible] models of society, the time when we may formulate useful [illegible] fied models of society [illegible] of societal change [illegible]. Even a model which [illegible] functional relat[illegible] that between two [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] vehicle for the [illegible] of substantive analysis.

Massachusetts Inst[illegible]

[15] For a recent discussion by a psychologist which takes aim beyond the boundaries of his discipline, see James G. Miller, "Toward a General Theory for the Behavior Sciences," *American Psychologist*, X (September, 1955), 513–31, reprinted in *The State of the Social Sciences*, ed. [illegible] D. White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN A NORWEGIAN VILLAGE

GEORGE K. PARK AND LEE SOLTOW

ABSTRACT

Leveling in the distribution of economic goods in a small Norwegian town over a twenty-year period is such as to cast doubt upon the rational basis for the keen local political factionalism. Analysis reveals a definite relationship of political preference to occupational rank, although not to income, wealth, or age. Occupational strata thus constitute a set of positions which support broad differences of interest in an egalitarian nation which does not recognize a class system, while politics provides some of the gratifications secured elsewhere by class distinctions.

While the student of national or local politics is often able to deal comfortably with his subject, the student of social structures ordinarily enjoys less freedom. National politics has its proper arena into which local issues may normally intrude only in recognized ways; the social structure of a nation is more nearly a conglomeration of all its local structures. The various approaches used by the sociologist, the historian, and the archeologist to study the most complex social structures do not compare in thoroughness and reliability with the comparably holistic studies used by the social anthropologist for dealing with more circumscribed tribal societies and primitive states, selecting only a village or a single small city from within a larger society.

It thus remains an inconvenient truth that the relations of politics and social structures are difficult to study well. As between local and national politics, an understanding of the latter is surely the more important; as between local and national social structures, an understanding of the former is clearly the more easily gained. The present essay attempts to cope with this difficulty by concentrating upon the manifestations of a national political movement within a local area whose social structure could be subjected to study in some detail. The treatment of the local polity as a microcosm of the national state is not without its difficulties; yet in the case of Norway these are far less pronounced than might be expected in a more populous state or in one less thoroughly dominated by a popular, centralized government. Further, national parties and factions are in Norway remarkably active on the level of the local commune—local, provincial, and national politics are closely knit.

Although settled with the coming of the steamship to Nordland in the nineteenth century, the fjord village of Hemnes has existed as a self-contained political unit only since 1929. Only a few of its residential areas antedate both the accidental fire of 1923 and the military devastation of 1940. A population of something over 1,200 persons has long been firmly attached, however, by kinship and sentiment to the locality—sociologically, there has been no break in the community's existence. In such a village it is possible to reconstruct through detailed statistical analysis changes over the twenty-year period spanning the major recent shift in Norwegian politico-economic organization; and to correct and extend with some confidence the impression of structural change which local statistics afford in the light of intensive field observation and interview.[1]

THE LEVELING MOVEMENT: 1932–52

If a single ideology can be said to dominate Hemnes today, it is the body of leftist idealism and "revolutionary" dogma which carried the Norwegian Labor Party to power in 1935. In the popular mind, a planning- and welfare-oriented socialism is conceived

[1] Field work was conducted by the first-signed author under U.S. Educational Foundation grants for 1953–54 and 1954–55.

to have superseded laissez faire capitalism as the genius of a new social order, characterized by an all-important leveling of incomes and life chances— a belief which statistical analysis does not controvert.

A comparison of 1932 and 1952 shows a marked leveling of incomes, a less tangible reduction in inequalities of wealth, and a pronounced tendency toward the displacement of wealth by annual income as to their relative significance (Table 1). It will be seen that mean fortune (real and personal property at market value) for 1932 was more than three times mean income, while fortune was only 25 per cent greater than income in 1952. The comparison of income distributions thus gains in significance if the 1932 distribution had remained constant, each personal income would have increased proportionately with the general rise, this putative distribution (the 1932 column of Table 2) may be contrasted with the actual distribution after a lapse of twenty years. The extent of change is perhaps best indicated by isolating the four middle income classes for each year. This middle range comprised in 1932 little more than a third of the recipients, but accounts in 1952 for nearly two thirds.

TABLE 1

INCOME AND FORTUNE OF INCOME RECIPIENTS

	[illegible]	Mean Income Kr.	Mean [illegible] Kr.
1932	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1952	[illegible]	6,267	[illegible]

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF THE 1932 AND 1952 INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]000	14.1	[illegible]
4,000	[illegible]	[illegible]
6,000	[illegible]	[illegible]
8,000	[illegible]	[illegible]
10,000	11	[illegible]
15,000	[illegible]	[illegible]
20,000	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	100.0	100.0
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

When the statistical technique of Table 2 was applied to the distributions of taxable wealth for 1932 and 1952, inspection revealed only a slight leveling. In exact measures of dispersion for both income and fortune (Table 3) the *mean difference* is to be interpreted as the average difference in income or fortune between two individuals.[2] As a percentage of the mean this difference is much less for the 1952 than for the 1932

TABLE 3

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			
1932	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1952	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			
1932	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1952	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

income [illegible] the relative spread [illegible]

D[illegible] constitute the [illegible] differences [illegible] majority of villagers. [illegible] Table 1 that there is [illegible] tendency to translate income into taxable wealth [illegible] the distribution of [illegible] Table 4 [illegible] at least a partial explanation.

Average [illegible] much more from [illegible] class to [illegible] class [illegible] than in 1952, one can argue that for practical purposes there is [illegible] income [illegible] class in 1952. Where this is the case the importance of personal savings as a hedge against loss of income [illegible] greatly diminishes [illegible] leveling of the life cycle of income [illegible] in the social significance of [illegible] accumulated wealth.

It would [illegible] difficult to argue that the [illegible] of incomes in

[2] [illegible] M. G. K[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Hemnes in 1952 was such as to provide ground for continued agitation against inequality. The curve of distribution of incomes destined to be shared with two or more dependents was virtually unskewed; only 4.5 per cent of them fell below the middle range identified for Table 2.

The foregoing statistical analysis should be interpreted with caution on two counts. First, the data are subject to the special sources of inaccuracy inherent in the tax returns from which they were drawn. Second, the year 1932, while representative enough of its decade in Hemnes, reflects cyclical as well as secular changes in the regional and national economies—the distributional change in incomes would probably have been less if a base year such as 1927 could have been used.[3]

Perhaps more important, however, is the leveling in substantial items of consumers' capital in Hemnes, which may be attributed directly to socialist legislation and which affects the meaning of both income and fortune figures for 1952. Chief among these is housing, which is heavily subsidized by state funds and is maintained—as a condition for this subsidy—at a substantial standard; the newly rebuilt village of Hemnes *looks*, in fact, like a "classless" community on first impression, and this impression is shared in a significant degree by the villagers themselves. It is rather easy for the common man to command good housing, and the well to do are in effect compelled, through taxes paid to the state, to help him.

The same principle applies, of course, more concretely to the various services of the welfare state which must be managed from local revenues. Winter unemployment is endemic in Nordland; because of it, and because even employment is in Norway, first and foremost, a local responsibility, communities like Hemnes are obliged to adopt very heavy schedules for the local income tax. While discussion of the Norwegian tax structure lies beyond the scope of this paper, two points merit stress: first, that the interest of the majority focuses upon the *local* income tax, since only the well to do pay large sums to the state; second, that the sharply progressive state tax supported by the political left does materially reduce the marginal gain in incomes above the average.

TABLE 4

MEDIAN INCOME BY AGE CLASS

Age	1932 Median Income: In Kroner	1932 Median Income: As Percentage of 750 Kroner*	1952 Median Income: In Kroner	1952 Median Income: As Percentage of 7,500 Kroner*
30-39 . . .	550	73.3	6,500	86.7
40-49 . . .	850	113.3	8,000	106.7
50-59 . . .	1,050	140.0	7,500	100.0
60-69 . . .	550	73.3	6,500	86.7

* The median income for ages 30-69 was 750 kroner in 1932 and 7,500 kroner in 1952.

In the leveled community of Hemnes, no sentiment was more often expressed in deprecation of a competitive commitment to gain through hard work than that which deemed it profitless because of taxes.

THE STRUCTURE OF "CLASSLESSNESS"

Within the technologically advanced nation, smallness in itself—smallness of the order we have here to consider—is no bar to the development of a class system. Gosforth, to cite but one example, is a village of a little more than 700 persons; yet many cases are given in which a woman and her children are consistently assigned to one "class" and the husband and father to another.[4] The classes described by Williams bear his own labels; but they are actor, not observer, constructs. No such categories of social rank exist in Hemnes, and our con-

[3] See Lee Soltow, "Shifts in Factor Payments and Income Distribution," *American Economic Review*, XLIX (June, 1959), 395–98.

[4] W. M. Williams, *Gosforth: The Sociology of an English Village* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), pp. 86-120.

sideration of some objective indexes by which differences in class position are often judged has failed to contraindicate the state of classlessness which informants claimed for their community. The system of discrete, ranked status groups reported for Gosforth entails modes of communication by which claims to superior status are publicly made and publicly granted or denied. But Hemnes, along with the remainder of this region of Norway, has during the twenty-year span we are considering come to be dominated by a leveling ideology and a leveling code of social values. As a result, there is neither intellectual nor emotional tolerance of "class" pretensions—there is, rather, an exceedingly active intolerance thereof.

The contrast in what might be called "status folkways" between the Norwegian and an American community is striking. The dominant political voice in Hemnes is that of a militant egalitarian, explicitly denying precisely that kind of recognition for material economic success, displayed in patterns of conspicuous consumption, for which the open class system of the United States is justly celebrated.[5] Wealth must, indeed, in Hemnes remain inconspicuous, occupational prominence, whether in commerce or the professions, all too frequently exposes a person to unpopularity. In its status order, as in its economic, Hemnes appears to qualify as a "classless" community.

But to consider a classless community is not to consider a community lacking structure, or one in which social differences may not have a demonstrable significance. "Classlessness" in Hemnes is virtuous in itself—and as with all things virtuous, perhaps, it calls for active opposition to tendencies which work against it. Thus, within the village there are easily remarked differences in education, in taste, and in wonted style of life which—whether or not they reflect distance inequalities in income—tend to be expressed in the pattern of informal association. In a larger community than Hemnes, cliques so formed—while not yet merging and clustering as community-wide status groups—might far more readily be typed and felt as belonging upon "higher" and "lower" social levels. And, in the formal structure of role relationships in the village, the functionally necessary pattern of subordination and superordination is de-emphasized, to be sure, in the local code of manners in work as in other relationships—but is not eradicated by popular insistence upon the moral equivalence of persons. As applied to a community of this nature the task of structural analysis is not aided by a nice correspondence between levels of material well-being and [illegible] of social deference [illegible] apparently [illegible] of discovering the moral significance of status differentiation.

While the [illegible] in itself gives little clue to [illegible] governing social differentiation, a [illegible] analysis of the [illegible] small community where [illegible] may come to know [illegible], the [illegible].

Occupationally, Hemnes is a [illegible] differentiated [illegible] progress [illegible] over twenty years may be stated in [illegible]. Thus, for [illegible] personal names in the tax register for 1932 there were [illegible] occupational titles, [illegible] for 4 [illegible] in 1952 the number of titles was 12[illegible] the proportion of titles to names had only slightly [illegible], while the number of [illegible] occupations had increased by one-half. The following sectors in 1952 accounted together for about half the working population: [illegible] trades and construction, [illegible] business and [illegible] shipbuilding and the manufacture of other wood products. Each sector [illegible] special significance for the local polity. In the building trades, an abnormally high level of activity was destined to subside even if prolonged by implementation of an ambitious plan for

[5] Yet it may be noted that in respect of its [illegible] the Norwegian social system is more nearly comparable to that of the United States than to the European type, as these are contrasted by Rose (Arnold M. Rose, "The Concept of Class and American Sociology," *Social Research*, XXV [Spring, 1958], 53–70).

civic development. State support was wanted for continuing construction work in the fjord area. The second sector—business and local administration—reflected the continuing chief *raison d'être* of the village, but one largely denied in the popular consciousness. The long-established wood industries faced a critical adjustment to a changing national and international economy—an adjustment for which the local political leadership was prepared to take some responsibility.

The local occupational system is, in effect, a structure of opportunities into which young persons are steadily recruited and from which each must take, in substantial measure, his enduring social identity. Because of the critical importance of formal educational qualifications, the effective range of occupational choice today narrows in Hemnes at a distinctly early age.

For the young person who will remain in the village a near-final occupational choice has almost certainly been made within a year or two of his graduation from school. When it is once decided that he will not continue his education elsewhere, his choice of a line of local work has minimal significance for his future status: downward mobility is about as likely as upward. Of the ninety-nine natives of the immediate area who had passed through the local school system in the postwar period, forty-five were mobile upward and twenty-five downward with respect to the parent's occupation. When individuals were excepted whose specialized choices of career virtually precluded settlement in the Hemnes area, twenty-one cases of downward mobility and only thirteen of upward mobility remained—the way of occupational achievement for the villager lies outward, in gaining skills which will be marketed regionally or nationally, and the competition must be largely within the school system.[6]

Not only in the village but in the larger communities which the career-oriented villager seeks, occupational competition requires formal qualification for advancement, in the waged and salaried positions as well as in the professions. With few exceptions, businesses are small and "struggling"- self-employment is a value in itself but is most often heavily mortgaged and rarely gives rise to that confident affluence which is its natural standard of successful achievement. By contrast, competition, with its satisfactions and its discontents, is endemic in the political realm where it might be said to receive a compensating emphasis. As in any modern community, a man's social identity is in Hemnes largely colored by his work; but the moral significance of this fact appears there less clearly in the competition of persons than in that of political ideologies.

STRUCTURE OF WORK ROLES

While a ranking of occupations on the basis of their local "prestige" would have been a formally possible forced choice, it would have run counter to the local ethical emphasis upon the invidiousness of such distinctions; nor would the meaning of the results have been at all clear. On the other hand, each occupational role was characterized by (1) the "command position" implied in the typical work-situation relative to other roles directly articulated with it; and (2) the prerequisite training and educational qualification. On each score, any occupation could be assigned a rating based upon empirical evidence; used in combination, the two sets of ratings discriminated occupational grades in a manner independent of income and "prestige" or generalized preference rankings. The method employed in assigning the two types of rating was as follows:

1. The "command position" of an occupation was construed to include both "command over the actions of others" and "com-

[6] Data are based on combined occupational ratings (see below) applied to parent and offspring For thirty-eight individuals continuing or intending to continue their education, it was necessary to use prospective occupation in the assignment of a rating. For the ninety-nine cases taken together, there was little correspondence between the occupational status of parent and that of offspring (index of association = .056).

mand over existing resources and benefits";[7] but only within the context of work itself. Low (−1), intermediate (0), and high (+1) ratings were assigned regardless of typical income or putative social position; and the assignments were to occupations, not to persons. Where a rating based exclusively upon "command over the actions of others" (*ca*) would have been in disagreement with a rating based upon "command over existing resources and benefits" (*crb*), the greater weight was given to the former. Thus the roles of schoolteacher and school principal (since the incumbents command a considerable plant and equipment) rate "high" as to *crb*, but the final rating of the teacher was "intermediate"—corresponding to his positional context in the school system. Again, a master tinker normally has a shop of his own, but was rated "intermediate" along with the majority of independent craftsmen and small shopkeepers: to be free of superiors in one's typical work situation was sufficient to preclude a "low" *ca* rating, but a "high" rating was assigned only where there would normally be two subordinate roles over which one enjoyed command, or where "professional" status toward "clients" or "patients" was involved.

2. The "recruitment qualification" rating could be assigned on a single and unambiguous basis. The low (−1) value was accorded to any occupation which did not normally require training beyond the uniform nine years of public schooling; the intermediate value (0) was assigned to roles which normally require formal vocational training but no further academic education; and an occupation which normally does entail at least a completed secondary schooling was assigned the high (+1) rating.

As revealed by this type of analysis, the occupational structure of Hemnes is characterized by distinct strata. In Table 5 the "command" and "recruitment" ratings are arithmetically combined to yield five occupational grades. In both 1932 and 1952 a considerable majority of the occupied males fell within the two lowest grades, while in each year the two highest grades comprised the bulk of the remainder. Occupations falling in the intermediate grade were only meagerly represented. It will be seen (Table 6) that this result cannot be attributed to the manner in which the separate ratings were applied to the listed occupations but

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIED MALES BY COMBINED RATING GRADES

Combined Occupational Rating	1932 No.	Per Cent Distribution		1952 No.	Per Cent Distribution		[illegible]	[illegible]
+2	16	6.4		23	5.9			
+1	37	14.8	21.2	36	9.3	15.[illegible]	[illegible]	
0	7		2.8	14		3.6	[illegible]	[illegible]
−1	67	26.8		127	32.6			
−2	123	[illegible]	76.0	189	48.6	81.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	250		100.0	389		100.0		

TABLE 6

CROSS-TABULATIONS OF "COMMAND" AND "RECRUITMENT QUALIFICATION" RATINGS FOR OCCUPIED MALES

Command Rating	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1932				
+1	123	11	0	134
0	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]
−1	0	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	250
1952				
+1	189	[illegible]	1	224
0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	118
−1	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	47
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	37	389

[7] See S. F. Nadel, *The Theory of Social Structure* (London: Cohen & West, 1957), pp. 114 ff.

to a polarization in the manner in which the independent ratings combined. Thus the distinction of two major occupational classes —an elite and a commonalty—appears justified. The classes have very similar proportions whether only males or both sexes are taken into account, and the over-all stability of proportion is notable over the twenty years.

TABLE 7

INCOMES OF MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES FOR OCCUPIED PERSONS OF BOTH SEXES

Occupational Class	1932 Class Size No.	1932 Class Size Per Cent	1932 Mean Class Income In Kroner	1932 Mean Class Income As Percentage of Village Mean	1952 Class Size No.	1952 Class Size Per Cent	1952 Mean Class Income In Kroner	1952 Mean Class Income As Percentage of Village Mean
Elite:								
Upper.........	18	5.8	3,539	348.7	[illegible]	[illegible]	12,375	197.5
Lower	42	13.6	1,812	178.5	47	[illegible]	[illegible]	134.6
Commonalty:								
Upper	81	26.3	826	81.1	116	[illegible]	5,938	[illegible]
Lower	156	50.7	[illegible]	[illegible]	206	52.1	[illegible]	[illegible]
Intermediate	11	3.6			19	[illegible]		
Total....	308	100.0	..	.	396	100.0		

TABLE 8

MEAN COMBINED OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS FOR MALES BY INCOME CLASS

1952 Income Class Lower Limit (in Kroner)	Mean Occupational Rating 1952	Mean Occupational Rating 1932*	Deviation from Mean for All Males 1952	Deviation from Mean for All Males 1932*
0.....	−1.462	1.316	0.374	0.340
4,000.....	−1.192	1.471	0.111	0.494
9,000.	−0.700	+0.309	0.388	+1.385
11,000	0.000	+0.759	1.088	+1.735
All occupied males .	−1.088	0.976		

* Equivalent income class

Since the rating of occupations was in no way based upon their pecuniary remuneration, it is significant that despite the substantial leveling of before-tax incomes in the twenty years, the relationship of income to occupational class remains clear-cut in the later year. Differences are pronounced between the elite and the commonalty, and between the upper and lower grades within the elite, but not between upper and lower grades within the commonalty. While the persistence of a small and clearly privileged occupational elite may seem the salient implication of Table 7, the size and homogeneity of the unprivileged class are of no less significance.

When income is chosen as the independent variable, there is, in fact, at the level of the common man little relationship in either year between income and occupational standing. Only by selecting very large income classes, as in Table 8, can a definite correspondence be shown; and even in this case it holds, for the commonalty, only in the later year. While detailed analysis of an "income elite" (consisting, for each year, of persons whose incomes were at least one-third higher than the village mean) showed a distinct association between income and occupational rating, the numbers were small; and since an "elite" extracted in this manner from the statistical data does not today constitute in Hemnes the self-con-

scious and confident group it might once have formed there, the important conclusion remains that there is a very limited basis for a strong association between occupational advancement and improvement in one's standard of living.

The class which here has been called an "occupational elite" cannot, any more than the elite of wealth, be called a self-conscious and solidary, opinion-forming group, capable of sponsoring and maintaining its own norms of conduct. Two potential bases for such group formation exist—the rallying of a "capitalistic" group about the merchants, and of an "intellectual elite" around, say, the schoolteachers and other professionals. The first type once existed in Hemnes but was vanquished in a local political revolution; its most vocal remnant is a heavy-drinking clique known jocularly as "the Big Four"—in this obstreperous group, and in a small clique of ex-Nazis which meets in a neighboring hamlet, the arch-conservative protest is lodged. The second, which might provide leadership for an occupational elite, does not because it is precisely the "intellectuals" among this elite who are committed to egalitarian fraternization—and because, in any event, the occupational elite has no monopoly in Hemnes upon keenness of mind or articulate leadership. The moral center of balance resides with the common man; his ideological leadership comes from his own ranks and is sympathetically echoed as often as it is contradicted by members of the occupational elite.

Analysis of the structure of work roles thus reveals categories which find no direct recognition in the moral life of the community. The tendency toward stratification which in spite of income-leveling is a clear characteristic of the economic order is reinforced by no corresponding tendency in personal status relationships. Rather, the system of values in terms of which personal prestige may most readily be gained runs almost counter to that sanctioning ambition in the world of work and economic reward.

POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

While the quality of "openness" may be predicated of the Norwegian social system as a whole, in which Hemnes participates, an important cluster of social values usually associated with a popular urge toward economic achievement—and hence, as it is often assumed, a high actual rate of vertical mobility—is de-emphasized. The example of moderately privileged position is present but, as it were, largely ignored. Yet the quality of openness appears very clearly in the community's political life, which is characterized by an [illegible] egalitarianism, in great part is dominated by representatives of the common man, and [illegible] as full an existence on the level of the possible and the conceivable as on the level of practical action. In its freedom from [illegible] and particularism, the moral [illegible] is an extension of the political. The men of importance in the village are those who have made their way to positions of popular leadership [illegible]

The political [illegible] in Hemnes are more [illegible] than [illegible] parties. Defection [illegible] to sponsor an [illegible] list of candidates for the governing council of the commune. The [illegible] which this [illegible] the sign of [illegible] political factions. It is on this [illegible] that politics has its most [illegible] vitality.

In Norwegian towns [illegible] political youth organizations, loyalty to a party of the Left will be held [illegible] almost as a rule of life. In Hemnes [illegible] youth organization has held the field politically; it serves many [illegible] ground for leadership of the Center and Left. Since active leaders often continue with the organization into their early thirties, they may move from it directly to the communal council. More generally, leaders may be said to emerge from the activities of those factions which comprise, in a loose manner, the core of a political party. Yet the conditions for

co-optation scarcely exist in Hemnes, although they are somewhat more apparent in the larger town in the Ranafjord region. Party election lists bear normally more names than there are seats on the council; the seats are allotted according to a formula for proportional representation. While a party may list its favored leader or leaders twice (so that a single voter may double his support for one candidate), the order of names on a list represents little more than the party's guesswork as to the popularity of its candidates—there is little presumption that local voters will follow the listing as an official recommendation. Indeed, the parties in Hemnes simply do not enjoy so authoritative a standing. Rather, an election is a quite direct form of popular poll in a community whose every candidate, as well as his doctrinal position and his political presence, is well known. Since to be without a defined political position is, in the prevailing opinion, incompatible with social prominence of any sort, there is a strong presumption that each party will be able to persuade its most promising adherents to accept a place on the ballot. Party lists should therefore be taken as fairly reliable indicators of party composition, provided it is recognized that any group of candidates will represent the upper range of occupational positions for its party.

Party and faction represent important bases of social alignment in Hemnes, although they cannot be said in any simple sense to control the pattern of informal association. The classic opposition of political Left and political Right remains the clearest dimension of factional differences—although a Trotskyite, a Stalinist, and a radical Laborite might certainly disagree as to their relative positions on such a scale. Social cleavage of a conscious sort may occur between rival factions which are close on the classic continuum; and while simple party affiliation as such is no predictor of informal social alignments, which in a small village are far more subtly determined and sensitive to incident, the awareness of political distance here parallels the awareness of vertical social distance or ethnic or religious differences in other modern communities. A man in conversation will readily identify another as to party or faction; factions tend to be named for the man who is felt to control them.

If the factions sort themselves, however, along the classic scale of political ideologies, it is reasonable to question their functional

TABLE 9

MEAN INCOME, FORTUNE, AND AGE OF CANDIDATES OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES, 1952*

	No. of Candidates	Mean Income*	Mean Fortune*	Mean Age (in Years)
Labor	19	9 5	6 8	46
Liberal	11	9 5	16 9	40
Conservative .	12	6 4	12 7	46

* In thousands of kroner

TABLE 10

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION FOR VARYING VALUES OF INCOME, FORTUNE, AND AGE IN 1952*

Income of Person (in Kroner)	Person with Zero Fortune: Age 30	Age 60	Person with Fortune of [illegible]0,000 Kroner: Age 30	Age 60
5,000 . .	+ 11	01	+ 49	+ 37
13,000	− 67	− 79	29	·41

* As indicated by regression analysis of 45 candidates X_1 [illegible] 715 [illegible] 097X_2 [illegible] .013X_3 [illegible] 004X_4, where X_1 is the political party ranked from Left [illegible] to Right (− 4+1), X_2 is income in thousands of kroner, X_3 is fortune in thousands of kroner, and X_4 is age in 1952

basis *after*, as it were, a socialist revolution and a victory of leveler policies. It is the implication of Tables 9 and 10 that the social and economic characteristics there considered do not serve to predict the party of a candidate for election. Mean incomes (Table 9) are high for the political Center and Left, but only average for the Right.

The expectation is not borne out that positions to the political Left would be associated with smaller incomes and fortunes and that the opposite would be the case for the Right. Neither does it appear that radicalism can be associated with youth and conservatism with age. Table 10 shows the result of employing a multiple linear regression equation to establish relationships between the dependent variable, political party affiliation, and the independent variables of income, fortune, and age. The arbitrary value 1 was assigned to the Labor party, 0 to the Liberal party and +1 to the Conservative party. A value of +.11 would indicate that a person was 11 per cent of the arbitrary distance from the Liberal to the Conservative party. Values for each of the independent variables are approximately the tenth and the ninetieth percentiles. It may be seen that there is a tendency for a person to be 49 minus .11 or 38 per cent of the arbitrary distance closer to the Conservative party if he has a fortune of 30,000 kroner (the ninetieth fortune percentile) than if he has no fortune. But anomalies occur in respect to income and age with which conservatism would appear to be negatively associated. If sampling error is considered, none of the net regression coefficients is significantly different from zero. The relationships, then, are of limited practical significance.

This result might be held to indicate a failure of the functional basis for political differences: the classic political spectrum is actively maintained, but without correlation with the socioeconomic differences generally invoked as its rationale. Politics would then appear, perhaps, as a sort of ideological game, pursued for its own sake, or as a survival or an arbitrary ground for the voluntary organization of the community. Such hypotheses, however, fall into a subsidiary place when it is shown that a rather clear association exists between political party and occupational class standing, as here defined.

A fair indication of the relative occupational composition of the three parties is yielded by an analysis of the ratings of all candidates in all elections since the founding of the commune in 1929. In Table 11 each party is listed together with the average of the "command" and "recruitment qualification" ratings of all the leaders and prime exemplars of its policies who have appeared on its election lists.

The findings nicely reflect a stereotype of the three parties which is frequently met in

TABLE 11

[illegible]

Labor	[illegible]	549?
Liberal	[illegible]	+ 165?
Conservative	− 319?	270?

Holmes: the Left (Labor) has been represented by persons who ranked notably low on both occupational indexes. Center (Liberal) candidates have ranked high on both scores, and the Right (Conservative) has been represented by persons whose "command" position in the occupational role system has not been matched by the formal educational qualification attached to it.

The significance of higher and lower average ratings can be stated with some precision for the most recent election (Table 12), where significant departures from the mean score for all males on the tax lists were to be found only in the cases of the political Center, whose representatives ranked high on both indexes, and of the Right, whose representatives ranked very high as to "command" position in the context of work. The meaning of the above-average ratings for

"All candidates" has been noted; relative differences among the several party groups remain as fair indicators of the distinct interests represented.

The general relationship here suggested between political orientation and occupational class position is corroborated by statistical examination of the degree of association (considering candidates in all elections and ranking the three parties from Left to Right) among the three variables—party affiliation, "command" rating, and "recruitment qualification" rating. The indexes of association (Table 13) are comparatively constant for all elections, although they are higher for the period before, than for that since, the war and German occupation.

TABLE 12

1951 PARTY CANDIDATES' OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS EXPRESSED AS DISTANCES FROM 1952 OVER-ALL MEAN RATINGS FOR VILLAGE MALES

Party	Distances from Over-all Mean Ratings for Males*: Mean "Command" Rating	Mean "Recruitment Qualification" Rating
Labor	− 019	− 052
Liberal	+ 705	+ 632
Conservatives	+ 871	+ 185
All candidates	+ 360	+ 156

* The 1952 mean "command" rating for village males was − 455, the mean "recruitment" rating was − 632.

In a community whose social system is not, for the vast majority, centered about a conscious competition for livelihood and material welfare, and in which the relationship between quality of occupation and quantity of income is for the same majority of little practical significance, it should not be surprising that politics does not have a pronounced "class" basis. It has shown, however, that political behavior does in fact have a clear relationship to status within the occupational role system—a relationship of precisely that order which is in the class society readily associated with the operation of rational self-interest. In one respect, then, the social structure of an egalitarian community fails to differ from that of the more frankly stratified community which continues to be dominated by the values of capitalism.

If the value system of the capitalistic society is appropriately described as centering upon individual economic achievement, the contrasting emphasis of Norwegian culture as it appears in Hemnes is rather upon achievement of a political nature—a form of achievement which has both individualistic and collectivistic aspects. Politics there possesses the vitality which the pursuit of riches lacks. It is through his political behavior that a villager may most openly express, and is in a sense obliged to elect, identity with a classlike segment of his society. For the ambitious person whose occupation is unrewarding, the pursuit of a political following and a responsible office offers the possibility of an alternative or substitute career—for while the devotion to material gain is anathema to the true village radical, a quite untainted form of success is possible in the leadership of a radical faction or party. The able member of the occupational elite, on the other hand, may find the social rewards of his position insufficient in a society which does not readily grant honor in proportion to material affluence, or always match the dignity of an occupation with that of the style of life its incumbent can afford. For such a man politics offers itself as a supplementary or adjunctive career from which, in Hemnes, the most tangible form of social recognition is to be gained. Moveover, since political recognition is granted most

TABLE 13

INDEXES OF ASSOCIATION: POLITICAL PARTY WITH OCCUPATIONAL "COMMAND" AND "RECRUITMENT QUALIFICATION" RATINGS FOR HEMNES ELECTION CANDIDATES

Period	Index of Association: Party and "Command" Rating	Party and "Qualification" Rating
Prewar elections	290	368
Postwar elections	.265	294
All elections, 1929–51	285	333

conspicuously by one's occupational peers, emphasis on achievement in politics may be said to have in its collective aspect a special structural significance. Faction and party foster a displaced or latent form of class awareness. It is through its political segmentation that the village is consciously organized as a whole; and political identities are in the public mind realistically associated with occupational position.

But the clearest function of factionalism and party politics has relation not to the motives which govern political careers so much as to those which inspire a self-interested response to the decisions of government. Members of the governing council make important decisions in the Norwegian commune, which collects and locally spends the major tax on personal incomes, and which enjoys a considerable autonomy in the allocation of its funds. The rate of taxation which a commune adopts each year reflects its anticipated expenditures, and the bulk of these are directly or indirectly entailed in the maintenance of an even employment and an even distribution of material goods and services. The heavy rate of taxation in Hemnes reflects, particularly, winter seasonal unemployment (common throughout North Norway) and the collective effort to improve communal facilities, from roads and sewers to centers for recreation and community service. The extra-routine expenditures are many, and few are not debated with partisan fervor. The local politician may thus attain to a position of real power; his exercise of that power will follow from the ideological position of his party.

Because the leveling of incomes is not self-perpetuating but must be vigilantly maintained, the occupational commonalty in Hemnes stands to gain from a local as from a national government of the Left. The continuing vitality of radicalism has then a fairly simple explanation in the comparatively dependent status of its supporters. But for the occupationally privileged, established in positions of some authority or independence, and backed by specialized qualifications, support for the Left has not the same sanction in private interest. In a substantially leveled community, where qualitative occupational differences form a clearer basis for stratification than the differences of income and wealth from which distinct styles of life may develop, and where opposing interests can best be discerned in relation to factors implicit in the grading of occupations rather than in a symbolic status-ranking of persons, the analysis of social structure must apparently be focused upon a latent — not a manifest — system of classes. But it is the persisting stratification of the social order which, rather than a mere will to differ or a simple survival of older values, accounts for the abiding strength of political differences.

The classes here described, while they can be shown to meet political behavior within measurable limits, have not been seized upon by the villager as a comprehensive basis for ordering informal social life except as differences of occupational identity are expressed indirectly in factionalism. It is proposed that an analysis of this sort, even though it has been limited to a small village whose life could be known intimately, is not irrelevant to the task of understanding the social structure of a nation which [illegible] exemplified, in some measure, capitalism, has rejected certain of its dominant values in favor of direct egalitarianism. A hypothetical type, such as this, of the modern community as it may be shaped by such a society may serve as a useful model for comparative study. Certain major traits, characteristic of the village, appear to be present in recognizable form in larger Norwegian communities.

Thus it is evident that a notable contrast will be found between the community — however complex in its occupational structure — whose value system supports a manifest stratification of the social life, and a comparable community whose members are predominantly committed to opposing all that is meant by "class." Such opposition is as strong throughout Norway as the political

parties whose popular support depends upon it. An erstwhile system of classes remains even in the largest cities only as a relic of what it once was, not only because of its loss of prestige but more because of the increasing falure of older class monopolies over ranking occupations. Yet very tangible qualitative differences of occupational status persist; and these continue to have a political significance parallel to that of manifest class position in the society more wholeheartedly predicated upon individual economic achievement.

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AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE AND RURAL CLASS RELATIONS[1]

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ABSTRACT

Property is far more important in rural stratification than in urban stratification, where occupational position predominates. There is less similarity of the property systems in commercialized agriculture than there is in urban occupational structure. In agricultural production for markets the main types of property systems are commercialized manorial systems, plantation systems, and ranching systems. Each of these produces a distinctive pattern of class relations, determining the sharpness of differences of legal privileges and style of life, and shaping the distribution of technical culture and political activity.

Marx's fundamental innovation in stratification theory was to base a theory of formation of classes and political development on a theory of the bourgeois enterprise.[2] Even though some of his conceptualization of the enterprise is faulty and though some of his propositions about the development of capitalist enterprise were in error, the idea was sound: One of the main determinants of class relations in different parts of the American economy is, indeed, the economic and administrative character of the enterprise.[3]

But Marx's primary focus was on class relations in cities. In order to extend his mode of analysis to rural settings, we need an analysis of rural enterprises. The purpose of this paper is to provide such an analysis and to suggest the typical patterns of rural class relations produced in societies where a type of rural enterprise predominates.

PROPERTY AND ENTERPRISE IN AGRICULTURE

Agriculture everywhere is much more organized around the institutions of property than around those of occupation. Unfortunately, our current theory and research on stratification is built to fit an urban environment, being conceptually organized around the idea of occupation. For instance, an important recent monograph on social mobility classifies all farmers together and regards them as an unstratified source of urban workers.[4]

The theory of property systems is very much underdeveloped. Property may be defined as a legally defensible vested right to affect decisions on the use of economically valuable goods. Different decisions (for instance, technical decisions versus decisions on distributions of benefits) typically are affected by different sets of rights held by different sets of people. These legally de-

[1] James S. Coleman, Jan Hajda, and Amitai Etzioni have done me the great service of being intensely unhappy with a previous version of this paper. I have not let them see this version.

[2] This formulation derives from Talcott Parsons' brief treatment in *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 488–95.

[3] Cf. especially Robert Blauner, "Industrial Differences in Work Attitudes and Work Institutions," paper delivered at the 1960 meeting of the American Sociological Association, in which he compares class relations and the alienation of the working class in continuous process manufacturing with that in mechanical mass production industries.

[4] S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* [illegible] University of California Press [illegible] American [illegible] attention. Yet [illegible] characteristic [illegible] systems very [illegible] (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 195[illegible]), p. [illegible] In [illegible] United States [illegible] Americans to worldly success was that of Tennyson's "Northern Farmer, New Style": "But proputty, proputty sticks, an' proputty, proputty graws."

fensible rights are, of course, important determinants of the actual decision-making structure of any social unit which acts with respect to goods.

But a property system must be conceived as the typical interpenetration of legally vested rights to affect decisions and the factual situation which determines who actually makes what decisions on what grounds. For example, any description of the property system of modern business which ignores the fact that it is economically impossible for a single individual to gain majority stock holdings in a large enterprise, and politically impossible to organize an integrated faction of dispersed stockholders except under unusual conditions, would give a grossly distorted view. A description of a property system, then, has to take into account the internal politics of typical enterprises, the economic forces that typically shape decisions, the political situation in the society at large which is taken into account in economic decisions, the reliability and cost of the judiciary, and so forth. The same property law means different things for economic life if decisions on the distribution of income from agricultural enterprise are strongly affected by urban *rentiers'* interests rather than a smallholding peasantry.

It is obviously impossible to give a complete typology of the legal, economic, and political situations which determine the decision-making structure within agricultural organizations for all societies and for all important decisions. Instead, one must pick certain frequent constellations of economic, technical, legal, and labor recruitment conditions that tend to give rise to a distinct structure of decision-making within agricultural enterprises.

By an "enterprise" I mean a social unit which has and exercises the power to commit a given parcel of land to one or another productive purpose, to achieve which it decides the allocation of chattels and labor on the land.[5] The rights to affect decisions on who shall get the benefit from that production may not be, and quite often are not, confined within the enterprise, as defined here. The relation between the enterprise and power over the distribution of benefit is one of the central variables in the analysis to follow, for instance, distinguishing tenancy systems from smallholding systems.

Besides the relation between productive decisions and decisions on benefits, some of the special economic, political, and technical characteristics which seem most important in factual decision-making structure will be mentioned, such as the value of land, whether the "owner" has police power over or kinship relations with labor, the part of production destined for market, the amount of capital required besides the land, or the degree of technical rationalization. These are, of course, some of the considerations Marx dealt with when describing the capitalist enterprise, particularly in its factory form. Plantations, manors, family-size tenancies, ranches, or family farms tend to occur only in certain congenial economic, technical and political environments and to be affected in their internal structure by those environments.

A description and analysis of empirical constellations of decision-making structures cannot, by its untheoretical nature, claim to be complete. Moreover, I have deliberately eliminated from consideration all precommercial agriculture, not producing for markets, because economic forces do not operate in the same ways in precommercial societies and because describing the enterprise would involve providing a typology of extended families and peasant communities, which would lead us far afield. I have also not considered the "community-as-enterprise" systems of the Soviet sphere and of Israel because these are as much organizational manifestations of a social movement as they are economic institutions.[6]

[5] Occasionally, the decisions to commit land to a given crop and to commit labor and chattels to cultivation are made separately, e.g., in cotton plantations in the post bellum American South. The land is committed to cotton by the landowner, but labor and chattels are committed to cultivation by the sharecropper

[6] However, the origin of the *kolkhoz* or collective farm does seem to depend partly on the form of

Systems of commercialized manors, family-sized tenancies, family smallholdings, plantations, and ranches cover most of the property systems found in commercialized agriculture outside eastern Europe and Israel. And each of these property systems tends to give rise to a distinctive class system, differing in important respects from that which develops with any of the other systems. Presenting argument and evidence for this proposition is the central purpose of this paper.

VARIATIONS IN RURAL CLASS RELATIONS

Rural class structure in commercialized agriculture varies in two main ways: the criteria which differentiate the upper and lower classes and the quality and quantity of intraclass cultural, political, and organizational life. In turn, the two main criteria which may differentiate classes are legal privileges and style of life. And two main qualities of class culture and organization are the degree of familiarity with technical culture of husbandry and the degree of political activation and organization. This gives four characteristics of rural class structures which vary with the structure of enterprises.

First, rural class systems vary in the extent to which classes are differentiated by legal privileges. Slaves and masters, peons and *hacendados*, serfs and lords, colonial planters and native labor, citizen farmers employing aliens as labor—all are differentiated by legal privileges. In each case the subordinate group is disenfranchised, often bound to the land or to the master, denied the right to organize, denied access to the courts on an equal basis, denied state-supported education, and so on.

Second, rural stratification systems vary in the sharpness of differentiation of style of life among the classes. Chinese gentry used to live in cities, go to school, compete for civil service posts, never work with their hands, and maintain extended families as household units. On each criterion, the peasantry differed radically. In contrast, in the northern United States, rich and poor farmers live in the country, attend public schools, consume the same general kinds of goods, work with their hands, at least during the busy seasons, and live in conjugal family units. There were two radically different ways of life in rural China; in the northern United States the main difference between rich and poor farmers is wealth.

Third, rural class systems vary in the distribution of the technical culture of husbandry. In some systems the upper classes would be completely incapable of making the decisions of the agricultural enterprise; they depend on the technical lore of the peasantry. At the other extreme, the Spanish-speaking labor force of the central valley in California would be bewildered by the marketing, horticultural, engineering, and transportation problems of a large-scale irrigated vegetable farm.

Fourth, rural classes vary in their degree of political activity and organization, in their sensitivity or apathy to political issues, in their degree of intraclass communication and organization, and in their degree of political education and competence.

Our problem then is to relate types of agricultural enterprises and property systems to the patterns of class relations in rural social life. We restrict our attention to enterprises producing for markets, and of these we exclude the community-as-enterprise systems of eastern Europe and Israel.

CLASS RELATIONS IN TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE

1. THE MANORIAL OR HACIENDA SYSTEM

The first type of enterprise to be considered here is actually one form of precommercial agriculture, divided into two parts: cultivation of small plots for subsistence by a peasantry, combined with cultivation by customary labor dues of domain land under the lord's supervision. It fairly often happens that the domain land comes to be used for commercial crops, while the peasant land continues to be used for subsistence agri-

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prerevolutionary agriculture. Collectivization seems to occur most rapidly when a revolutionary government deals with an agriculture which was previously organized into large-scale capitalist farms.

culture. There is no rural labor market but, rather, labor dues or labor rents to the lord, based on customary law or force. There is a very poorly developed market in land; there may be, however, an active market in estates, where the estates include as part of their value the labor due to the lord. But land as such, separate from estates and from manors as going concerns, is very little an article of commerce. Estates also tend to pass as units in inheritance, by various devices of entailment, rather than being divided among heirs.[7]

The manorial system is characterized by the exclusive access of the manor lord (or *hacendado* in Latin America) to legal process in the national courts. A more or less unfree population holding small bits of land in villein or precarious tenure is bound to work on the domain land of the lord, by the conditions of tenure or by personal peonage. Unfree tenures or debts tend to be inheritable, so that in case of need the legal system of the nation will subject villeins or peons to work discipline on the manor.

Some examples of this system are the hacienda system of Mexico up to at least 1920,[8] some areas in the Peruvian highlands at present,[9] medieval England,[10] East Germany before the reconstruction of agriculture into large-scale plantation and ranch agriculture,[11] the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in the main, up to at least 1848,[12] and many other European and South American systems at various times.

The manorial system rests on the assumptions that neither the value of land nor the value of labor is great and that calculation of productive efficiency by the managers of agricultural enterprise is not well developed. When landowners start making cost studies of the efficiency of forced versus wage labor, as they did, for instance, in Austria-Hungary in the first part of the nineteenth century, they find that wage labor is from two to four times as efficient.[13] When landowners' traditional level of income becomes insufficient to compete for prestige with the bourgeoisie, and they set about trying to raise incomes by increasing productivity, as they did in eastern Germany, the developmental tendency is toward capitalistic plantation or ranch agriculture.[14] When the waste and common become important for cattle- or sheep-raising and labor becomes relatively less important in production, enclosure movements drive precarious tenants off the land. When land becomes an article of commerce and the price and productivity of land goes up, tenancy by family farmers provides the lord with a comfortable income that can be spent in the capital city, without much worry about the management of crops. The farther the market penetrates agriculture, first creating a market for commodities, then for labor and land, the more economically unstable does the manorial economy become, and the more likely is the manor to go over to one of the other types of agricultural enterprise.

In summary, the manorial system combines in the lord and his agents authority over the enterprise and rulership or *Herr-*

[7] In some cases, as in what was perhaps the world's most highly developed manorial system, in Chile, an estate often remains undivided as an enterprise but is held "together in the family as an undivided inheritance for some years, and not infrequently for a generation. This multiplies the number of actual owners [but not of haciendas], of rural properties in particular" (George M. McBride, *Chile: Land and Society* [New York: American Geographical Society, 1936], p. 139).

[8] Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929), pp. 91–133.

[9] Thomas R. Ford, *Man and Land in Peru* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955), pp. 93–95.

[10] Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1905), pp. 212–35, 291–365.

[11] Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsatze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924), pp. 471–74.

[12] Jerome Blum, *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria, 1815 1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), pp. 23, 68 87.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 192 202.

[14] Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 471- 77

schaft over dependent tenants. Classes are distinct in legal status. In style of life the manor lord moves on the national scene, often little concerned with detailed administration of his estate. He often keeps city residence and generally monopolizes education. Fairly often he even speaks a different language, for example, Latin among Magyar nobility, French in the Russian aristocracy, Spanish, instead of Indian dialects, in parts of Latin America.

The pattern of life of the subject population is very little dependent on market prices of goods. Consequently, they have little interest in political issues. Even less does the peasantry have the tools of political organization, such as education, experienced leadership, freedom of association, or voting power. Quite often, as, for example, in the Magyar areas of the Hapsburg monarchy or among the Indian tribes of Latin America, intraclass communication is hindered by language barriers. A politically active and competent upper class confronts a politically apathetic, backward, and disenfranchised peasantry.

2 FAMILY-SIZE TENANCY

In family-size tenancy the operative unit of agriculture is the family enterprise, but property rights in the enterprise rest with *rentier* capitalists. The return from the enterprise is divided according to some rental scheme, either in money or in kind. The rent may be fixed, fixed with modification in years of bad harvest, or share.[15] The formal title to the land may not be held by the noncultivator—it is quite common for the "rent" on the land to be, in a legal sense, the interest on a loan secured by the land.

This type of arrangement seems to occur most frequently when the following five conditions are met: (*a*) land has very high productivity and high market price; (*b*) the crop is highly labor-intensive, and mechanization of agriculture is little developed; (*c*) labor is cheap; (*d*) there are no appreciable economies of scale in factors other than labor; and (*e*) the period of production of the crop is one year or less. These conditions are perhaps most fully met with the crops of rice and cotton, especially on irrigated land; yet such a system of tenancy is quite often found where the crops are potatoes or wheat and maize, even though the conditions are not fulfilled. A historical rather than an economic explanation is appropriate to these cases.

The correlation of tenancy arrangements with high valuation of land is established by a number of pieces of evidence. In Japan in 1944, most paddy (rice) land was in tenancy, and most upland fields were owner-operated.[16] The same was true in Korea in 1937.[17] South China, where land values were higher and irrigated culture more practiced,[18] had considerably higher rates of tenancy than did North China.[19] In Thailand tenancy is concentrated in the commercialized farming of the river valleys in central Siam.[20] In Japan, up to World War II, except for the last period (193[illegible]), every time the price of land went up the proportion of land held in tenancy went up.[21]

The pattern of family-size tenancy was apparently found in the potato culture of Ireland before the revolution, in the wheat culture of pre-World War I Rumania,[22] and

[15] But share rents in commercialized agriculture are often indicators of the splitting of the enterprise, as discussed above—it most frequently reflects a situation in which land is committed to certain crops by the landlord and the landlord markets the crops, while the scheduling of work is done by the tenant and part of the risks are borne by him.

[16] Sidney Klein, *The Pattern of Land Tenure Reform in East Asia* (New York: Bookman Associates, [illegible]), p. [illegible].

[17] *Ibid.*, p. [illegible].

[18] See Chen Han-Seng, *Landlord and Peasant in China* (New York: International Publishers, [illegible]), pp. [illegible].

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. [illegible], and Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 2[illegible].

[20] Erich H. Jacoby, *Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, [illegible]), pp. [illegible].

[21] Ronald P. Dore, *Land Reform in Japan* (London: Oxford University Press, [illegible]), p. 21.

[22] Henry L. Roberts, *Rumania: Political Problems of an Agrarian State* (New Haven, Conn

also that of Bosnia-Herzegovina (now part of Yugoslavia) at the same period.[23] The sugar-cane regions of central Luzon are also farmed in family-size tenancies, though this is so uneconomical that, without privileged access to the American market, cane culture would disappear.[24] It also characterizes the cotton culture of the highly productive Nile Valley in Egypt[25] and the cotton culture of the Peruvian coast.[26] This pattern of small peasant farms with rents to landlords was also characteristic of prerevolutionary France[27] and southwest England during the Middle Ages.[28] In lowland Burma a large share of the rice land is owned by the Indian banking house of Chettyar,[29] and much of the rest of it is in tenancy to other landlords. The land-tenure system of Taiwan before the recent land reform was typical family-size tenancy.[30]

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this list is the degree to which this system has been ended by reform or revolution, becoming transformed, except in a few Communist states, into a system of smallholding farms. And even in Communist states the first transformation after the revolution is ordinarily to give the land to the tiller: only afterward are the peasants gathered into collective farms, generally in the face of vigorous resistance.

The system of *rentier* capitalists owning land let out in family farms (or *rentier* capitalists owning debts whose service requires a large part of farm income) seems extremely politically unstable. The French Revolution, according to De Tocqueville, was most enthusiastically received in areas in which there were small farms paying feudal dues (commuted to rent in money or in kind).[31] The eastern European systems of Rumania and parts of Yugoslavia were swept away after World War I in land reforms. Land reforms were also carried through in northern Greece, the Baltic states, and many of the succession states of the Hapsburg monarchy (the reform was specious in Hungary). A vigorous and long-lasting civil war raged in Ireland up to the time of independence, and its social base was heavily rural. The high-tenancy areas in central Luzon were the social base of the revolutionary Hukbalahaps during and after World War II. The Communist revolution in China had its first successes in the high-tenancy areas of the south. The number of peasant riots in Japan during the interwar period was closely correlated with the proportion of land held in tenancy.[32] Peasant rebellions were concentrated in Kent and southeast England during the Middle Ages.[33] In short, such systems rarely last through a war or other major political disturbance and constantly produce political tensions.

There are several causes of the political instability of such systems. In the first place, the issue in the conflict is relatively clear: the lower the rent of the *rentier* capitalists, the higher the income of the peasantry. The division of the product at harvest time or at the time of sale is a clear measure of the relative prerogatives of the farmer and the *rentier*.

Second, there is a severe conflict over the distribution of the risks of the enterprise. Agriculture is always the kind of enterprise

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Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 14-17, Tables IX, X, p 363.

[23] Jozo Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, Calif. Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 96–101, 355

[24] Jacoby, *op. cit*, pp. 181–91, 203–9.

[25] Doreen Warriner, *Land Reform and Development in the Middle East* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957), pp. 25–26

[26] Ford, *op. cit.*, pp 84 85.

[27] Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* ("Anchor Books" [Garden City, N.Y.. Doubleday & Co, 1955]), pp. 23 25, 30 32.

[28] George Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 21.

[29] Jacoby, *op. cit*, pp. 73, 78 88.

[30] Klein, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–54, 235.

[31] De Tocqueville, *op cit*, p. 25.

[32] Dore, *op cit*, p 72 (cf this data on tenancy disputes with the data on tenancy, p 21).

[33] Homans, *op. cit*, p 119.

with which God has a lot to do. With the commercialization of agriculture, the enterprise is further subject to great fluctuation in the gross income from its produce. *Rentiers*, especially if they are capitalists investing in land rather than aristocrats receiving incomes from feudal patrimony, shift as much of the risk of failure as possible to the tenant. Whether the rent is share or cash, the variability of income of the peasantry is almost never less, and is often more, than the variability of *rentiers'* income. This makes the income of the peasantry highly variable, contributing to their political sensitization.[34]

Third, there tends to be little social contact between the *rentier* capitalists living in the cities and the rural population. The *rentiers* and the farmers develop distinct styles of life, out of touch with each other. The *rentier* is not brought into contact with the rural population by having to take care of administrative duties on the farm, nor is he drawn into local government as a leading member of the community or as a generous sharer in the charitable enterprises of the village. The urban *rentier*, with his educated and often foreign speech, his cosmopolitan interests, his arrogant rejection of rustic life is a logical target of the rural community whose only contact with him is through sending him money or goods.

Fourth, the leaders of the rural community, the rich peasants, are not vulnerable to expulsion by the landowners, as they would be were the landowners also the local government. The rich peasant shares at least some of the hardships and is opposed in his class interests to many of the same people as are the tenants. In fact, in some areas where the population pressure on the land is very great, the rich peasants themselves hold additional land in tenancy, beyond their basic holdings. In this case the leadership of the local community is not only not opposed to the interests of the tenants but has largely identical interests with the poor peasants.

Finally, the landowners do not have the protection of the peasants' ignorance about the enterprise to defend their positions, as do large-scale capitalist farmers. It is perfectly clear to the tenant farmer that he could raise and sell his crops just as well with the landlord gone as with him there. There is no complicated co-operative tillage that seems beyond the view of all but the landlord and his managers, as there may be in manorial and generally is in large-scale capitalist agriculture. The farmer knows as well or better than the landlord where seed and fertilizer is to be bought and where the crop can be sold. He can often see strategic investments unknown to his landlord that would alleviate his work or increase his yield.

At least in its extreme development, then, the landowning class in systems of family-size tenancy appears as idle, superfluous, grasping, and exploitative. Their rights in agricultural enterprise appear as an unjustifiable burden on the rustic classes both to the peasantry and to urban intellectuals. No marked decrease in agricultural productivity is to be expected when they are dispossessed, because they are not the class that carries the most advanced technical culture of agriculture. Quite often, upon land reform the productivity of agriculture increases.[35]

So family-size tenancy tends to yield a class system with an enfranchised, formally free lower class which has a monopoly of technical culture. The style of life of the upper class is radically different from that of the lower class. The lower class tends to develop a relatively skilled and relatively invulnerable leadership in the richer peasantry and a relatively high degree of politi-

[34] Though they deal with smallholding systems, the connection between economic instability and political activism is argued by Lipset (op. cit., pp. [illegible]) and by Rudolf Heberle (*Social Movements* [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1951], pp. 240–48; see also Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 246, and Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958], p. [illegible]). Aristotle noted the same thing: "It is a bad thing that many from being rich should become poor, for men of ruined fortunes are sure to stir up revolutions" (*Politics* 1266b).

[35] See, e.g., Dore, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–19.

cal sensitivity in the poorer peasantry. It is of such stuff that many radical populist and nationalist movements are made.

3. FAMILY SMALLHOLDING

Family smallholding has the same sort of enterprises as does family tenancy, but rights to the returns from the enterprise are more heavily concentrated in the class of farmers. The "normal" property holding is about the size requiring the work of two adults or less. Probably the most frequent historical source of such systems is out of family-tenancy systems by way of land reform or revolution. However, they also arise through colonization of farmlands carried out under governments in which large landlords do not have predominant political power, for instance, in the United States and Norway. Finally, it seems that such systems tend to be produced by market forces at an advanced stage of industrialization. There is some evidence that farms either larger or smaller than those requiring about two adult laborers tend to disappear in the industrial states of western Europe.[36]

Examples of such systems having a relatively long history are the United States outside the "Black Belt" in the South, the ranch areas of the West, and the central valleys of California, Serbia after some time in the early 19th century,[37] France after the great revolution, most of Scandinavia,[38] much of Canada, Bulgaria since 1878,[39] and southern Greece since sometime in the nineteenth century. Other such systems which have lasted long enough to give some idea of their long-term development are those created in eastern Europe after World War I; good studies of at least Rumania[40] and Yugoslavia[41] exist. Finally, the system of family smallholding created in Japan by the American-induced land reform of 1946 has been carefully studied.[42]

Perhaps the best way to begin analysis of this type of agricultural enterprise is to note that virtually all the costs of production are fixed. Labor in the family holding is, in some sense, "free": family members have to be supported whether they work or not, so they might as well work. Likewise, the land does not cost rent, and there is no advantage to the enterprise in leaving it out of cultivation. This predominance of fixed costs means that production does not fall with a decrease in prices, as it does in most urban enterprises where labor is a variable cost.[43] Consequently, the income of smallholders varies directly with the market price of the commodities they produce and with variability in production produced by natural catastrophe. Thus, the political movements of smallholders tend to be directed primarily at maintenance of the price of agricultural commodities rather than at unemployment compensation or other "social security" measures.

Second, the variability of return from agricultural enterprise tends to make credit expensive and, at any rate, makes debts highly burdensome in bad years. Smallholders' political movements, therefore, tend to be opposed to creditors, to identify finance capital as a class enemy: Jews, the traditional symbol of finance capital, often come in for an ideological beating. Populist movements are often directed against "the bankers." Further, since cheap money generally aids debtors, and since small farmers are generally debtors, agrarian movements tend to support various kinds of inflationary

[36] Folke Dovring, *Land and Labor in Europe, 1900–1950* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), pp. 115–18. The median size of the farm unit, taking into consideration the type of crops grown on different sized farms, ranges from that requiring one man-year in Norway to two man-years in France, among the nations on the Continent.

[37] Tomasevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–47.

[38] Dovring, *op. cit*, p. 143.

[39] Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Nationalism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 106.

[40] Roberts, *op cit.*

[41] Tomasevich, *op cit*

[42] Dore, *op cit*

[43] Wilfried Kahler, *Das Agrarproblem in den Industrieländern* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), p. 17.

schemes. Small farmers do not want to be crucified on a cross of gold.

Third, agrarian movements, except in highly advanced societies, tend to enjoy limited intraclass communication, to be poor in politically talented leaders, relatively unable to put together a coherent, disciplined class movement controlled from below.[44] Contributions to the party treasury tend to be small and irregular, like the incomes of the small farmers. Peasant movements are, therefore, especially prone to penetration by relatively disciplined political interests, sometimes Communist and sometimes industrial capital.[45] Further, such movements tend to be especially liable to corruption,[46] since they are relatively unable to provide satisfactory careers for political leaders out of their own resources.

Moreover, at an early stage of industrial and commercial development in a country without large landowners, the only sources of large amounts of money available to politicians are a few urban industrial and commercial enterprises. Making a policy on the marketing and production of iron and steel is quite often making a policy on the marketing and production of a single firm. Naturally, it pays that firm to try to get legislation and administration tailored to its needs.

Fourth, small-farmer and peasant movements tend to be nationalistic and xenophobic. The explanation of this phenomenon is not clear.

Finally, small-farmer and peasant movements tend to be opposed to middlemen and retailers, who are likely to use their monopolistic or monopsonistic position to milk the farm population. The co-operative movement is, of course, directed at eliminating middlemen as well as at provision of credit without usury.

Under normal conditions (that is, in the absence of totalitarian government, major racial cleavage, and major war) this complex of political forces tends to produce a rural community with a proliferation of associations and with the voting power and political interest to institute and defend certain elements of democracy, especially universal suffrage and universal education. This tends to produce a political regime loose enough to allow business and labor interest groups to form freely without allowing them to dominate the government completely. Such a system of landholding is a common precursor and support of modern liberal democratic government.

In smallholding systems, then, the upper classes of the rural community are not distinct in legal status and relatively not in style of life. Social mobility in such a system entails mainly a change in the amount of property held, or in the profitability of the farm, but not a change in legal status or a radical change in style of life.[47]

A politically enfranchised rural community is characterized by a high degree of political affect and organization, generally in opposition to urban interests rather than against rural upper classes. But, compared with the complexity of their political goals and the level of political involvement, their competence tends to be low until the "urbanization of the countryside" is virtually complete.

4. PLANTATION AGRICULTURE

Labor-intensive crops requiring several years for maturation, such as rubber, tree fruit, or coffee, tend to be grown on large-

[44] I.e., as compared with political movements of the urban proletariat or bourgeoisie. They are more coherent and disciplined than are the lower class movements in other agricultural systems.

[45] An excellent example of the penetration of industrial capital into a peasant party is shown by the development of the party platforms on industry in Rumania, 1921–26 (Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–56). The penetration of American populists by the "silver interests" is another example.

[46] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 337–39, and Tomasevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–47. The Jacksonian era in the United States, and the persistent irregularities in political finance of agrarian leaders in the South of the United States, are further examples.

[47] The best description that I know of the meaning of "property mobility" in such a system is the novel of Knut Hamsun, *Growth of the Soil* (New York: Modern Library, 1921), set in the Norwegian frontier.

scale capitalistic farms employing either wage labor, or, occasionally, slave labor. Particularly when capital investment is also required for processing equipment to turn the crop into a form in which it can be shipped, as for example in the culture of sugar cane and, at least in earlier times, sugar beets, large-scale capitalist agriculture predominates.

The key economic factor that seems to produce large-scale capitalist culture is the requirement of long-term capital investment in the crop or in machinery, combined with relatively low cost of land. When the crop is also labor-intensive, particularly when labor is highly seasonal, a rather typical plantation system tends to emerge. In some cases it also emerges in the culture of cotton (as in the ante bellum American South and some places in Egypt), wheat (as in Hungary, eastern Germany,[48] and Poland[49]), or rice (as on the Carolina and Georgia coasts in the ante bellum American South).[50]

The enterprise typically combines a small highly skilled and privileged group which administers the capital investment, the labor force, and the marketing of the crops with a large group of unskilled, poorly paid, and legally unprivileged workers. Quite generally, the workers are ethnically distinct from the skilled core of administrators, often being imported from economically more backward areas or recruited from an economically backward native population in colonial and semicolonial areas. This means that ordinarily they are ineligible for the urban labor market of the nation in which they work, if it has an urban labor market.

Examples of plantation systems are most of the sugar areas in the Caribbean and on the coast of Peru,[51] the rubber culture of the former Federated Malay States in Malaya[52] and on Java,[53] the fruit-growing areas of Central America, the central valleys of California, where the labor force is heavily Latin American, eastern Germany during the early part of this century, where Poles formed an increasing part of the labor force,[54] Hungary up to World War II, the pineapple-growing of the Hawaiian Islands,[55] and, of course, the ante bellum American South. The system tends to induce in the agricultural labor force a poverty of associational life, low participation in local government, lack of education for the labor force, and high vulnerability of labor-union and political leadership to oppression by landlords and landlord-dominated governments. The domination of the government by landlords tends to prevent the colonization of new land by smallholders, and even to wipe out the holdings of such small peasantry as do exist.

In short, the system tends to maintain the culture, legal and political position, and life chances of the agricultural labor force distinct both from the urban labor force and from the planter aristocracy. The bearers of the technical and commercial knowledge are not the agricultural laborers, and, consequently, redistribution of land tends to introduce inefficiency into agriculture. The plantation system, as Edgar T. Thompson has put it, is a "race-making situation"[56] which

[48] Weber, *loc. cit.*

[49] Victor Lesniewski and Waclaw Ponikowski, "Polish Agriculture," in Ora S. Morgan (ed.), *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 260-63. Capitalist development was greatest in the western regions of Poznan and Pomerania (cf. *ibid.*, p. 264). There seem to have been many remains of a manorial system (*ibid.*, p. 277).

[50] Albert V. House, *Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante-bellum Georgia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), esp pp. 18–37.

[51] Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-60.

[52] Jacoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8, 113.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 45, 56-61.

[54] Weber shows that, in the eastern parts of Germany during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the proportionate decrease of the German population (being replaced by Poles) was greater in areas of large-scale cultivation (*op. cit.*, pp. 452–53).

[55] Edward Norbeck, *Pineapple Town: Hawaii* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

[56] Cf. Edgar T. Thompson, "The Plantation as a Race-making Situation," in Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, *Sociology* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1958), pp. 506-7.

produces a highly privileged aristocracy, technically and culturally educated, and a legally, culturally, and economically underprivileged labor force. If the latter is politically mobilized, as it may be occasionally by revolutionary governments, it tends to be extremist.

5 CAPITALIST EXTENSIVE AGRICULTURE WITH WAGE LABOR: THE RANCH

An extensive culture of wool and beef, employing wage labor, grew up in the American West, Australia, England and Scotland during and after the industrial revolution, Patagonia and some other parts of South America, and northern Mexico. In these cases the relative proportion of labor in the cost of production is smaller than it is in plantation agriculture. Such a structure is also characteristic of the wheat culture in northern Syria. In no case was there pressure to recruit and keep down an oppressed labor force. In England a surplus labor force was pushed off the land. A fairly reliable economic indicator of the difference between ranch and plantation systems is that in ranch systems the least valuable land is owned by the largest enterprises. In plantation systems the most valuable land is owned by the largest enterprises, with less valuable land generally used by marginal smallholders. The explanation of this is not clear.

The characteristic social feature of these enterprises is a free-floating, mobile labor force, often with few family ties, living in barracks, and fed in some sort of "company mess hall." They tend to make up a socially undisciplined element, hard-drinking and brawling. Sometimes their alienation from society takes on the form of political radicalism, but rarely of an indigenous disciplined radical movement.

The types of agricultural enterprise outlined here are hardly exhaustive, but perhaps they include most of the agricultural systems which help determine the political dynamics of those countries which act on the world scene today. Nor does this typology pretend to outline all the important differences in the dynamics of agricultural systems. Obviously, the system of family-sized farms run by smallholders in Serbia in the 1840's is very different from the institutionally similar Danish and American systems of the 1950's.[27] And capitalistic sheep-raisers supported and made up the House of Lords in England but supported populistic currents in the United States.

However, some of the differences among systems outlined here seem to hold in widely varying historical circumstances. The production and maintenance of ethnic differences by plantations, the political fragility of family-size tenancy, the richer associational life, populist ideology, corrupt politics of smallholders, and the political apathy and technical traditionalism of the manor or the old hacienda, these seem to be fairly reliable. Characteristics of rural enterprises and the class relations they typically produce are summarized in Table 1.

This, if it is true, shows the typology to be useful. The question that remains is: Is it capable of being used? Is it possible to find indexes which will reliably differentiate a plantation from a manor or a manor from a large holding farmed by family tenancy?

The answer is that most of these systems have been accurately identified in particular cases. The most elusive is the manor or traditional hacienda; governments based on this sort of agricultural enterprise rarely take accurate censuses, partly because they rarely have an agricultural policy worthy of the name. Often even the boundaries of landholdings are not officially recorded. Further, the internal economy of the manor or hacienda provides few natural statistical indexes; there is little bookkeeping use of labor, of land, of payment in kind or in customary rights. The statistical descrip-

[27] E.g., in the average size of agricultural villages, in the proportion of the crop marketed, in the level of living, in education, in birth rate, in the size of the household unit, in the intensity of ethnic antagonism, in degree of political organization and participation, in exposure to damage by military action: these are only some of the gross differences

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL ENTERPRISES AND RESULTING CLASS RELATIONS

Type of Enterprise	Characteristics of Enterprise	Characteristics of Class Structure
Manorial	Division of land into domain land and labor subsistence land, with domain land devoted to production for market. Lord has police power over labor. Technically traditional; low cost of land and little market in land	Classes differ greatly in legal privileges and style of life. Technical culture borne largely by the peasantry. Low political activation and competence of peasantry; high politicalization of the upper classes
Family-size tenancy	Small parcels of highly valuable land worked by families who do not own the land, with a large share of the production for market. Highly labor- and land intensive culture, of yearly or more frequent crops	Classes differ little in legal privileges but greatly in style of life. Technical culture generally borne by the lower classes High political affect and political organization of the lower classes, often producing revolutionary populist movements
Family smallholding	Same as family tenancy, except benefits remain within the enterprise Not distinctive of areas with high valuation of land; may become capital-intensive at a late stage of industrialization	Classes differ neither in legal privileges nor in style of life Technical culture borne by both rich and poor. Generally unified and highly organized political opposition to urban interests, often corrupt and undisciplined
Plantation	Large scale enterprises with either slavery or wage labor, producing labor intensive crops requiring capital investment on relatively cheap land (though generally the best land within the plantation area). No or little subsistence production	Classes differ in both style of life and legal privileges. Technical culture monopolized by upper classes Politically apathetic and incompetent lower classes, mobilized only in time of revolution by urban radicals
Ranch	Large scale production of labor extensive crops, on land of low value (lowest in large units within ranch areas), with wage labor partly paid in kind in company barracks and mess	Classes may not differ in legal status, as there is no need to recruit and keep down a large labor force. Style of life differentiation unknown. Technical culture generally relatively evenly distributed. Dispersed and unorganized radicalism of lower classes

tion of manorial economies is a largely unsolved problem.

Except for this, systematic comparative studies of the structure and dynamics of land tenure systems are technically feasible. But it has been all too often the case that descriptions of agricultural systems do not permit them to be classified by the type of enterprise.[58] Perhaps calling attention to widespread typical patterns of institutionalizing agricultural production will encourage those who write monographs to provide the information necessary for comparative study.

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[58] E.g, the most common measure used for comparative study is the concentration of landholdings. A highly unequal distribution of land may indicate family-tenancy, manorial, plantation, or ranch systems. Similarly, data on size of farm units confuse family smallholding with family tendency, and lumps together all three kinds of large-scale enterprise. A high ratio of landless peasantry may be involved in family-tenancy, plantation, or manorial systems. Ambiguous references to "tenancy" may mean the labor rents of a hacienda system, or the cash or share rents of family-size tenancy, or even tenancy of sons before fathers' death in smallholding systems "Capitalistic agriculture" sometimes refers to ranches, sometimes to plantations, and sometimes to smallholdings. "Feudalism," though most often applied to manorial systems, is also used to describe family-size tenancy and plantation economics. "Absentee landlordism" describes both certain manorial and family-size-tenancy systems.

MODELS OF BUREAUCRACY WHICH PERMIT CONFLICT*

EUGENE LITWAK

ABSTRACT

Complex organizations can be described in terms of three models Weberian human relation and professional The first is most efficient when dealing with uniform events and traditional areas of knowledge, the second when dealing with non-uniform events and interpersonal relations while the third is ideal where organizations are split, having some segments requiring uniformity and others not The third model covers the great bulk of organizations in contemporary society Therefore one of the key theoretical problems in complex organizations is the study of structural procedures by which the conflicting forces are harnessed to organizational goals

In the present paper an attempt will be made to suggest some conditions for polar models[1] of bureaucracy. This will in turn permit some specifications of an intermediate model of bureaucracy which may more clearly fit contemporary urban society

The two models of bureaucracy to be contrasted are that which stresses secondary relations and organizational rules (i.e., as Weber's), and that which stresses primary-group relations and organizational goals[2] (as in the "human-relations" approach). Weber's model is most efficient when the organization deals primarily with uniform events and with occupations stressing traditional areas of knowledge rather than social skills. The human-relations model will be most efficient for dealing with events which are not uniform (research, medical treatment, graduate training, designing) and with occupations emphasizing social skills as technical aspects of the job (as that of psychiatric social worker, salesman if there is little differentiation in the products, and politician).

However, for most organizations in our society a theoretical model of bureaucratic organization must be developed that combines the central and conflicting features from both types. Since they are conflicting what characterizes this third model and distinguishes it from the other two is a need for "mechanisms of segregation." These permit mutually antagonistic social forms to exist side by side in the same organization without ruinous friction

THE UNIFORM AND THE NON-UNIFORM

Weber's model of bureaucracy[3] can be characterized by, impersonal social relations, appointment and promotion on the basis of merit authority and obligations which are specified a priori and adhere to the job rather than the individual (i.e., separation of work from private life), authority organized on a hierarchical basis, separation of policy and administrative positions, the members of the bureaucracy being concerned with administrative decisions, general rules for governing all behavior not specified by the above, and, finally, specialization If the organization is large and structured by these ideal conditions, it will be more efficient[4] than any other kind of organization Weber's theoretical model as-

* Thanks are owed to Peter Blau, Rosemary Conzemius, and Robert Vinter for their helpful suggestions

[1] The term "model" is not being used in a rigorous sense all that is meant is that a given organization may have unique dimensions [illegible] rules [illegible] specified to predict the interrelations between the dimensions

[2] *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans and ed, H H. Gerth and C Wright Mills (New York Oxford University Press, 1946), pp 196-203 Similarly, James G March and Herbert A Simon differentiate between process and purpose theories of organization (*Organizations* [New York John Wiley & Sons, 1958], p 29)

[3] These do not exactly duplicate Weber's statement [illegible] to it (see Weber, op. cit., pp. 196-98)

[4] The terms "efficiency" and "productivity" are deliberately left undefined since many well known problems of value would require extensive con-

sumes that the organization will be dealing with uniform situations.

By "uniform" two things are meant: The task to be dealt with is recurrent (in time as well as among many people) and important, exemplified in such occupations as that of: research scientist or developmental engineer, as opposed to supervisor of an assembly line; doctor or surgeon providing treatment in areas of medicine where little is known (neurosurgeon), as opposed to one dealing with standardized problems; soldier in combat, as opposed to in peacetime; administrator of a large organization producing a rapidly changing product (e.g., chemicals, electronic apparatus, pharmaceuticals, or missiles), as opposed to one dealing with standardized procedures, such as a public utility or a large governmental agency administering well-established regulations.

The importance of distinguishing between the uniform and the non-uniform as well as noting Weber's assumption of uniformity can best be seen if the criticisms of his model are reviewed.[5] The critics point out that the larger the organization, the more likely is it to encompass diverse social situations and people. If a general rule is developed for each situation, the rules would be so numerous as to defy learning. If rules are not developed, then either the administrator will apply rules which are not appropriate or substitute for them his private system of values. In all cases there is likely to be a drop in efficiency when general rules are used and the task is not uniform.

The same point can be made with regard to the hierarchy of authority and delimitation of duties and privileges of the office, for both are only special cases of general rules. Thus, for maximum efficiency, a hierarchy or delimitation of jobs should be based on merit. Setting up a hierarchy based on merit is a relatively simple matter when dealing with one uniform event. However, if the event is relatively unique, it is difficult for any one hierarchy to suffice for all tasks in the organization. Yet this is the assumption which must be made in all cases where Weber's specifications are applied to organizations dealing with the non-uniform. Since this is too heroic, the individuals concerned might do better to internalize the values of the organization and reach *ad hoc* rather than a priori decisions as to job hierarchy and boundaries.

In his pioneering work, Pelz investigated a large industrial concern whose parts were classified into several groups: those dealing with non-uniform events (i.e., scientists and engineers) and those working with relatively uniform events (central staff and manufacturing).[6] He found that among those in the occupations dealing with non-uniform tasks there was a higher correlation between their motivation to work and productivity when they were free to make their own decisions. In contrast, among those working on uniform tasks there was a higher correlation between motivation and productivity when they were restricted in making decisions. Permitting each individual to control decisions on the job indicates a trend toward a colleague rather than a hierarchical relationship. Pelz's study supports the point of view advocated here, that is, there are differential efficiencies in organiza-

sideration if a formal definition were attempted But it is here assumed that efficiency is defined in terms of some central set of liberal social values which have dominated our society within the last two hundred years; and that when the value problems revolving around the definition of efficiency are more fully solved they will not be inconsistent with this usage.

[5] Julian Franklin, *Man in Society* (New York Columbia University Press, 1955), I, 941–42; Peter M. Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 58, 62; Robert K Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in *Reader in Bureaucracy*, ed. R. K. Merton, A. P. Gray, B. Hockey, and H. C Selvin (Glencoe Ill.: Free Press, 1952), p. 364; Philip Selznick, "A Theory of Organizational Commitment," in *Reader in Bureaucracy*, pp. 194–202.

[6] D. C. Pelz, "Conditional Effects in the Relationship of Autonomy and Motivation to Performance," (August, 1960) (mimeographed). The development of colleague relations among scientists and members of graduate departments of universities would also provide evidence on the point.

tional structure depending on whether the task is uniform or not.

Somewhat the same analysis holds with regard to specialization, which is efficient where there are relatively constant problems. Where there are many problem areas and where they change rapidly, the demand for specialization may lead to premature organizational closure and great inflexibility in deciding, as in the armed forces where a rapidly changing technology has made traditional specialties obsolete. Many argue that the clinging to the traditional specialties has led to a dangerous lag in military preparedness as well as wasteful conflict between specialties.[7]

Weber's demand for impersonality also assumes uniform events. Individuals faced with non-uniform events which are not clearly covered by rules are insecure. In such situations, they must be able to call on colleagues in whom they put great trust[8] if they are to perform efficiently. In other words, in the ambiguous situation brought about by non-uniform events, frequently personal primary group relations conduce to more efficiency than would impersonal ones.

Finally, it can be argued that the separation of policy and administrative decisions is inefficient when the organization is confronted with non-uniform situations. Such separation implies that general rules can be laid down a priori to guide administrative decisions along common lines of policy. As suggested above, such general rules become impossibly complex when the organization faces non-uniform situations. Internalizing organizational policy and localizing discretion (combining administrative and policy decisions) would then be more efficient.

In short, where organizations deal with non-uniform events, a model of bureaucracy may be more efficient which differs in degree from Weber's in at least six characteristics: horizontal patterns of authority, minimal specialization, mixture of decisions on policy and on administration, little a priori limitation of duty and privileges to a given office, personal rather than impersonal relations, and a minimum of general rules. This form of organization generally characterizes the "human-relations" model described as ideal by many contemporary industrial psychologists.

SOCIAL AND TRADITIONAL JOB SKILLS

Weber also implicitly assumes in his discussion of bureaucracy that occupations stressing traditional areas of knowledge (as compared to social skills) dominate the organization. By traditional areas of knowledge is meant, say, knowledge of engineering, of chemistry, of economics, of the law of company rules, and the like. By social skills or abilities is meant the actual capacity to communicate with others, to motivate them to work, to co-operate with others, and to internalize the values of the organization.

Granted Weber's assumptions about traditional areas of knowledge, his model of bureaucracy does not necessarily lead to efficiency when the job requirements stress social skills.

Personal relations. Weber's strictures concerning the importance of impersonal social relations are far from self-evident when social abilities rather than traditional knowledge are at issue. The capacity to motivate others to work, to co-operate and to communicate with others, to internalize the norms of the organization, might well increase, not decrease, as a consequence of positive emotional involvement. Thus, studies of psychiatric wards, involving pro-

[7] It is frequently said that, because of their commitment to a specialty, members of the armed services tend to overlook the general problem of defense in favor of their own immediate tasks, with a consequent loss for the basic goals of defense (see H. L. Wilensky and C. N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* [New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958], pp. 235-65).

[8] Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64. This point is buttressed by the studies of combat troops and of teams in dangerous operations, both cases involving great uncertainty and severe risk, where apparently strong primary group relations are effective (see E. A. Shils and M. Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the *Wehrmacht* in World War II," in *Public Opinion and Propaganda* [New York: Dryden Press, 1954], pp. 91-108).

fessions whose chief technical tools are social, suggest that greatest efficiency requires some positive emotional involvement.[9] Weber's analysis tends to overlook the virtues of close personal relations, concentrating on negative features. Since in an advanced bureaucratic society these latter are minimized,[10] many of Weber's objections to close personal relations are not so important.

Strict delimitation of obligation and duties to the office.—Weber's view that in an efficient organization there should be a strict delimitation of obligations and duties to a specified office assumes that the work can be shut off from private life (e.g., the family). This assumption has considerable validity when one is dealing with the traditional areas of knowledge. However, it is questionable when the chief technical demand of the job is for social skills. This is so because family and friends are major sources for the development of social skills. Therefore, experience in primary groups is likely to enter into one's life at work.[11] More generally, where it is difficult to separate work from other situations, such as family life, the organization must seek to control the latter for the sake of efficiency. The development in large organizations, such as the DuPont Corporation, of family counseling services can be understood in this light.

Separation of policy and administrative decisions.—The inability to isolate work from other situations also makes it difficult, if not impossible, to keep decisions on policy and administration separate. To do so would require that administrative decisions have a code of ethics of their own. Thus an engineer working on a bomb, a dam, or an automobile can say how good an engineer he is in terms of common engineering standards and somewhat independently of organizational policy. By contrast, the psychiatric social worker, because her major technical tool is social skills, finds such distinctions hard to maintain: is participation of the client or the avoidance of physical punishment an administrative technic or the agency's policy? When such distinctions are hard to make, it is more efficient to inculcate policy and give the professional discretion with regard to "administrative" decisions.

Specialization and generalization.—In part, Weber's assumptions regarding efficiency of specialization would not hold where social skills are the technique required for the job. The ability to communicate with others is general in every area of work and is the same for the engineering administrator, the accounting administrator, and every other administrator. The need to train "generalists" for administration is seen in the systematic efforts to move promising executives to a variety of departments in the company.[12] It can also be noted that the most recent recommendation concerning the curriculum in schools of social work (dealing with occupations whose chief technical tool is social abilities) was to drop the specialties and train all students in the basic social skills.[13]

[9] D. A. Hamburg, "Therapeutic Aspects of Communication and Administrative Policy in the Psychiatric Section of a General Hospital," in *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, ed. M. Greenblatt, D. S. Levinson, and R. H. Williams (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 91–107, and P. Barrabee, "The Community, the Mental Hospital and the Aged Psychotic," *ibid.*, pp. 530–35. For a general statement relating primary group relations to communication, see E. Katz and P. F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 15–30.

[10] E. Litwak, "The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals," *Social Problems*, VII (Winter, 1959–60), 184–85.

[11] This point is clearly illustrated in Jules Henry's analysis of an institution for child treatment which provides twenty-four-hour care on the assumption that successful treatment concerns every aspect of life. He notes how much the therapist's own life becomes involved with that of the patient ("Types of Institutional Structures," *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, pp. 73–91).

[12] M. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), pp. 166–71.

[13] The stress toward generalization can also be noted among ward personnel in psychiatric wards (R. A. Cohen, "Some Relations between Staff Tensions and the Psychotherapeutic Process," *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, pp. 307–8).

Thus, in some technical fields there has been increasing specialization, while in the fields characterized by administration and by the demand for social skills there has been increasing generalization; and the total picture may indeed suggest the growth of both specialization and generalization.

Hierarchical and horizontal relations. Hierarchical relations may well lead to efficiency when the job is defined by traditional areas of knowledge. However, there is some evidence that participation in making decisions is crucial where it is necessary to motivate people to identify themselves with organizational goals, to co-operate in their social relations, and to communicate.[14] Since these involve social skills, participation in making decisions is important where jobs are chiefly defined by those abilities. Put differently, jobs characterized by social skills might be carried out most efficiently under a horizontal structure of authority, that permits all individuals to participate equally in decisions.[15]

SPECIFICATIONS FOR A THIRD MODEL OF BUREAUCRACY

To point out the weaknesses of Weber's model is not to suggest its elimination. Quite the contrary, this paper argues that there are several models of organization with differential efficiencies depending on the nature of the work and the types of tasks to be performed. In this regard, at least three types have been suggested: Weber's, that found in "human relations," and what may be called the "professional bureaucracy."[16] The third model, not discussed as yet, is characterized by the degree to which the organization must deal with events both uniform and not uniform, or by the need to have jobs requiring great social skills as well as jobs requiring traditional areas of knowledge. Perhaps the outstanding illustrations of the third type would be a large hospital, a graduate school, or a research organization. To more systematically highlight the difference between the three models, Table 1 has been presented.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professional model is its inclusion of contradictory forms of social relations. This model is particularly relevant to contemporary society where most large-scale organizations have to deal with uniform and non-uniform tasks[17] or with occupations that demand traditional knowledge as well as social skills.[18]

[14] For a review of the literature see March and Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[15] Hamburg (*op. cit.*, pp. 95–96) points out that where nurses, ward attendants, and patients are permitted to participate in decision making among other things the efficiency of the ward goes up: there is a smaller labor turnover, fewer aggressive actions of the patients, etc. This is not to rule out the importance of vertical relations but only to suggest that they are least likely to lead to efficiency in bureaucratic organizations where jobs require social skills.

[16] See Robert V[illegible] "N[illegible] P[illegible] and Bureaucracy" [illegible], September 1960).

[17] One assumption which [illegible] is that non-uniform events [illegible] a major [illegible] future. This assumption rests [illegible] prior areas of [illegible] reveals [illegible] *The* [illegible] inevitable unexpected [illegible] we must always assume [illegible] part of any model of human behavior [illegible] committed to techn[illegible] must be prepared for constant social change, and for dealing with phenomena [illegible] modes of interaction.

[18] The assumption is made that [illegible] social abilities will constitute a significant proportion of all [illegible] This assumption is based on investigations such as were made by Nelson N. F[illegible] and Paul K. Hatt [illegible] in their paper "Social M[illegible] and Economic Advancement," *American Economic Review*, XLIII (May, 195[illegible] [illegible] primary extractive and secondary manufacturing industries to the tert[illegible] industries consisting largely of human services. It also rests on analyses such as made by Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), pp. 21[illegible] ff.), who points out that as the organization becomes larger.

Granted this assertion, one of the key theoretical and empirical problems facing the student of complex organizations is the study of "Mechanisms of Segregation"—the procedures by which potentially contradictory social relations are co-ordinated in some common organizational goals.[19] That this central issue might be clearly seen as well as to suggest possible paths of inquiry, four mechanisms of segregation will be discussed in greater detail.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THREE MODELS OF BUREAUCRACY

Characteristic	Weber's Model*	Human Relations†	Professional Model‡
Impersonal relations	Extensive	Minimal	One part extensive One part minimal
Appointment on merit	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive
A priori specification of job authority	Extensive	Minimal	One part extensive One part minimal
Hierarchical authority	Extensive	Minimal	One part extensive One part minimal
Separation of policy and administrative decisions	Extensive	Minimal	One part extensive One part minimal
General rules to govern relations not specified by above dimensions	Extensive	Minimal	One part extensive One part minimal
Specialization	Extensive	Minimal	One part extensive One part minimal

* This model would be most efficient where tasks are uniform and involve traditional areas of knowledge, such as governmental agencies given little discretion by law—police force, enforcing traffic and criminal law, the army during peacetime, processing most income tax returns; and private concerns with constant products and technologies—public utilities such as gas, water, and electricity.

† This model would be most efficient where tasks are relatively not uniform or involve social skills—to illustrate, situations which are so non-uniform that government cannot lay down highly specified laws but rather sets up commissions with broad discretionary powers—National Institutes of Mental Health, National Labor Relations Board, etc., and situations involving the selling of undifferentiated products—large advertising firms.

‡ This model would be most efficient where the job requires dealing with both uniform and non-uniform events or with social skills as well as traditional areas of knowledge, e.g., situations requiring standardized administrative tasks and great professional autonomy—large hospitals, large graduate schools, large research organizations—and situations requiring both knowledge of administrative details as well as high interpersonal skills—large social work agencies or psychiatric hospital.

dividuals and formal relations to another.[20] This is a well-known procedure, in part recognized in Parsons' analysis of current occupational structure.[21] One particularly relevant illustration of role segregation comes from Blau's analysis of bureaucracy.[22] Using the analogy of the civil service, he suggests that all hiring and firing functions be handled by a special group which has no responsibilities for production or administration. In this way, the potential contradiction between positive affect and objectivity can be minimized, while the virtues are maximized.

1. *Role separation as a mechanism of segregation.*—One way of co-ordinating contradictory forms of behavior is to restrict primary group behavior to one set of in-

personal relations become important as technical features of the job.

[19] To stress mechanisms which permit the co-ordination of potentially conflicting relations is not to deny that there are certain relations which can never be reconciled. Thus, one important aspect of organizational analysis (the resolution of conflict rather than its co-ordination), not included in this discussion, would have involved an analysis of physical violence, strikes, arbitration, propaganda, etc.

[20] Robert K. Merton, in "The Role Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," (*British Journal of Sociology*, VIII [June, 1957], 106–20), suggests by analogy several additional mechanisms of segregation which will not be discussed here.

[21] Parsons points out the need to keep the family separated from the occupational life, one of the major devices being to keep the family physically isolated by a division of labor by sex ("The Social Structure of the Family," *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, ed. Ruth N. Anshen [New York: Harper & Bros., 1949]).

[22] Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–66.

Another principle of segregation by role is illustrated by Melman in his study of a large auto concern organized into several large gangs, with each being given a production goal.[23] The management paid individuals on the basis of their gang's endeavor. Within the gang the management made little effort to deal with the non-uniform everyday problems of man-to-man supervision. This was left to the gang, with its own mechanisms of supervision.

However, the setting-up of gangs and the over-all policy of expansion and contraction of goals of production (relatively uniform problems dealing with traditional areas of knowledge) were based on a hierarchy of authority. Thus, within the same organization there were two kinds of decision systems. On the one hand, there was a centralized hierarchy of authority and, on the other hand, local discretion. There was little conflict between the two systems because management and workers had agreed in advance that interaction between one set of roles was to be handled by local discretion but between another set of roles by centralized authority. Since the roles were clearly differentiated, it was possible to do this with minimal friction.

2 *Physical distance as a mechanism of segregation.* A mechanism of segregation suitable only in limited cases is physical separation. Perhaps the most dramatic use of this procedure is illustrated by recent developments in research departments in business concerns.[24] The purer the research, that is the more non-uniform the event, the more likely will physical distance be put between the departments of research and production. The Bell Laboratories, a subsidiary of American Telegraph and Telephone Company, which is a case in point, tends to fit the "human-relations" model of bureaucracy,[25] while the part of it dealing with the production of telephones and the installation of telephones is, comparatively speaking, more likely to follow Weber's model. Conflict between the two systems is minimized by their being kept physically apart.

Though the mechanism of physical separation permits a solution, it is inadequate because, as studies of larger organizations indicate, there are within the same job or closely interrelated jobs both uniform and non-uniform events, or there is within the same job the demand both for knowledge and for social skills. In such cases, mechanisms of physical separation are, by definition, inappropriate.

3 *Transferral occupations as mechanisms of segregation.* Where the organization is based on technological innovation, such as the modern industrial concern, the advances of science might transform an event from non-uniform to uniform, or vice versa. This means that there must be certain occupations whose major function is to switch areas of work from one set of social relations to another without contaminating the atmospheres of either. For instance, the en-

[23] Seymour Melman, *Decision Making and Productivity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), pp. [illegible]–155; also see Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 66, and Ralph J. Cordiner, *New Frontiers for Professional Managers* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 40–80.

[24] Between 195[illegible] and [illegible] estimated [illegible] spent for research [illegible] to $[illegible] Business [illegible] purpose was not research [illegible] almost [illegible] per cent [illegible] See *Reviews of Data on Research and Development* [illegible] NSF [illegible] no estimates of business expenditures for research [illegible] with business expenditures [illegible] between 195[illegible] [illegible] *Research and Development and Its Impact on the Economy* (National Science Foundation [illegible] NSF [illegible]).

[25] The Bell Laboratories [illegible] frequently hire scientists with [illegible] that they are free to work [illegible] with the stipulation that any resulting [illegible] belongs to the company. As a consequence social relations within the laboratory [illegible] like a university's colleague relationship [illegible] personal, informal, face to face, with few a priori rules on duties and obligations.

gineer must frequently be in a position to take the pure scientist's work and put it on the production line. This means that he must move between the world of science, with its colleague relationships, to the world of production, with its formal hierarchical relations, without permitting the attitudes to mix.[26]

Transferral occupations have unique problems and become central when the assumption is made that organizations consist of potentially conflicting modes of behavior working harmoniously toward some over-all goal. As such, transferral occupations deserve considerable attention on the part of those interested in elaborating bureaucratic theory.

4. *Evaluation procedures as mechanisms of segregation.*—Highly related to the transferral occupations are the procedures of evaluation. If the organization contains contradictory social relations and, at the same time, is subject to constant changes, then there must be some procedure for determining points at which one kind of social relations should be replaced by another. Melman indicates that management has set up occupations for evaluating all new machines for eventual incorporation into the organization.[27] In an analogous manner, the organizations containing conflicting social relations will operate more efficiently if they have procedures for deciding at what point there should be a shift from one form of social relation to another. This is in contrast to the common assumption that the structure is permanent. Focusing on evaluation will be a major concern of future research if the model of bureaucracy geared to organizational change suggested here is to be effected.

This now sums up consideration of some possible mechanisms of segregation. It also indicates why a key area for advancing the theory of complex organizations is the study of ways by which contradictory forms of organizational structure exist side by side without ruinous friction.

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[26] The same phenomena can be seen in the mass media if the analysis of Katz and Lazarsfeld and Inkeles can be taken as a given. These men see two elements in the mass media: (*a*) the formal organization which broadcasts messages, and (*b*) the small primary groups which receive and interpret them. Katz and Lazarsfeld suggest that these two diverse and somewhat antithetical worlds are breached by the opinion leader, and Inkeles argues (to a lesser extent) that they are breached by the agitator. Like the engineer, the opinion leader and the agitator move between the two worlds without contaminating either (see Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955], pp. 162-208; Alex Inkeles, *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951], pp. 38-135).

[27] Melman, *op. cit.*

MANAGEMENT CONFLICT AND SOCIOMETRIC STRUCTURE[1]

HARRISON WHITE

ABSTRACT

Three types of chronic conflict concerning research and development found in a medium-sized metallurgical company involve sixteen members of upper management. Selznick's model for the growth of autonomy in a bureaucracy is used in describing the general pattern of the conflicts. Differences in orientation to outside opinion and to uncertainty among the departments were decisive for the development of different departmental "ideologies" and strategies. Application of a procedure for inferring the structure of interpersonal relations from sociometric choices yields results supporting the interest-based analysis of conflicts. Recurrent revisions of formal structure and reallocations of responsibility for programs seemed to be the distinctive concomitants of chronic conflict.

This paper has two objectives. One is substantive: to analyze the organizational significance of the chronic conflicts among departments of a manufacturing corporation regarding research and development. The other is the development of a model for inferring the structure of personal relations within a permanent organization subject to conflict, a model which integrates the affective qualities and the contact frequencies revealed by choices on sociometric questions. The opposing cliques of managers derived from the model are consistent with the conflict analysis; each approach can enrich and validate the other.

The problems of incorporating scientists into creative research programs within existing organizations of government and business bring into sharp relief issues of importance to social psychologists and to students of organization. The growth in number of studies of research and development activities (hereinafter abbreviated "R & D") has paralleled the enormous expansion of R & D in the United States.[2] Unlike most of the social science studies of R & D, this paper deals with external rather than internal relations of the R & D department.[3]

In analyzing conflict and consensus on the program in research and development among departmental groups in upper management, a heuristic theory of the behavior of subunits in organization proposed by Selznick is used as the framework.[4] By Selznick's model the complexity of company goals leads to delegation of authority, from which develops specialization in personnel and ideology between different departments and a parallel growth in interdepartmental conflict. Uncertainty will be

[1] This paper is based in part on a Ph.D. dissertation submitted in May, 1960, to the Department of Economics and Sociology of Princeton University. Helpful suggestions were given by Professors F. F. Stephan and W. E. Moore. The financial support of the Office of Special Studies of the National Science Foundation, which is gratefully acknowledged, was granted under a contract with the Graduate School of Industrial Administration at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, where the author was a member of the Innovation Project. The name and other characteristics of the company studied are disguised.

[2] For examples of documentation of these two trends see the [illegible] R. Anthony, *Management Controls in Industrial Research Organizations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, [illegible]); *Science and Engineering in American Industry: Final Report* [illegible] Survey (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, [illegible]).

[3] The role conflicts among the [illegible] who coordinate R & D with the [illegible] of the company at the same time [illegible] the activities of the R & D [illegible] are the subject of another paper: H. C. White, "R & D [illegible] and Information Structure: A Case Study of Industrial R & D Managers" (unpublished).

[4] A clear and concise description of Selznick's model is given by James G. March and Herbert A. Simon in *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), pp. [illegible]-44. The basic reference is Philip A. Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

a prominent concept in the study: the manipulation of and the views on uncertainty by departments were constrained by the influence of outside opinion, and both uncertainty and outside opinion entered differently into the types of conflict.

The key assertion is that conflict regarding R & D shows every sign of having been continuous, there being several types of it, no one of which was ever resolved more than temporarily and for specific topics. The issues were categorized by whether the primary goal of one side is invasion, expansion, or insulation. Chronic conflict, fueled by continuous departmental drives for more secure autonomy, implies reliance on bargaining and politics rather than on persuasion or rational problem-solving, and the price the organization paid was recurrent reorganizations of program and structure.[5]

The Forthright Corporation produces for other manufacturing companies a variety of specialty products which can be grouped into alloys and abrasives. Forthright is highly exposed to the business cycle's fluctuations, but normal sales are about $20 million a year and total employment about 2,500. As demand grows for a specialty product, the giant steel companies commonly enter and capture the market with their large-scale facilities for production and distribution. Therefore, Forthright, like its immediate competitors, has had to shift to new specialty products repeatedly over the years. In the late 1940's ownership of Forthright passed from a family to a large investment trust. The new president brought with him from a giant metallurgical firm several men as replacements and additions to top management and he attached great importance to the newly established R & D department. Several reorganizations took place under the new president among all departments, but top management remained the same except for the addition of an executive vice-president.

Within either the production or the sales department, alloys and abrasives were handled by separate groups of managers, between whom little co-ordination was needed. R & D was concentrated in the area of abrasives, although 75 per cent of the sales of Forthright were in the relatively few and well-established alloy products. The chief metallurgist, who supervised the development work in alloys, was responsible to the production vice-president for control of quality and trouble-shooting in alloys production, which took up most of his time. For simplicity the treasurer, the comptroller, the personnel chief, and the president's trouble-shooter will be considered as one department, "staff."

The titular head of R & D, the co-ordinator, had little direct authority over other R & D managers, but he handled routine administrative matters and co-ordinated all R & D proposals in both alloys and abrasives for submission to a technical management committee and thence to a general management committee on R & D. These committees, which approved of more projects than could be carried out, were more effective as channels of information than as control groups. Several promising new products in abrasives were the personal work of the innovator, a man of great energy who had involved himself in many aspects of R & D since his transfer a few years before from a prominent government laboratory to Forthright. He and the co-ordinator together directed specialized programs of research in abrasives. The R & D machine manager directed development of a novel abrasives machine, the only entry by Forthright in the field of production equipment. The glamor-products manager, the only old-timer at Forthright among the R & D managers, worked alone in co-ordinating R & D, sales, and production for recondite new materials related to abrasives and of interest primarily to the United States Department of Defense. Of the twenty-odd professional R & D personnel, only the latter

[5] See March and Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 129, for the definition of these four types of reaction to conflict. Their assumption that internal conflict is not a stable condition for an organization seems naïve and certainly does not fit this case.

manager and the innovator had Master's degrees.

Interviews lasting from a half-hour to three hours took place, by appointment in the offices of the managers during normal business hours. Extensive notes were taken, and immediately afterward an approximately verbatim account was dictated for transcription. On the basis of this information a questionnaire of 110 elementary items was developed. Each item was posed orally to each manager, and the answers recorded verbatim, a process which took up to one and one-half hours. A variety of company reports and records was used.

The sociometric analysis and, to a large extent, the analysis of conflicts are based on responses to the questionnaire and interviews of the sixteen managers involved in decisions on R & D.

INFLUENCE OF OUTSIDE OPINION

In response to a questionnaire item, managers from all departments except production stated that the results of abolishing the R & D program would be disastrous in the long run. The production managers said that the results would be "somewhat unfavorable" over a short period but ventured no estimate as to the long run. Yet there was almost no agreement among the managers in any department as to what were the most important benefits to be expected from R & D; the new products developed by the R & D department during the eight years of its effective existence had not sold in large quantities and showed no clear promise of doing so.

Forthright's budget for R & D had remained relatively constant, once the initial build-up was completed, yet net sales had declined sharply several times in this period, and average net income had been low—about the same size as R & D expenses. After the postwar change in ownership, forthright stock was listed on a major stock exchange, and the quotations on its stock had tended to decline. Forthright bonds were classified by a leading investment guide as "*Ba*-speculative elements; their future cannot be considered as well assured. . . . Uncertainty of position characterizes bonds of this class."

There was consensus among the managers on the desirability of a sizable R & D program at Forthright, carried on as a full-time activity by permanent personnel financed only by the company. This unanimity should be attributed neither to favorable experience with R & D at Forthright nor to ease in financing it. The inference is that the climate of opinion favorable to R & D in the segments of United States industry with which Forthright managers had close connections was the dominant influence, directly or indirectly.

Even if management had not come to agree with opinions favorable to R & D, there were many reasons for their acting as if they did. Forthright had had to obtain renewals of several very large loans from banks during this decade, partly to finance its modernization program, and in the prevailing climate of opinion a company like Forthright without an R & D program would seem to lack prospects for the future to justify loans. The Board of Directors of Forthright would probably not have remained as quiescent as it had been if the top management they installed slighted R & D. Forthright's product line was changing rapidly; the average of estimates by sixteen managers was that 35 per cent of then current production was in products not made three years before. The most important new products had been obtained by some kind of license arrangement, and both R & D managers and executives agreed that other firms are much more willing to grant licenses if there is the possibility of eventual reciprocation with results from one's own R & D program in that area.

There were differences in orientation to outside opinion which influenced the internal conflicts over R & D among Forthright departments as described below. The executive, R & D, and sales departments were more directly responsive to and exposed to outside opinion than were the production

and staff departments.[6] Thoughout the interviews it struck the observer that production and staff managers' skepticism about particular R & D projects derived in large part from their absorption in the internal operations of the firm, with the inevitable series of crises in accomplishing even technically simple tasks. The other managers discounted the concrete difficulties with an R & D project relative to both its potential technical importance and its importance in improving the company image.

Sales managers asserted that the R & D laboratory should be a facility for impressing visiting firemen as much as a producer of important innovations. Even the most professionally oriented R & D managers appeared more interested in the general trade's opinion of the results of Forthright R & D than in the opinions of colleagues in other firms. The president, sensitive to the views of top executives in other firms, was convinced of the necessity and feasibility of major innovations through R & D, more so than any other manager.

CHRONIC CONFLICTS

One can distinguish five issues on which the R & D department had been and was likely to continue to be in opposition to some other departments. As noted earlier, Selznick's view of the development of conflict among organizational subunits as an unanticipated consequence of the delegation of authority aptly describes the general nature of these specific conflicts. The task of managing a sizable company is so complex that there must be considerable delegation of authority to a set of top managers, and this leads in a familiar way to specialization in training, experience, and promotion. There ensues a development of the loyalty of each manager to the autonomy and the specialized goals or ideology of his department. Conflicts among departments develop, and decisions become oriented more and more to the strategy of internal disagreement over autonomy and goals.

The president of Forthright followed a conscious policy of delegating authority as much as possible. Ambiguity of responsibilities and of formal relations among departments had developed from frequent reorganizations. The latter were in large part the result of this policy of maximum delegation and hence minimum imposed co-ordination, which led to crises resolved by reorganization. Wide scope was offered internal conflicts.

The R & D managers did not constitute a well-knit unit with a common view of the goals of R & D. In several conflicts the chief metallurgist and the glamor-products manager were in opposition to the other R & D managers, but this is consistent with their acting to maximize their own autonomy to pursue the goals of their work as they saw them. In each instance the effect of their opposition to the other R & D managers was the evasion of more centralized co-ordination with R & D activities in abrasives, at the relatively low cost of some "control" by managers not expert in technological matters. Hereafter the designation "R & D department" refers only to the trio of the co-ordinator, the machine-developer, and the innovator, unless otherwise indicated.

The conflict issues are of three types, distinguished by whether a drive for autonomy is aimed at accepted functions of another department, at claims to functions necessarily involving more than one department, or at assertions of independence of the company as a whole.

[6] No consistent differences among departments in the numbers and lengths of visits at Forthright in a nine-month period were found from receptionists' entries in appointment books However, R & D managers and executives named many more outsiders with whom long discussions were regularly held than did the other managers Furthermore, R & D managers, sales managers, and executives spent far more days on out-of-town visits, as recorded in expense-account statements, than did production and staff managers. In view of the difficulties of measurement it seemed artificial to conceptualize the material in this section either in terms of reference-group theory or in terms of "the pattern of inputs from the environment to the organization," the approach favored by W. R. Dill in "Environment as an Influence on Managerial Autonomy," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, II (March, 1958), 409–43.

Counterpart units I.—In the literature on administrative behavior the tendency of a line department to develop a "counterpart unit" of experts to match a centralized staff department has often been noted.[7] The explanation, in essentials, is as follows: A staff department, while nominally in an advisory capacity to the line department, in fact tends to develop effective control over the relevant aspects of the line department's work, perhaps through the authority to insist on standard procedures of its own choosing. To be able to negotiate with the staff department on even terms, the line department needs a group of men themselves expert and experienced in the given specialty. Chronic conflict can develop between the staff department and the counterpart unit, since their interpretations of the general principles of their specialty are biased by the interests and goals of their respective units.

The production department had operating control over the chief metallurgist, who directed the group of engineers working on R & D for alloys. This group functioned as a counterpart unit to the R & D department, and the standard explanation seems to fit. Historically, the production department had simply retained effective control of this group through the successive reorganizations of the formal R & D department set up after World War II.

The R & D co-ordinator had "administrative control" over this counterpart group in R & D in alloys, and in a number of ways he tried to develop fuller control. Meanwhile, the R & D budget for alloys, partly as a result of pressure from the R & D co-ordinator, was less than a fifth that for abrasives, when each is measured as a fraction of the respective sales.

The production managers on several occasions resisted introducing newly, and often only partly, developed abrasives products into production and used the expert knowledge of the alloy R & D group in the resulting negotiations. Moreover, production managers had stated that the abrasives R & D managers did not give enough help to the production men with their regular bread-and-butter problems. The alloy R & D group was used mainly for such routine, predictable development work, and production managers pointed to the benefits of this work in arguing for modification of the general R & D policy.

Counterpart units II.—A converse type of counterpart unit was also found at Northright. The R & D managers made a determined and successful effort to be allowed to do job-shop production of moderate quantities of several novel abrasives products. The standard explanation of counterpart units can be turned around. The R & D department needs experience in production to deal effectively with the "it can't be done" arguments production managers advance in opposing new products. This need is particularly crucial in the metallurgical industry, where the great difference in size between R & D laboratory runs and production lots of a new product can lead to wholly unanticipated performance of the R & D laboratory process in production.

There were other advantages to R & D in job-shop production, not least the very high profit rate obtainable on novel products, which helped to reduce the uncertainty felt by R & D managers as to the value of the R & D program as a whole. Executives and sales managers were pleased with the advertisement and good-will value of providing even small quantities of novel products to regular customers who needed them. The accounting and personnel managers, on the other hand, tended to oppose job-shop production by R & D on the grounds that it complicated their duties unnecessarily. According to the R & D managers concerned with abrasives, the intermittent opposition by production to their job-shop operations was vitiated by the fact that production had often rejected or terminated the same novel products as too much trouble for too little volume.

Marginal functions I.—Quality control

7 See, e.g., H. Simon, D. Smithburg, and V. Thompson, *Public Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950), pp. 291 ff.

is a function marginal between the R & D and production departments. R & D has to set the formula for a new product, but practical production problems and schedules require some flexibility in adherence to it. The R & D department, when founded, carried out quality control on abrasives products. Argument over the acceptability of production batches was chronic. The production managers took back control of abrasives' quality in 1952. One of their chief arguments was the anomally of having to deal with different personnel in control of quality and standards for the abrasives products and the alloys products; this argument was an additional dividend from having kept control of R & D for alloys.

Conflict continued over the adequacy of control of quality of abrasives. Just at the end of the field work for this study one of the R & D managers, the innovator, was transferred to control of a new "abrasives technical activities" division in the production department, which was to have considerable autonomy to effect improvement in the quality of abrasives products. It is unlikely that this is the final resolution.

This conflict can be viewed as a struggle over the bargaining power inherent in the authority to reject production lots on grounds of quality. It can also be seen as the result of incompatibility between the R & D department's goals of maximizing and standardizing quality and the production department's goals of minimizing costs as well as uncertainty in delivery time and cost.

Marginal functions II.—Until fairly recently, most products at Forthright had been new products. The power inherent in the choice of potential products to develop affected all departments. Unitary control by R & D managers of this choice would perhaps most directly challenge the autonomy of the executives, in their role of formulating company goals and co-ordinating company activities.

A complex set of activities and a high level of uncertainty are associated with developing and introducing a new product. Two negative generalizations can be made about development of new products at Forthright: the set of development activities had never been the same for any two distinct new products, and the administrative responsibility had never been held by the same sequence of managers. The most common procedure had been the creation of a semiautonomous new unit to co-ordinate the development of a group of new products. The R & D machine manager, the R & D glamor-products manager, and the president's trouble-shooter each headed such a unit. Typically, the effective control of such a unit shifted from one department to another over a period of time. In several instances impatience on the part of the executives with a new unit led to the assignment of an additional manager to that group of products as an independent "trouble-shooter."

Several R & D managers tried at different times to stake claims to the over-all control of various types of new products until they reached routine status. At least one R & D manager, the co-ordinator, was explicitly willing to sacrifice the mission of carrying out the technical research work in Forthright laboratories to the mission of co-ordinating the successful establishment at Forthright of new products, from whatever source. However, the two autonomous new-product units directed by R & D managers were partly under the control of other departments, and the other two new-product units were currently managed by others than R & D managers.

Although the new-product situations have been complex and varied, the actions of the production and staff managers appeared to be consistent with an attempt to bar R & D managers from control over ramifications beyond the more technical aspects of R & D. The rapid introduction of new products favored by the R & D department would most directly create problems and uncertainty for the production and staff departments. The sales managers were inclined to support the R & D managers in favoring the introduction of numerous new products, which enhanced the sales appeal of Forthright product lines, but they favored only those types of products

salable through existing connections.

The executives made the decisive moves regarding the various groups of new products. Ambiguity in the administration of the over-all process of new-product development, in large part due to the executives' actions, had the effect of reducing the influence of other managers, particularly the R & D managers, relative to the executives' influence. Like the R & D managers and, to some extent, the sales managers, but, unlike the production and staff managers, the executives were inclined to favor attempts at dramatic innovations. Often the ideas for these innovations came to them from executives in other companies. However, the executives were as concerned with writing off as with introducing dramatic new projects. In this they were rather successfully opposed by the R & D managers, who pushed the elaboration of new variants of initial dramatic ideas. In his interviews the president suggested (at one point in the presence of the R & D machine manager) that the R & D managers resorted to obscurantism in conveying technical information.[8] By increasing uncertainty in evaluation, an R & D manager may secure the continued development of a problematic product in new variants.

Budgetary independence. - The fifth conflict was over redistributed costs and, more generally, the budgetary independence of the R & D department. The desire of R & D managers in abrasives to earn their own way through job-shop production has already been noted. A standard accounting practice at Forthright, as in other companies, was the "redistribution" of costs from one department to another.[9] The costs redistributed to R & D from production remained fairly constant and represented largely "housekeeping" charges. Initially, R & D, like other staff units, redistributed no costs to production. Later, during a business recession in which the R & D managers felt their budget was being cut drastically, the R & D department began the practice of charging for trouble-shooting and other services to production, and later to sales. This move provoked controversy, and sales and production cut down on their requests for help from R & D.

The R & D managers covered as much as half their budget by these specific financial credits for contributions to company welfare in providing advice and service to other departments. Production staff and sales managers fought it: they felt that R & D services could not be realistically assessed by cost tags but should be included in general company overhead as part of the total R & D budget. (However, in the case of products under development which were not related to current production items, production and staff managers sought strict accounting of expenses while R & D managers favored flexibility.) The more general motivation of the conflict was the desire of the R & D managers, opposed by production and staff, to secure a constant R & D expenditure independent of immediate R & D performance and of the company's fluctuating sales.

Summary. - A summary of the positions inferred for the sixteen managers in the five conflicts is appropriate, since in the next section an independent sociometric analysis of the structure of conflict will be developed for comparison. In the simplified description which follows, for each conflict area two opposed groups of managers are listed, the omitted managers being considered neutral. The "A" label is reserved for the side of a conflict taken by R & D managers in abrasives.[10]

[8] Research-and-development managers were not influential sources of information, however, and there was great inconsistency in their attitudes (see n 3).

[9] J. Neuner, *Cost Accounting* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957), pp. 291 ff.

[10] Abbreviations of managers' titles used here and in tables are as follows:

R & D department: "Coord." = Coordinator, "Mach" = R & D machine manager, "Met" = chief metallurgist, "Innov" = innovator, "Glam" = glamor products manager.

Sales department: "VP-S" = vice president sales, "Ab S" = manager of abrasives sales; "AVP-S" = assistant to the VP-S.

Production department: "VP-P" = vice presi-

Counterpart units I, Group A: Co-or., Mach.; *Group B:* Met.; VP-P; E-VP.
Counterpart units II, Group A: Co-or., Mach., Inno., Glam.; VP-S, Ab-S, AVP-S; Pres., E-VP; *Group B:* VP-P, Ab-P; T.S., Pers.
Marginal functions I, Group A: Co-or., Mach., Inno.; Ab-S; *Group B:* Met., Glam.; VP-P, Ab-P; Pers.
Marginal functions II, Group A: Co-or., Mach., Inno.; *Group B:* Met., Glam.; VP-P, Ab-P; Pres.; Acc., Treas., T S., Pers.
Budgetary independence, Group A: Co-or., Mach.; VP-S; Pres.; *Group B:* Ab-P; Acc.

This bare listing of opposed groups conceals one especially important aspect of the conflicts. In each conflict area, members of Group A disagreed among themselves considerably more than did members of Group B. There was less competition both over personal advancement and over the reasons for their stand in each of the five areas among the members of Group B.[11]

STRUCTURE OF PERSONAL RELATIONS

During the period of the field work, the summer and fall of 1958, since the sixteen managers were more often in conflict on R & D issues than on any other, it is natural to seek in the pattern of their personal relations a reflection of their participation in conflicts over R & D.

Sociometric choices.—A series of questions on their personal relations was put to each manager:

1. Could you list the two or three managers with whom you have the most dealings in the course of your work?
2. Do any of your personal friends work at [Forthright]? Who? How regularly do you see them away from work?
3. Would you single out the one or two people in [Forthright] whose ideas about business policy and procedure are most similar and congenial to yours?
4. Who do you guess might single you out as one of those with similar ideas about business policy and procedure?
5. Who is the individual in [Forthright] whom you most respect for great knowledge? For ability to deal effectively with people?
6. With what persons in [Forthright] do you find it most uncomfortable to associate?—not that you dislike them, just that you find it awkward to deal with them.
7. Who might think you were one of the people it was most uncomfortable to associate with?

Of the two hundred choices made, thirty-three choices of managers not in the group of sixteen respondents were excluded.

Direct inspection of the tables of choices reveals that less than half the guesses on questions 4 and 7 were confirmed by the actual choices.[12] With one exception, one-quarter or less of the choices on a given question are reciprocated; the exception is question 2, where sixteen out of twenty-six choices of friends are in reciprocal pairs. Of the eight friendship pairs, five were between sales managers and the three abrasives R & D managers, one between R & D managers in abrasives, and one between sales managers. On the other hand, on questions 6 and 7, the one pair of mutual choices, the one pair of mutual guesses, and the two confirmed guesses are each between some R & D manager in abrasives and some production manager. The observer's first-hand impression was that the abrasives R & D managers were anxious to be personal friends with other Forthright managers. Not only the number (nine) of friendship choices they made, but also the fact that in each of the five sales–R & D friendship pairs the abrasives R & D manager reported about twice

dent production; "Ab-P" = manager of abrasives production.

Executives: "Pres" = president, "E-VP" = executive vice-president.

Staff department: "Acc." = comptroller: "Treas." = treasurer; "T S." = president's troubleshooter (who works both on special production and special R & D missions); ("Pers." = personal manager.

[11] A number of questions were asked of each manager regarding potential promotions he anticipated. All conflicts among the anticipations of different managers revolved around the ambitions of R & D managers.

[12] The full data for this and other topics discussed are contained in the thesis (n. 1) which is available on microfilm through University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan.

as many visits per month (average of 5.4) as did the sales manager (average of 2.5), tended to confirm the impression.

To obtain a more general picture of the structure of interpersonal relations, it is desirable to classify these choices by the affective quality and by the familiarity implied. The naming of a manager in question 2, 3, 4, or 5 implies a positive feeling of the respondent for him. A negative feeling is implied by the naming in questions 6 and 7. An idea of the structure of the feelings of managers about each other is given in Table 1. Here an entry "*p*" means that the manager in whose row the entry lies has named the manager in whose column the entry lies on one *or more* of the four "positive" questions, and similarly for the "*n*" entries. Where there is no entry in a cell of Table 1, no choices in questions 2 through 7 were made by the manager named in the stub of the row of that cell, of the manager named at the head of the column in which the cell lies. The president named the vice-president for sales on both types of questions; so the feeling of the president for the VP-S is called "*a*" for ambivalent.

The feeling of one manager for another is often not reciprocated at all or not in kind; for example the R & D co-ordinator indicated a positive feeling for the president, but the president indicated a negative feeling for the R & D co-ordinator. Since the same entry, *p*, is used whether there were one or several choices in questions 2–5, only quality, not strength of feeling, is indicated, and similarly for negative and ambivalent entries. When there is no entry in a cell, the

TABLE 1

AFFECTIVE QUALITY OF THE FEELING OF EACH MANAGER FOR EACH OTHER MANAGER*

Chooser		Co-or	Mach	Met	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
R & D managers	Co-or		*p*		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	*n*			[illegible]	[illegible]			
	Mach	*p*								*n*							
	Met					[illegible]											
	Inno					[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*n*	[illegible]		[illegible]				
	Glam				[illegible]												
Sales managers	VP-S	*p*	*p*			[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	*n*							
	Ab-S	*p*	*p*		[illegible]	*n*	[illegible]			*n*	*n*	[illegible]	*n*			[illegible]	
	AVP-S		*p*		*p*		[illegible]	[illegible]		*n*				[illegible]	[illegible]		
Production managers	VP-P	*n*			*n*	*p*						[illegible]				*p*	
	Ab-P					*p*	[illegible]										
Executives	Pres	*n*					*a*						*n*	[illegible]		*p*	
	E-VP							[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]			
Staff managers	Acc	*n*			*n*		[illegible]										
	Treas.																
	T-S.																
	Pers.																

* Here *p* = positive, *n* = negative, a blank = neutral, and *a* = ambivalent [illegible] VP-S [illegible] tive feeling for the vice-president production (VP-P) whereas the latter has [illegible] entries to sociometric choices made and n. 10 for abbreviations of managers [illegible]

affective quality of the corresponding feeling is considered neutral.

A choice in questions 1 or 2 implies that the chooser knows the chosen manager fairly well through frequent contact, whatever the affective quality of the relation. In Table 2 an entry "1" means the manager in that row chooses the manager in that column in question 1 and/or in question 2. One manager's perception of frequent contact with another often is not reciprocated, since the levels of activity and the frames of reference of the two managers may be different.

Responses to questions touching several aspects of positive feeling—similarity in ideas, personal attraction, respect—are combined in deriving the *p* entries in Table 1. Managers in Forthright were loath explicitly to indicate various kinds of clearly negative feelings for a colleague. They were even loath to respond to the discreetly worded questions on discomfort, but it seemed that all the more obvious cases of antipathy were indicated by the *n* entries in Table 1. The manager's guesses as to the positive and negative feelings of others toward him (questions 4, 7) were included as equivalent to choices because the more senior managers seemed to feel it beneath their dignity to indicate positive and negative feelings for their juniors and subordinates on the direct-choice questions. The rareness of confirmed guesses noted earlier to some extent justifies this treatment of guesses as surrogate choices. Table 2 was based on question 2 as well as question 1 in order to tap social as well as on-the-job occasions of interaction among the managers.

TABLE 2

PERCEIVED FREQUENCY OF CONTACT*

Chooser		Chosen: R & D Managers					Sales Managers			Production Managers		Executives		Staff Managers			
		Co-ord	Mach	Met	Inno	Glam	VP-S	Ab S	AVP-S	VP-P	Ab-P	Pres	E VP	Acc	Treas	T.S.	Pers
R & D managers	Co-ord		1				1		1	1		1	1	1			
	Mach	1					1	1	1			1					
	Met						1			1							
	Inno	1				1		1	1	1							
	Glam	1			1		1					1	1		1		
Sales managers	VP-S	1	1						1	1		1		1			
	Ab S	1	1		1		1		1		1						
	AVP S		1		1		1						1	1	1		
Production managers	VP P										1						
	Ab P						1			1							
Executives	Pres						1			1				1			
	E VP						1			1		1		1			
Staff managers	Acc.	1					1			1			1				
	Treas												1				
	T.S.									1		1	1	1			
	Pers												1				

* The manager named in the stub of a row indicated he had most contact with the managers named in the column headings of those cells in the row which contain the entry "1." See text for relation of entries to sociometric choices and n. 10 for abbreviations of managers' titles.

Inferred qualities of feeling.—Any picture of the structure of conflict in interpersonal relations should refer to the frequencies of contact as well as the affective quality in the relations between pairs of managers. Furthermore, to speak of the structure of relations is to speak of the interrelations of the various choices. Modifications of the affective quality of the relations shown in Table 1 between pairs of managers will be inferred following a set of plausible rules which combine the information in Table 2 with that in Table 1.

It will be assumed that, if manager A likes manager B who likes manager C, and if manager A sees enough of manager B to know his preferences, then manager A will tend to like manager C. Here "likes" is taken to mean the "p" quality of feeling, "dislikes" means the "n" relations, and "sees enough of" means the "1" relation. The assumption can be abbreviated as: if ApB and if BpC, and if $A1B$, then ApC. Note that ApB does not imply BpA, and so on, as noted earlier.

A second and complementary assumption should also be made: One manager who sees a lot of another will tend to like him if they have a mutual friend. In symbolic terms, if ApB and if CpB and if $A1C$, then ApC. Several additional equally plausible assumptions will be made;[13] in the symbolic notation they are:

If ApB and if BnC and if $A1B$, then AnC
If ApB and if CnB and if $A1C$, then AnC
If AnB and if CpB and if $A1C$, then AnC
If AnB and if BnC and if $A1B$, then ApC
If AnB and if CnB and if $A1C$, then ApC

Given this set of assumptions, a large number of inferences can be drawn from our data as to the affective qualities of the relations between pairs of managers. The rules by which different inferences as to the feeling of manager A for manager B should be combined to reach a net inference are almost self-evident. Any number of inferences of p quality, when combined, simply yield the net inferences of a p quality, since no attempt is made to measure strength of feeling; and similarly for the combination of different inferences of n. Combination of one or more p inferences with one or more n inferences naturally yields a net inference of an ambivalent quality (a). Finally, combination of an inference of an ambivalent quality with any other inference will still yield the net inference of an a quality. The use of these rules can aptly be termed "qualitative addition."

Opposing cliques.—A manifest quality of feeling given in Table 1 is to be combined with the net inferred quality by exactly the same rules of qualitative addition. It is assumed that an inferred quality of feeling will tend to be realized under the stimulus which conflict situations exert on interpersonal relations. Since no attempt was made to measure the strength either of the original or of the net inferred feeling, it is natural to combine them on an equal footing by qualitative addition. The resultant affective quality of the feeling by each manager for each other manager is shown in Table 3,[14] in which the

[13] Many aspects of the sociometric model are adapted from a paper dealing with the formally similar topic of the analysis of attitude structures (R. Abelson and M. J. Rosenberg, "Symbolic Psycho-logic: A Model of Attitudinal Cognition," *Behavioral Science*, III [January, 1958], 1-13). The primary difference between the set of assumptions they discuss at length and the ones here lies in the necessity to modify inferences according to the presence or absence of the "1" relation. It may be that many puzzling aspects of results of prior sociometric case studies would be clarified if "affect" and "contact" choices were integrated in some such fashion as that proposed here. For an excellent review of the literature on measures of sociometric structure see M. Glanzer and R. Glaser, "Techniques for the Study of Group Structure and Behavior, I. Analysis of Structure," *Psychological Bulletin*, LVI (1959), 317-31. Representation of choices by directed graphs, discussed in this review on pp. 329-30, is an alternative to the representation by relational algebra used in the present paper, and the reader may find it helpful to rewrite the postulates for inferring relations in terms of patterns of directed lines of three kinds among three points representing managers A, B, and C.

[14] Matrix algebra was used to develop and combine inferences systematically and efficiently. Tables 1, 2, and 3 can be treated as 16 × 16 square

rows and columns have been rearranged to indicate more clearly the grouping of managers found. As before, a blank cell indicates that the affective quality is neutral and feelings are not necessarily reciprocated.

Clique membership is to be determined by a search procedure using as criterion that a member has some positive but no negative feelings toward other members of the clique.[15]

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matrices; denote them by R, M, and T, respectively. Number the rows and columns from 1 to 16 in each matrix; the entry in the ith row and the jth column of R, for example, can then be compactly denoted by r_{ij}. The possible values of r_{ij} are p, n, a, and o, for neutral quality. The possible values of m_{ij} are 1 and 0. For ordinary matrix multiplication use the symbol "•"; then $Q = R \bullet M$ means that

$$q_{ij} = \sum_{k=1}^{16} r_{ik} m_{kj} .$$

A different type of matrix multiplication, "application," denoted by α, is defined as the formation of a product matrix by multiplication of corresponding elements in the two initial matrices; i.e., if $Q = R \alpha M$, then

$$q_{ij} = r_{ij} m_{ij} .$$

The rules for adding and multiplying the individual entries r_{ij} are given in verbal form above; e.g., $p + p = p$, $p + n = a$, $p + o = p$, $p p = p$, $p n = a$, and $p o = o$. Only multiplication is possible between entries in M and entries in R; the rules are obvious—$p\ 1 = p$, $p\ 0 = o$, etc. Finally, define $\bar{R}$ as the transpose of the matrix R; i.e., $\bar{r}_{ij} = r_{ji}$. In terms of this notation Table 3, the matrix T, can be expressed as

$$T = R + (R \alpha M) \cdot R + (R \cdot \bar{R}) \alpha M ,$$

using the standard rule of matrix addition. Parentheses indicate the order in which successive multiplications are to be performed. Calculated in this way, T contains entries in the diagonal cells, but they are meaningless in this context and are to be ignored.

[15] This criterion bears some resemblance to the n-clique definition introduced by Luce, but the membership of a clique is determined primarily

TABLE 3

NET EMOTIONAL QUALITY OF THE FEELING OF EACH MANAGER FOR EACH OTHER MANAGER*

CHOOSER	CHOSEN															
	"White" Clique							"Black" Clique								
	Co-or.	Mach.	Inno.	VP-S	Ab-S	AVP-S	Pres.	Met.	Glam	VP-P	Ab-P	E-VP	Acc	Treas	T.S.	Pers.
"White" clique:																
Co-or.	....	*p*	*a*	*a*	*p*	*p*	*a*	....	*n*	*a*	.	*a*	*a*	*p*	*a*	
Mach.	*a*	..	*p*	*a*	*p*	*p*	*a*		*n*	*a*	*n*	*n*	*p*	*p*	*p*	
Inno.	*p*	*p*	. .	*p*	*a*	*p*	*a*		*a*	*a*	*n*	*a*	*p*	*p*	*a*	
VP-S	*a*	*p*	*p*	..	*p*	*p*	*a*		*n*	*a*			*a*	*p*	*a*	
Ab-S	*p*	*p*	*a*	*a*	.	*p*	*p*		*a*	*n*	*a*	*n*	*p*		*p*	
AVP-S	*a*	*p*	*a*	*p*	*p*	..	*p*		*p*	*n*	*n*	*a*	*a*	*p*	*p*	
Pres.	*a*	*a*	*n*	*a*	*a*	*a*	...		*p*	*a*	...	*n*	*a*		*p*	
"Black" clique:																
Met.	*n*		*n*	*n*		..	*p*		*p*	*p*		...	...	. .	*p*	.
Glam.	*a*		*a*	*a*	*p*	*p*	*a*		..	*a*	*n*	*a*	*p*	*p*	*p*	
VP-P	*n*		*n*	.			*p*		*p*	.	*p*				*p*	
Ab-P	*a*	*p*	*n*	*a*	*p*	*p*	*p*		*p*	*a*					*p*	
E-VP	*n*		*n*	*a*			*p*		*p*	*p*		.	*p*		*p*	
Acc.	*a*	*a*	*n*	*a*	*p*	*a*	*a*			*a*		*p*			*p*	
Treas.	..		....	....			*p*			...		*p*	.	..		.
T. S.	*n*	.	*n*	*a*			*a*		*p*	*p*		*a*	*p*	.		..
Pers.			.			.	..			*p*		*p*	*p*	. .	.	..

* Inferred from Tables 1 and 2. See text for clique criterion and n. 10 for abbreviations of managers' titles.

A brief rationale for this is that purely negative feeling, but not simply ambivalence, will imply conflict and that in conflict a coalition will tend to be formed by a group of men among whom there are positive, and possibly ambivalent, feelings but no negative feelings. Nothing in the procedure requires that all managers will fall into two opposing cliques, and the "Black" and "White" cliques defined in Table 3 do not, in fact, fully meet the criterion. The president really is a "swing" man, belonging to neither clique, which makes sense considering the president's role as chief co-ordinator and final arbiter. The feeling of the glamor-products R & D manager for the abrasives production manager is negative, although both are assigned to the "Black" clique.

The sociometric finding that, using a reasonable definition of clique, one discovers two opposing cliques with the memberships indicated in Table 3 tends to confirm the previous analysis of the five specific conflicts. To a good approximation the seven members of the White clique include those and only those managers listed in Group A, at the end of the previous section, for one or more of the five conflicts, and similarly for the relation of Group B to the nine members of the Black clique.

To summarize the results in Table 3: Between cliques there is not only a far higher percentage of negative feeling than within cliques but also a much lower percentage of positive feelings. The feelings of the White clique toward the Black clique are given by the percentage of the appropriate set of entries which are positive (22 per cent), negative (17 per cent), ambivalent (29 per cent), and neutral (32 per cent). The appropriate set of entries is the upper right bloc in Table 3, that is, all sixty-three entries which are in one of the first seven rows and in one of the last nine columns. The corresponding percentages for the feelings of Black toward White are 17, 22, and 43 per cent.

Relations within the Black clique taken as a whole are bland; 58 per cent of the seventy-two entries are neutral, and almost all the remaining entries are positive 33 per cent *p*, 1 per cent *n*, and 7 per cent *a*. In the five specific conflicts these managers are found only in Group B: their departmental interests tend to be parallel. Moreover, they tend to have the same departmental ideologies, particularly in regard to outside opinion and to uncertainty.

Within the White clique relations taken as a whole are intense and ambivalent: there are no neutral feelings, and nearly as many of the feelings are ambivalent (45 per cent) as are positive (52 per cent), only 2 per cent of the forty-two entries being negative. Here too, there is agreement with the results of the earlier analysis of conflicts. Managers in the White clique are generally in Group A in the five conflict areas but are also found in Group B. They tend to be more partisan in more of the areas of conflict than do members of the Black clique, and they differ more in their attitudes toward uncertainty and outside opinion.

The two opposing cliques found by applying the clique criterion to the direct sociometric choices as classified in Table 1 would be the same as those found from Table 3. However, the texture of clique relations would be markedly different, and the texture in Table 3 represents better the actual situation found earlier from analysis of the conflicts on five R & D issues.

The sociometric results are a partial confirmation of the R & D conflicts derived earlier from interviews. It is desirable to recast and integrate the analysis to bring out ideas which might be fruitful beyond this case study.

Uncertainty is the key variable, as one might expect in a study of R & D conflicts. A major technique of negotiation was the manipulation of the opposition's uncertainty on specific issues. A major aspect of ideo-

by the absence of one- and two-step negative relations among members rather than by each pair of members being connected by a positive chain of at most *n* lines (see R. D. Luce, "Connectivity and Generalized Cliques in Sociometric Group Structure," *Psychometrika*, XV [June, 1950], 169-90).

logical conflicts was divergent evaluations of uncertainty in the different criterion variables dear to one department or another.[16]

The ideology which the R & D department wished to further by increasing its autonomy, and which it used as a weapon for doing so, is most clearly evident in the second conflict over marginal functions. Not only the three R & D managers, treated here as the heads of an R & D department, but also the glamor-products R & D manager were more concerned with developing radically new products than with gradually improving existing standard products. All sixteen managers treated here were aware of this bias and tended to see the production and staff managers as taking the opposite view.[17] When their preference for novel R & D projects was effective, the R & D managers were in a stronger position for controlling general decisions on the development of new products, since they had a greater relative advantage in technical knowledge and a lesser relative disadvantage in knowledge of production and sales.

All managers agreed that many years must be allowed before major R & D projects can be properly evaluated. However, the above four R & D managers took an extreme position in explicitly claiming that a good R & D program, on the one hand, was necessarily uncertain because it was concerned with the frontier of knowledge but, on the other hand, needed a constant high level of support to have a good chance of success. The R & D managers tried, as in "Counterpart unit II," to reduce the uncertainty of their contribution to Forthright, but on occasion they increased uncertainty by initiating new variants of development projects that appeared to be failures. Executives and sales managers also believed creative experimentation with new products was essential for growth and survival and required tolerance of the associated uncertainty.

Each department tolerated least well a particular aspect of uncertainty, being willing to trade less uncertainty in that aspect for more uncertainty in other aspects. R & D managers favored trading uncertainty in investment and time for certainty in quality and variety of new products, whereas executives and sales managers seemed to give priority to certainty of the company's growth. A desire by production and staff managers for certainty in the variables important to them, cost and accountability, led them to oppose uncertain experimentation, stringent standards of quality, and novelty in products.

The influence of outside opinion dominated objective uncertainty as to the general worth of the R & D program. In spite of a ten-year record of costly but minor successes and incompleted projects, there was consensus among the managers as to the necessity of a sizable R & D program. Thus conflicts on specific issues could not be resolved by eliminating R & D. The variation between departments on orientation to uncertainty in part reflected differential sensitivity to outside opinion and in part followed from differences in their tactical positions in conflicts.

Conflicts about R & D could be chronic because of the departmental autonomy practically required of the company by the rapid change in its environment and the complexity of its operations. In Forthright the drive for autonomy was greatest in those areas where hostility among departments was greatest and the interrelation of tasks was highest, a finding contrary to the proposi-

[16] Much of the literature on formal organization overlooks the role of uncertainty in ideology and tactics although it treats the impact made by unplanned uncertainty in internal functions and environmental inputs (but see A. W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955], p. 27 and chap. vii).

[17] Each manager was asked in the questionnaire to identify the colleagues who habitually used seven phrases which had been culled from the transcripts of interviews. "Romancing about it," "blue-sky research," and "they may be wooden nickels," all phrases indicating skepticism of radical R & D programs, were attributed to production and staff managers. Apparently, these managers did not use the phrases, and statistical analysis indicated that attribution to them, in general, had no correlation with actuality.

tions advanced by Dill after a comparison of two Norwegian firms.[18]

When the delegation of authority is extensive, it is unnecessary to distinguish horizontal from vertical autonomy.[19] The president is the most influential figure at Forthright, however: close inspection of Tables 1–3 reveals that relations with the president are the single most important set of choices in determining the texture of social relations, given the postulates of the sociometric model.

Recurrent minor reassignments of responsibility among departments and reorganization of departments were the distinctive concomitants of chronic conflict in Forthright. There is considerable similarity between the study of chronic interdepartmental conflict and of research in the Sherif tradition on intergroup conflict outside formal organizations.[20] The departments share common goals for the company and basically accept each other's distinctive roles. For this reason the distinctions drawn among counterpart, marginal, and independent types of conflicts are meaningful.

University of Chicago

[18] See "tentative inferences" 1 and 2 in Dill, *op. cit.*, pp. 4[illegible]9. Note however that Dill's propositions refer to managers as individuals.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[20] M. Sherif and C. W. Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. [illegible].

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A POLISH FACTORY

May 15, 1961

To the Editor:

I am not convinced that the reviewer of my *A Polish Factory* was right when he said that I dealt with some "minor events" that happened in the factory.

Due to fortunate circumstances I could observe actions of a worker-leader who was not only elected to the workers' council but also to its smaller policy-making body, the presidium. It was not a minor event to argue whether or not the minimal profit ought to be divided. The purpose of the workers' council was precisely to motivate workers to strive more by providing them with some sharing of profits. Likewise, a tram strike in Lodz at that time, the invasions of irate workers of the assembly hall, the firing of another highly articulate foreman were not minor events within the factory social system, though, of course, they were relatively unimportant within other, larger frames of reference.

On the other hand, I agree with the reviewer that one should have obtained more data on organized bodies such as the party, labor union, management. Due to the decision of the factory party leaders, meetings of the party were declared out of the limits for me. Thus the study presents the organized bodies as they appeared to those whom they were supposed to lead, represent, or serve, namely, rank-and-file workers.

JIRI T. KOLAJA

University of Kentucky

NEWS AND NOTES

Allen University.—Ju-Shu Pan is currently associate professor in sociology. During his tenure as chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology (1955–56) at Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas, he translated *The Lolo of Liang Shan*, written in Chinese by Lin Yueh-hua and published as a "Behavior Science Translation" by HRAF (Human Relations Area Files) Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1961.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences.—Three $1,000 prizes are to be awarded annually to the authors of unpublished monographs—one each in the fields of the humanities, social sciences, and physical and biological sciences.

A monograph is defined for the purposes of these awards as a "scholarly contribution to knowledge, too long for an article in a learned journal and too specialized for a general book."

The final date in 1961 for receipt of manuscripts by the committee on awards is October 2. Announcement of the awards will be made in December.

Full details concerning these prizes may be secured on request by sending a stamped self-addressed envelope to the Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Little Hall 33, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Brandeis University.—The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare awarded its first doctorate degrees this spring. Established in 1958 under the deanship of Charles I. Schottland, it provides advanced training for students who hold master's degrees in social work or the equivalent and who have professional experience in social welfare. At present, twenty-six students are in residence and fourteen more have been accepted for September, 1961. The faculty consists of both social workers and behavioral scientists, among the latter being Associate Professors Howard E. Freeman and David G. French. The School collaborates with the social science departments, a number of whose members are engaged in the teaching and research programs, including Professor Morris Schwartz and Assistant Professor Robert Weiss of the Sociology Department. An active research unit is supported by grants and awards from United States Public Health Service, Social Security Administration, Boston Medical Foundation, McCormick Fund, Permanent Charities of Boston, The National Foundation, The Ford Foundation and Russell Sage Foundation. Studies are currently under way in public assistance, child welfare, aging, philanthropy, juvenile delinquency, organizational behavior, and medical care.

Brown University.—Robert O. Schulze has been promoted to associate professor.

William R. Rosengren [illegible] professor.

Robert G. Burnight has joined the staff as adjunct professor.

Eugene A. Friedman has been appointed associate professor. He and Professor Burnight are members of the research staff of the newly established Center for Aging Research which is supported by the National Institutes of Health. Their work is on demographic and sociological aspects of aging.

Sidney Goldstein is on leave of absence for the academic year, doing research on internal migration in Denmark on a Guggenheim Fellowship with support from a Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship. He and Kurt Mayer have received a three-year grant from the National Science Foundation for a study of the impact of metropolitanization on social and demographic processes.

Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein have completed a study of small business growth and survival, now published as a monograph by the Small Business Administration.

Basil G. Zimmer is continuing his research on resistances to reorganization of school districts and local governments in metropolitan areas under a grant of the U.S. Office of Education. He is also directing a field study of the effects of displacement and relocation on small businesses, supported by the Small Business Administration.

Surinder K. Mehta is completing an investi-

gation of the effects of suburbanization on the size and growth of business establishments, sponsored by the Small Business Administration.

Harold W. Pfautz serves as consultant to the Butler Health Center where he is co-director of a demonstration project which involves the operation of a day-care rehabilitation center for emotionally disturbed adolescents. The project is supported by the U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation.

William R. Rosengren has received a grant from the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children to continue his research on sociocultural factors affecting the behavior of expectant mothers.

The Department has expanded its graduate offerings in demography and metropolitan studies for which three new National Defense Fellowships have been awarded. In addition, social organization has been added as a field of specialization in the Ph.D. program.

A new graduate program in cultural anthropology has also been established, leading to the M.A. degree under the direction of J. Louis Giddings—who spent the summer in Alaska extending archeological explorations supported by the National Science Foundation—Dwight Heath, and Igor Kopytoff. Dwight B. Heath undertook an extensive field trip through Mexico and Guatemala during the summer, visiting a number of remote tribes and collecting materials for the University's Haffenreffer Museum of the American Indian.

Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Washington, D.C.—The Bureau has moved its offices to 1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., Adams 4-4000.

Samuel Z. Klausner has joined the staff as research associate to work on studies of psychological self-management under conditions of stress.

George S. Rosenberg, research associate, is directing research in the sociology of occupations and professions.

The Bureau established a summer fellowship program for training in survey research techniques, offered to recent graduates in the social sciences to provide practical experience in the application of research methodology. The Fellows worked on various aspects of current projects in the Bureau. During the ten weeks of the program, they observed activities in other research organizations in Washington and in government agencies.

Carleton College.—The College has been awarded by the National Institute of Mental Health a three-year grant totaling $15,180 for the continuation of research in anthropology. Entitled "Acculturation among American Indians" the work is being conducted by Frank C. Miller, instructor of sociology and anthropology.

Centro.—The election is announced of Professor Manuel Diégues Júnior as director for 1961–65.

Professor L. A. Costa Pinto, founder and first director of Centro, an institute of social science, remains as professor of sociology in the University of Brazil.

Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, A.C.—The Seventh Inter-American Congress of Psychology will be held in Monterrey, Mexico, from December 19 to 23, 1961, under the joint auspices of the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas, and the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, A.C. The last is an international coordinating research organization in the behavioral sciences located in Monterrey, Mexico.

Eastern Sociological Society.—A feature of the Thirty-first annual meeting, held in April in New York City, was the joint presentation of the Annual Merit Award to Ray H. Abrams and Wellman J. Warner. Each was presented a scroll bearing the citation, "in recognition of high attainment in the advancement of sociological studies and service to the profession of sociology this expression of esteem by his colleagues" and a check for $200.

Newly elected officers announced at the business meeting are Robert Freed Bales, President-Elect; Bernard Barber, Vice-President; Charles H. Page, Representative to the Council of the American Sociological Association; Harold Pfautz, member of the Executive Committee. Alex Inkeles, President-Elect for 1960–61 becomes President for 1961–62 August B. Hollingshead, now is Past-President; Sylvia F. Fava, Secretary-Treasurer, and Kurt Mayer and Orville G. Brim, Jr., members, continue their terms on the Executive Committee.

The next annual meetings will be held April 7-8, 1962, at the Warwick Hotel, Philadelphia. Those wishing to submit papers for consideration by the Program Committee should send two copies of the paper, not exceeding fifteen hundred words, to the Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Sylvia F. Fava, Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York City, no later than December 15, 1961.

FERES--International co-operation among several European institutes for social research took institutional form in the spring of 1958 as the Federation Internationale des Institutions Catholiques de Recherches Sociales et Socio-Religieuses (*FERES*). The aims of this Federation are: (*a*) to undertake (international levels) studies and research in the social and religious field; (*b*) to promote research national and international, and (*c*) to insure liaison between members through the exchange of information, visits, and by any other suitable means. The head office of FERES is at 1 Route du Jura, Fribourg.

The institutes affiliated in FERES are: The Katholisches Institut fur Sozialforschung at Konigstein, Germany, the Pastoralsoziologisches Institut des Erzbistums Paderborn und des Bistums, Essen, Germany, the Newman Demographic Survey, London, the Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses, Brussels, the Centro de Estudios de Sociologia Aplicada, Madrid, the Obra de Co-operacion Sacerdotal Hispanoamericano, Madrid, the Centre Diocesain d'Études Socio-Religieuses, Lille, France, the Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut (KASKI), The Hague, Holland, the Centre de Recherches en Sociologie Religieuse, Quebec, Canada, the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Bogotá, Colombia, the Centro de Investigación y Acción Social, S.J. Santiago, Chile, the Centro de Investigaciones Socio-Religiosas-Accion Católica Mexicana México, the C I S O R , Buenos Aires.

During 1959 and 1960 the Federation undertook its first piece of co-operative work. At the request of the Central Committee of Catholics in Germany, it was charged with the scientific preparation for the conference on "The Creative Force of the Church in the New Europe," and in this connection prepared seven reports, one of which, a general introduction to the others, was published under the title "General Survey of Catholicism in Europe" and appeared in the *Herder Korrespondenz* (No. 10, July, 1960).

The other reports took the form of six monographs on the following subjects:

1. "Aspects socio-culturels et religieux de l'immigration italienne en Belgique" (Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses, Brussels).
2. "Die Katholische Intelligenz in neuen Europa" (Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut [KASKI], The Hague).
3. "Crise d'une société agricole traditionnelle et pratique religieuse--Étude sur deux cantons du Puy-de-Dome" (Henri Mendras, R. P. Millet, Marcel Jollivet et Mlle Daroussy).
4. "Schichtenbildung in der städtischen Konzentration" (Katholisches Institut für Sozialforschung, Konigstein).
5. "The Irish Rural Immigrant in British Urban Society" (Newman Demographic Survey, London).
6. "Intégration sociale et religieuse dans une ville de caractère international--Genève" (R. P. Grond, Secrétaire de FERES, Fribourg).

The work being done on Latin America is another example of a large scale piece of international co-operative scientific work.

For some years now the Centre de Bruxelles in co-operation with the Obra de Co-operacion Sacerdotal Hispanoamericano of Madrid, the Centro de Investigacion y Accion Social of Santiago, Chile, several other institutions in Latin America, and a number of experts has been making a study of the social and religious situation in Latin America, the results of which will be published in some fifty reports.

FERES publishes *Social Compass*, a review of socioreligious studies, to facilitate the use of sociological methods and to bring to sociology a contribution from Catholics on the sociology of the Catholic church. *Social Compass* is published six times a year (Social Compass, Brussels-The Hague, Éditions Universitaires, 193 rue du Thrône, Brussels).

Florida State University: John K. Folger, associate director of research, Southern Regional Educational Board, has been appointed dean of the Graduate School and professor of sociology.

Charles M. Grigg, Francis R. Allen, and Ivan

Nye are the recipients of a grant from the University Research Council for a study of community satisfaction and political behavior. Professor Grigg and Professor Lewis Killian have received a grant of $110,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for a three-year study of community problems and the role of the biracial committee in a southern city.

Russell Middleton has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor and was the recipient of a Faculty Research Award for the summer of 1961. He has been appointed director of the Departmental Honors Program.

M. F. Nimkoff led a summer family-life study tour of professional persons to western Europe and Russia. He has been appointed to the editorial boards of the *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (Karnatak University, India), and the *Review of Political Studies* (Madrid). During the first semester, 1961–62, he is to be a visiting professor at Boston University.

Leland Axelson joined the Department in September as lecturer. He will offer courses in the marriage and family area.

William Rushing joined the Department as assistant professor in September.

University of Hawaii.—J. Milton Yinger, of Oberlin College, was a visiting professor of sociology during the spring semester and summer session.

Visiting scholars during the 1961 summer session were Yuzuru Okada, of Tokyo Koikyu University, A. J. Jaffe, of Columbia University, and Gordon H. Barker, of the University of Colorado.

During 1961–62 Reuel Denney, of the University of Chicago, will be visiting professor of American studies and sociology; he will be one of the first two visiting professors brought to the campus by the newly established Institute of American Studies under the International College of the East-West Center which was opened last February through an initial appropriation of ten million dollars by Congress.

Andrew W. Lind was in charge of a special session in the summer of the Tenth Pacific Science Congress on "Hawaii: Social Science Laboratory," at which several local sociologists, including Bernhard L. Hormann, Yukiko Kimura, A. W. Lind, Robert C. Schmitt, and Douglas S. Yamamura, and other local social scientists presented papers.

Clarence E. Glick will be at the University of Mysore, India, as a Fulbright Professor during 1961–62.

C. K. Cheng succeeds Professor Glick as departmental chairman.

Raymond E. Sakumoto has been appointed instructor to begin work in September.

Oklahoma State University.—Morris Siegel, recently of the University of Illinois, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology. He will have the principal responsibility for courses in cultural anthropology.

University of Pennsylvania.—New appointments to the staff are: Philip Rieff, professor; Philip Sagi and Norman Kaplan, associate professors; Arthur Shostak, assistant professor; and Henry Elsner, Jr., instructor.

Seymour Leventman has been promoted to assistant professor.

A grant of $7,000 has been received from the Population Council for graduate fellowships and assistantships in demography. A further grant of $200,000 has been made by the Ford Foundation to enlarge the training and research functions of the Population Research Center. Vincent Whitney is executive director and Dorothy S. Thomas is research director. A number of fellowships and training internships are available, beginning in January or September, for which applications are invited.

Five fellowships have been awarded for 1961–62 for study in the department under the National Defense Education Act. These are for a new program in social organization and comparative social structure.

Ray H. Abrams was co-recipient of the 1961 award of the Eastern Sociological Society for distinguished service to the profession.

William M. Kephart is serving as chairman of the research section of the National Council on Family Relations.

Dorothy S. Thomas has been elected President of the American Section of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population.

Vincent H. Whitney has been elected to the Board of Directors of the Population Association of America. He also is a member of the Advisory Committee on the Research Program of the Social Security Administration.

Thorsten Sellin received the annual award of

the American Society of Criminology at a joint session with the American Association for the Advancement of Science in December.

Marvin Wolfgang was a delegate of the American Sociological Association to the Sixth International Congress of Social Defense (UNESCO) in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in May, where he presented a paper and served as Sociology Rapporteur. Under the auspices of the Italian Ministry of Justice he discussed the contemporary sociological theory of crime and treatment in several conferences of legal and correctional groups in Rome.

E. Digby Baltzell received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to spend the summer on a book devoted to a comparison of the idea of equality in the writings of Marx and de Tocqueville.

W. Rex Crawford served during the summer as director of an orientation program for newly arrived African students who will be studying in this country during the coming year. The sessions were held at the University of Pennsylvania and at Lincoln University.

Edward P. Hutchinson is serving on the Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations interested in human rights, which is sponsored by the United Nations. The Committee is planning a study of restrictions on emigration in selected countries.

"*The Polish Sociological Review.*" In June, Part One of the 15th annual volume (1961) began the thirty-first year of the *Polish Sociological Review*, which started in 1930 with Florian Znaniecki, at that time professor of sociology at Poznan University, Poland, as Editor-in-Chief. The first annual volume covered the year from April, 1930, through March, 1931. The *Review* was not published in 1932 and 1933, from 1940 till 1945, and from 1949 till 1956. In 1950 it was replaced by the *Polish Review of Historical and Social Sciences* of which seven annual volumes were published for the years 1950-56. Due to these breaches, the volume of 1961 is the fifteenth. Beginning with 1957, the *Polish Sociological Review* with Jozef Chalasinski as Editor-in-Chief and Assistant Professors Jan Lutynski and Antonina Kloskowska as deputy editors has been published as a semi-annual journal with English summaries. From 1946 it was edited by the Sociological Institute at the Lodz University, Poland.

Jozef Chalasinski, professor of sociology at the Lodz University has been Editor-in-Chief of the *Review* beginning with Volume III (1935). He was also Editor-in-Chief of the *Polish Review of Historical and Social Sciences* published from 1950 till 1956 by Lodz University. The first issue of the *Polish Sociological Review* (1930) contained the following articles: E. Blaha, "Contemporary Czech Sociology," J. S. Bystron, "School as a Factor in Social Class Selection," and "Social Function of Proverbs," L. Krzywicki, "The Dawn of Social Life," J. Krzyzanowski, "Sociological Problems of the Primitive State," B. Malinowski, "Kinship Problems in Recent Studies," J. Paczoski, "Human Sociology and Plant Sociology," Cz. Znamierowski, "The Sociology of Command," F. Znaniecki, "A Study on Antagonism towards Strangers."

These are recalled here to give a historical background to the 1961 number which is mostly devoted to social anthropology. While the term "social anthropology" is not long in use in Poland, the social anthropological approach has been significant in the development of Polish sociology. For the great masters of Polish sociology—Ludwik Krazywicki, Florian Znaniecki, Stefan Czarnowski, and Bronislaw Malinowski—the subject matter of sociology was society and culture. Ludwik Krazywicki (1859-1941) represented Marxist intellectual tradition; Stefan Czarnowski (1879-1937) Durkheim's sociological school. Though Florian Znaniecki never regarded himself an anthropologist, Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 1918-1920* belongs now to the common intellectual heritage of sociology as well as social anthropology. Personality as an object of study has influenced the development of Polish sociology through Znaniecki's writings and Malinowski's school of anthropology.

The following articles are published in the 1961 volume of the *Review*: Vol. XV, No. 1—J. Lutynski, "Ludwik Krzywicki as Seen by Polish Sociologists Today," J. Czekanowski, "The Feudal Pastoral Kingdoms of Interlacustrine Africa," J. Chalasinski, "The African Intelligentsia and the Birth of Nationalism in Black Africa South of Sahara," A. Zajaczkowski, "Ashanti Tribe in Transition"; No. 2 of Vol. XV: J. Chalasinski, "Social Anthropology of Modern Society," A. Kloskowska, "Ethnic Concepts of School Children in Poland," W. Piotrowski, "Some Problems of Ecological Structure of the Industrial City Lodz, Poland."

P. Zakrzewski, "Predicting Delinquency in the Gluecks' Writings."

The second part of the 1961 volume is to appear in December.

San Diego State College.—The Department of Sociology has added two new faculty members, Nicos Mouratides and William Bates, who was formerly at Washington University, studying the adult adjustment of children seen in a child guidance clinic thirty years ago.

Orrin Klapp has just completed a book on American social types, to be published this fall.

Frank Young received a summer grant from San Diego State College Foundation to support the processing of his data on community change in rural Mexico.

Morris Daniels is continuing his research on the levels of organization in the behavioral and qualitative aspects of the nurse's role under National Institutes of Mental Health small grant sponsorship.

Bernard Kirby, Aubrey Wendling, William Bates, and Thomas McJunkins have completed the course in programming for the IBM 650. A computing center has been set up on the campus with the installation of this machine and its peripheral equipment. The Department has initiated the first project in the center—a study of the ecology of delinquency and a critique of certain ecological measures.

Social Science Research Council.—The Council's annual announcement describing fellowships and grants to be awarded in 1961–62 will be ready for distribution in early September. It will list the following programs which are to be continued without major changes: research training fellowships, predoctoral and postdoctoral; faculty research fellowships; grants-in-aid of research; fellowships in political theory and legal philosophy; grants for research on American governmental and legal processes.

International conference travel grants will again be offered to American social scientists for travel to certain meetings outside North America.

Under joint sponsorship with the American Council of Learned Societies, grants will be offered to mature scholars for research in the social sciences and humanities on certain foreign areas. Grants for research on Africa south of the Sahara, on contemporary China, on Latin America, and on the Near and Middle East (including North Africa) will be administered by the Social Science Research Council; while those for Asian Studies and for Slavic and East European Studies will be administered by the American Council of Learned Societies, to which correspondence relating to the latter programs should be directed.

Applications for some categories of awards are due not later than November 1.

Inquiries and requests for the detailed announcement when issued may be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, Fellowships and Grants, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

State University at Elisabethville (Katanga). —The first volume of *Publications* has just been issued, at the conclusion of the first year of existence of the State University. A second volume will appear in December. The General Editor is Albert Gerard. The first volume contains articles on physiology, botany, law, history, and so on. Of interest to sociologists will be one by M. Kalenda on the matrimonial regime and evolution of customary law in Katanga; and by J. Sohier on problems of the organization of the judiciary of the state of Katanga. Those interested may address the journal as follows: Professor Albert Gerard, General Editor, Publications de l'Université de l'État A. Elisabethville, B.P. 2896, Elisabethville, Katanga.

Syracuse University.—Finla G. Crawford, Vice Chancellor Emeritus, is the director of the Youth Development Center. Completing its third year of operation under a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Center has an extensive multidisciplinary research program under way. In addition to its research activities, the Center is engaged in a number of training and community-service programs under the direction of Kenneth W. Kindelsperger, associate director and professor of social work, assisted by Lee J. Cary, community associate and assistant professor of social work. Sociologists on the staff include Irwin Deutscher, director of research for the Center and associate professor of sociology.

Robert H. Hardt, research associate and assistant professor of sociology, has completed a study of juvenile apprehensions which has been published by the Center in a monograph entitled *A Delinquency Profile of Syracuse and On-*

ondaga County, N.Y. He is supervising the continuing gathering of data so that a current base line is provided for other studies conducted by the Center staff.

C. V. Willie, who has joined the staff as a research associate and assistant professor of sociology, is involved in a study of multiproblem families in public housing.

Seymour Bellin, formerly with the New York State Mental Health Research Unit, has assumed responsibility as director of a study of public housing and social mobility, with Professor Deutscher's collaboration. Jerome Cohen is field director. The study, supported by a special grant from the Ford Foundation, is on the impact of housing and mobility on adolescents.

Nathan Goldman has been relieved of half of his teaching responsibilities in order to participate as a research associate with the Center. He recently completed a monograph, under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, entitled *A Socio-psychological Study of School Vandalism*.

S. M. Miller, who joined the staff this summer as research associate and professor of sociology, is embarking on a research program concerned with the meaning of work to young people, with special emphasis on those with limited formal education.

Temple University--Leonard Blumberg was re-elected chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. He has been associated with the Homeless Man in Philadelphia project, concerning which a preliminary report has been issued by the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia.

Jack V. Buerkle and Leonard D. Savits have joined the department as associate professor and assistant professor, respectively. Professor Buerkle has received grants relating to inter-institutional images and to "Communication Patterns between Small Businessmen and Manufacturers." Professor Savitz is a recipient of a grant from the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations to study race and crime.

Robert R. Bell is promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Negley K. Teeters is engaged in sponsored research originally relating to "Hangings in Pennsylvania from 1834 to 1913," and now expanded to encompass hangings throughout the country. He was visiting professor at the University of Southern California this summer.

Michael Lalli is engaged in research on "Duodenal Ulcers as Related to Status Inconsistencies."

Edwin Eames is engaged as sociological research associate in the Lower Middle Income Housing Study of Pennsylvania sponsored by the Home and Housing Finance Administration.

Trinity College - Eva J. Ross, a professor here for twenty-one years, has been awarded a Fulbright grant to lecture on sociology at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, from June to December this year. She will spend the balance of her 1961-62 sabbatical leave in travel in Europe and the Orient.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa--Jean Comhaire (Adua Square, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) announced that the Commission and UNESCO will hold a seminar on African urbanization there in May 1962. He would like to hear of scholarly papers suitable for the seminar.

University of Washington--Dr. Howard B. Woolston, professor emeritus of sociology, died on May 30, 1961, in his eighty-fifth year. He received a B.A. from Yale in [illegible], an S.T.B. from Chicago in 1901, an M.A. from Harvard in 1902, and a Ph.D. from Columbia in [illegible], and he studied at the Universities of Paris and Berlin. He began his professional career as a social worker at Hull House, Chicago. Major social investigations directed by Dr. Woolston were the New York Factory Commission study and the study of prostitution in the United States for the American Bureau of Social Hygiene. He came to the University of Washington as professor and head of the department in [illegible], following William F. Ogburn, and continued as professor until 1947 and as professor emeritus until his death. Upon his retirement students of the University of Washington Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta established in his honor the Howard Brown Woolston Senior Prize in Sociology. Dr. Woolston played an important role in activating interest in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. His major works include *Study of the Population of Manhattanville* (1909), *Prostitution in the United States* (1921), and *Metropolis* (1938).

An Institute of Sociological Research has been established to co-ordinate and expand research in all branches of sociology. It will serve

as the research arm of the Department of Sociology, providing special facilities and technical assistance to faculty members in the development of their research projects.

Dr. Otto N. Larsen, associate professor of sociology, will be the director of the Institute. An Advisory Council, consisting of three members of the sociology faculty, will serve in a consultant capacity.

The first study to use the new Institute involves a $58,000 two-year project sponsored by the U.S. Public Health Service, the principal investigators being L. Wes Wager, assistant professor of sociology, and Thomas Holmes, professor of psychiatry. With four staff research workers they will study personnel relationships in new and in well-established hospital organizations.

Dr. Larsen explained that the Institute will encourage faculty research by assisting in the preparation of research proposals to various agencies, it will offer assistance at all stages of the research process, and it will assist project directors in preparing reports for publication.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Academic Market Place. By THEODORE CAPLOW and REECE J. MCGEE. New York. Basic Books, Inc., 1958. Pp. x+262. $4.95.

The Academic Mind. By PAUL F. LAZARSFELD and WAGNER THIELENS, JR. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp xiii+460. $7.50.

Nothing is more remarkable in the whole domain of sociology than the recent elevation of station within it that the study of educational institutions has experienced. Both these books on the contemporary American university must be saluted as contributions to the incorporation of research on schools and colleges as an intellectually prestigeful and exciting branch of sociology. Previously, neither the skeletal remarks of Weber on educational forms, nor the brilliant occupancy of a chair of education at the Sorbonne by Durkheim, nor the powerful if brief stimulus of Mannheim's sojourn at the London Institute of Education had been sufficient to generate continuing traditions of research or to rouse "educational sociology" from a position of dubious intellectual quality.

A vigorous impulse of competent research did not emerge until the 1950's. In England, it took the form of a renewal of the tradition of political arithmetic with its links to egalitarian social criticism In Germany, it came as a revival of the free sociological inquiry into education which was stifled by naziism. In America, it is associated with the intrusion of a new generation of intensely professional sociologists determined to analyze education in the same terms and with the same methods used in the study of other social institutions. Caplow and McGee must be numbered with this group which also includes James Coleman (*Adolescent Society*, 1961); Burton Clarke (*Open Door College*, 1960); and Martin Trow at Berkeley; James Davis with his forthcoming study of the American graduate student at Chicago; Neal Gross and his associates (*Explorations in Role Analysis*, 1958); Howard Becker, and many others. Moreover, the stamp of acceptance has been added by contributions from such established figures as R. K. Merton, Everett Hughes, Talcott Parsons (*Harvard Educational Review*, Vol XXIX [Fall, 1959]), David Riesman, Arnold Anderson, and Paul Lazarsfeld as senior author of one of the present volumes.

Why this change of fortune should have come about is an intriguing question for the sociologist of sociology Presumably it is related, *inter alia*, to the emerging recognition of educational institutions as central to the social structure of modern technological societies both as sources of cultural innovation and as training grounds for the consequent new scientific and professional manpower. The strength and modernity of nations—cultural political military and economic—are seen to depend to an unprecedented degree on schools and colleges; and this recognition has induced a strong flow of research grants from governments and philanthropic foundations So it is that sociological scrutiny is added to the vast library of history, biography, literature and philosophy on the 'idea of a university' which has been amassed since the origins of higher learning in medieval times Structurally the history of universities is one of adaptation of once feudal corporate organization: functionally it is that of increasingly differentiated and secularized agents of the process of preservation of some of the most highly valued knowledge beliefs and skills in Western culture

Both books fit into this broad definition of the sociology of higher education in that they offer contemporary contributions to the view of universities as adapting more or less successfully, to the secularizing, rationalizing, and bureaucratizing pressures of industrial society Caplow and McGee photograph the university teacher against the background of rapid educational expansion so characteristic of the advanced industrial societies, while Lazarsfeld and Thielens address themselves to a dramatic modern version of the ancient stress placed on the university don in his uneasy role as both guardian and critic of some of the central values of his society.

Both books illustrate a characteristic strength and weakness of current American sociology—a cumulative economy of method combined with a wasteful unmindfulness of substantive

tradition. For the weakness we need look no further than the first chapter of *The Academic Marketplace*. It is a lively opening, amusing and well written like all of the book, in which previous research is passed in review. But it is not a serious exercise so much as a chatty and unsystematic opening gambit, a few cheerful preliminaries to the serious business of dissecting university organization by the modern sociological method. The review, apart from a reference to Adam Smith, is confined to American sources. Among these, Veblen's masterpiece of ironic protest against the subservience of the academic to the larger American marketplace is not vouchsafed a mention (though it may be remarked that there are echoes here and there in the book of the sardonic outsidermanship of Veblen's earlier essay—traditions may live through forces other than consciousness of ancestry). What is more disturbing is that the monumental and plainly relevant studies of the German university teacher by Plessner and his associates go completely unheeded. Yet, surely, a full understanding of, for example, the competing claims of teaching, research, and administration, which Caplow and McGee discuss most lucidly, must require the kind of comparison which the existence of the German studies made possible.

Similarly, *The Academic Mind* is a title raising expectations of a discussion which would go beyond the particularities of "the difficult years" ushered in by Senator McCarthy. Thus, for example, the finding (p. 183) that privately endowed universities are less subject to pressures from politicians and trustees (though not alumni) than are tax-supported institutions cries out for discussion in the wider comparative context which would relate it to the submission of private universities to the Nazis in Germany and the independence of the state-financed British and French universities.

On the other hand, the strength of these books in methods of research is no less impressive. Caplow and McGee use what might be called a "Rashomon technique" in interviewing both departmental chairmen and peers to give depth to the picture of their vacancy-replacement sampling unit. Lazarsfeld even more clearly demonstrates a never failing elegance of sampling, data collection, analysis, and presentation—superb craftsmanship which survives David Riesman's subsequent searching examination of the interviewing.

On the whole, these books lead us to depressing conclusions about academic man, as both teacher and exemplar of freedom. The expanding market favors the young, mobile cosmopolitan over the aging local, reducing institutional stability and loyalty, disrupting the process of teaching and threatening long service with disrespect. And, though small minorities were involved, even in distinguished universities, the sordid shadow of McCarthy was able to darken the life of scholarship, attenuating colleague relationships with apprehensive suspicion and subverting the search for truth in the classroom.

A. H. HALSEY

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The Preindustrial City: Past and Present. By GIDEON SJOBERG. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xii+353. $6.75.

This book is imbued with laudable purpose, framed in large perspective: it is intended as a survey of the preindustrial civilized society, especially the city, "the hub of all major activity therein." It thus corrects the myopia of "a considerable proportion of sociologists, bound as they are to the American social scene."

The net is thrown wide. After the setting of the historical and theoretical context, successive chapters span large topics: demography and ecology, social class, marriage and the family, economic structure, political structure, religious structure, communication, education, and the nature of knowledge. No mean effort: in the nineteenth-century German tradition of historical sociology this is an ample survey of the major phase whereby "civilization" passed from a feudal to an industrial social order. Professor Sjoberg's panoramic vision is evident from his first words: "The city and civilization are inseparable: with the city's rise and spread, man at last emerged from the primitive state."

The amplitude of its vision, indeed, constitutes the book's principal claim to admiration. It sweeps beyond parochial bounds of place and time—drawing an instance now from Nineveh or Angkor, citing an example from Vijayanagar or Malacca. Sjoberg deals in first-order propositions worthy of his majestic theme. He accounts for the growth and spread of preindustrial cities with two "crucial" variables—

technology and power. Political control is the key variable for interpreting the four major phases in the historical sociology of cities—their expansion, diffusion, decline, resurgence: "Just as a city's capacity for growth is dependent in large part upon an elaborate political apparatus, so, too, when this is withdrawn the city will shrink or disappear."

To the argument that Athens is the negative case which breaks the familiar linkage of stature with power, Sjoberg responds "The history of Athens strongly supports our hypothesis. Athens did not decline sharply after the destruction of Greek power Why? Because it was able to attach itself to another power constellation, the Roman empire." This facile circumvention of a special case tends, however, to raise some questions about his central propositions, according to which an "organic" connection between each society and its city, particularly its capital city, determines that they *must* prosper or perish together If this is true then we are still left in the dark as to why Athens was subsidized and how it could be sustained as an intellectual capital by the alien political power of the Roman Empire None of Sjoberg's binding ties—demographic, technological, political—is apparent in the curious connection between Rome and Athens during the Hellenistic period.

Professor Sjoberg is at his best when elaborating his own fresh perception and enthusiastic reconstruction of the human drama. He is less enlightening when "settling" controversial issues bequeathed by earlier workers in these vineyards. His "solution" of the problem of Athens, under the curious rubric of "Rebuttal to Potential Criticisms," conveys nervous impatience. His reference to the complex Wittfogel "Wasserkunst" hypothesis conveys brash indifference to an interesting idea not yet domesticated at Columbia or Texas. Indeed, his concern with current sociological polemics, revealed in the excess of short sermons on theory and method, nearly compromises this otherwise brilliant enterprise These forays merely divert the reader from the main business at hand; even the author's style, usually lucid and supple, becomes mannered and pretentious in such passages.

Apart from these flaws, the core of the book is sound, well reasoned, ably presented It is a valuable increment to our historical and sociological understanding of man's passage from the traditional style of rural life to the modern ways of urban living.

DANIEL LERNER

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Religion of Java By CLIFFORD GEERTZ. Glencoe, Ill : Free Press, 1960 Pp. xv+392. $7 50.

The very existence of a universal religion is conceivable only on the implied admission of internal differentiation in terms of a geographical and cultural pluralism A minimal skeleton of credal and ritual assumptions and precepts justifies identification with the universal tradition and provides a means of communication between the largely self-contained subcommunities What is true in the total context of a world religion like Islam is repeated in its major sections To illustrate this complexity and to describe plastically and convincingly both separateness and interaction diversity and unity of the three principal strata of Javanese Islam is the purpose and the achievement of the present volume

Buttressing the field notes of almost six years of study by a fair amount of background reading—substantial when it comes to Java, somewhat thin where the Islamic tradition, as such is concerned—Geertz presents impressive characterizations of mentality beliefs, and social setting of the "three main cultural types which reflect the moral organization of Javanese culture" (p 4) as he encountered it in Modjokuto (East Central Java)—*abangan*, *santri*, and *prijaji* The co-ordination between the "stress on the animistic aspects of the over-all Javanese syncretism" (p 6) and the peasants and urban proletarians in the *abangan* tradition, the more profoundly Islamicized and ritual-conscious *santri* tradition in the trading classes; and the continued Hinduist outlook with the religion of the *prijaji* aristocracy and bureaucracy, is worked out sharply This is done with due regard to the realities of social life and especially to the gradual wearing away of social distinctions which accompany or render possible a blurring of contours in favor of *santrism* and one may add, the intrusion of a religious indifference or secularism which remains as typically Islamic (in the Javanese sense) as are the traditions which it hopes to displace.

Like Berber Islam, Javanese Islam is a particularly striking instance of a spiritual and intellectual structure which is at the same time dominating and fundamentally foreign to the mentality of its constituents. Animistic and Hindu-Buddhist elements, including an intense concern with numerology, are preserving their hold on thought patterns and living habits even though the gradual deepening of conformism to Islamic rites and allegiance to Islamic learning can be observed. Self-preservation through syncretism is, as it were, the formula by which the Javanese have come to terms with the demands for total transformation which at least three times within recorded history they were forced to confront. Thus it has come about that while Shāfiʿite Islam has been the professed religion of an overwhelming majority of Javanese during the last four centuries, "only recently has a large minority of the population come to understand very clearly what they were confessing and to make any serious attempt to carry out the commands of God on which their religion is based" (p. 123).

Geertz excels in characterizing the complementary attitudes of the three socioreligious spheres. His description of ritual, including its organization and cost, as well as the administrative structure of religious life, national and local, is clear and to the point. Everywheie one feels in the midst of the community as it actually responds to its experience of the holy and realizes its ideal of man in society. One does not read about, but partakes of, the *slametan* meal; one almost becomes a member of the somewhat ineffectual religious reform groupings; and one comes to understand in a very personal way what it means to live surrounded by any number of demoniacal beings, each one of which requires very special consideration. Especially informative are the chapters on magic and, again, the sophisticated appraisals of the nature of Javanese society and what membership in its several strata will mean. The documentation is rich and varied. The field notes are well taken. Comparison is used with, at times, perhaps too much restraint. Ethnographic data are only rarely left dangling without their meaning in the cultural context being indicated; the interpretation of the *slametan* as a means toward attaining to the psychological state of *slamet*, "absence of emotional disturbance" (pp. 12–15), is a particularly successful example of the use to which Geertz puts his descriptive material. On the other hand, a few words on the different cultural provenience of the several classes of demons (p. 21) would not have been amiss. There are the inevitable minor errors—for instance, Muhammad continued his revelations to his death in 632 (not 622, as is stated on p. 122); the Prophet of God is *rāsul Allāh,* not *ar-Rasulullah* (p. 129). The one regret with which one leaves the excellent book regards its uneven style. In a work which is likely to be authoritative for some time to come, it would have been worth the effort to eliminate occasional careless or, at any rate, undistinguished writing.

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Los Angeles

Psycho-sociologie de l'appartenance religieuse ("Psychosociology of Religious Affiliation"). By HERVÉ CARRIER. Rome: Presse de l'Université Grégorienne, 1960. Pp. 314. $3.50.

It has become the vogue for public opinion polls and social surveys to include a question on the religious affiliation of the respondents, irrespective of whether the survey be dealing with preferences for presidential candidates, birth-control devices, or soap powders. In most instances the researchers have been content to precode answers: Catholic—Protestant—Jew. Although correlates of religious affiliation can be, and undoubtedly are, constructed from such data, little attention has been devoted to the sociological significance of religious affiliation, as such. Carrier's study proceeds from the assumption that one cannot make valid generalizations about such correlates unless one knows something about the nature of religious affiliation and identification. His study constitutes a provocative synthesis of our present knowledge of religious affiliation.

The opening chapters are devoted to the elaboration of a rigorous conceptual frame of reference for the analysis of religious affiliation. The hypothesis is advanced that, viewed from a psychosociological perspective, "affiliation to an organized religion constitutes a specific attitude, undoubtedly analagous in some respects to other forms of affiliation, but containing unique and irreducible elements of its own" (p. 50). Part II deals with the processes of formation of such an attitude and focuses on the

development of religious affiliation by socialization of the child to the religious norms of its family and other primary groups, formal religious instruction of child or adult, and conversion of adults to religious values. In Part III, differences in the stability of ties of religious affiliation are analyzed as to their social and psychological context. The final chapter provides a competent summary of the preceding material, without, however, reaching any conclusions.

The primary contributions of this study to sociology are in many instances peripheral to the central theme of the book and likely, therefore, to escape the attention of the reader who merely scans the table of contents. The following may be singled out for special attention. The study contains, first, one of the most systematic and detailed analyses of the processes of primary and secondary socialization to religious statuses to be found in sociological literature today. Second, it offers a provocative analysis of social structural factors promoting or inhibiting the development of religious affiliation to a given group. Third, it discusses the role of values in sociological research which might well make required reading for every student of the sociology of religion. The values underlying the orientation of priest, psychologist and sociologist toward the study of religious behavior are treated by Carrier, who is himself all three, with understanding and objectivity. It will be interesting to see to what extent differences in the value orientations of these three professions will nevertheless be reflected in their critiques of this piece of interdisciplinary research! There is an excellent bibliography which brings together the works of more than three hundred American and European scholars.

This book should be translated into English. Its treatment of an important subject is both comprehensive and analytically sophisticated, qualities found wanting even in such recent studies as Michael Argyle's investigation of *Religious Behavior.*

GILLIAN LINDT GOLLIN

Columbia University

The Black Muslims in America. By C. ERIC LINCOLN. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961. Pp. xii + 276. $4.95.

On the very first page of his book, Lincoln states that he is describing a social movement with which he neither sympathizes nor wishes to associate himself. He first became interested in studying the Black Muslims in 1956 when he was teaching in Atlanta, Georgia, and one of his students submitted a paper in which Islam was praised as the hope of the American Negro for justice and equality. From that time on, Lincoln has attempted by means of interviews, direct observations, and from study of the literature published by the movement to find out as much about the Black Muslims as is possible for a person, not a convert, who is studying an organization hostile toward and suspicious of outsiders.

The author intends that his book be read not only for the academic contribution that it makes to the literature on social movements, particularly the Negro protest movement, but as a warning against what he views to be a very real threat. The Black Muslim movement arose because the American Negroes were growing increasingly tired of the "cultural and political snubs" they have received from the white community. It will continue to grow in strength, the author believes, among Negroes of all classes save perhaps the intellectuals, unless they receive the cultural, economic, and political recognition that are their due. The Black Muslims are potentially dangerous because, unlike other Negro protest organizations, they are not seeking equality and integration but are advocating a policy of segregation, hatred, and racial superiority that has been linked to white supremacist and fascist political movements.

Lincoln traces the roots of the Black Muslims to Marcus Garvey's "Universal Negro Improvement Association" that gained prominence in the period after World War I and to the Moorish Science Temple movement founded by Noble Drew Ali just before World War I. The *raison d'être* of both was to devise some means of escaping the implications of being a Negro in a white-dominated society. Noble Drew Ali sought a psychic escape by changing names and symbols of the culture, and Marcus Garvey planned to move American Negroes to an independent African state; W. D. Fard, the founder of the Black Muslims, and his successor, Elijah Muhammed, advocate political, economic, and social independence from the white community and preach that it is the manifest destiny of the "Black Nation" to inherit the earth.

Although the Black Muslims claim to be a religious movement, professing the faith of Islam, the divergences from traditional Islamic teachings are considerably more notable than are the parallels. In addition, it is a religion that appears to have no distinct god, no concern with an afterlife; only a this-worldly, here-and-now emphasis on the innate superiority of the black man over the white.

In their day-to-day living, the Black Muslims are required to observe high standards of personal and group morality: rituals, abstinence, and, in the case of males, full economic and moral responsibility for the members of their families. Unlike many Christian movements whose appeal is to women and whose most dedicated adherents are women, the Black Muslims direct their appeal to the Negro male, and successfully so, from the author's estimate of the sex distribution of the membership Men are responsible for the full management of temple affairs and it is expected that they are to carry this role of leadership and responsibility into the family. For the lower-class Negro families who have female-based households, this change may prove to be among the most significant that the Black Muslims achieve.

At best, the author can make only intelligent guesses as to the size, rate of growth, social and economic characteristics of the membership: his estimate is 100,000, predominantly under thirty-five years of age, lower-class, urban male followers. Although, at the time of writing, he had already begun to see a significant proportion of the Negro middle class attracted to the movement.

It is unfortunate that the author's sources of data are limited to interviews with leaders and access to secondary materials. In the tradition of research on social movements that relies heavily on impressionistic and qualitative accounts, Eric Lincoln's study has a well-recognized position. The research that still remains to be done on the Black Muslims and on many social movements is the more systematic analysis through interviews, surveys, and observations of small groups of the characteristics of the membership, the nature of the interaction between leaders and followers, and the bases of identification, and the processes of disenchantment.

RITA M. JAMES

University of Chicago

Turner and Beard: American Historical Writing Reconsidered. By LEE BENSON. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xiii+241. $5.00.

Lee Benson is a historian conversant with methods of research in social science. This is particularly apparent in the section of his book which deals with Charles A. Beard. The first part of the book, however, is composed of two reprinted articles about Frederick Jackson Turner, one on the intellectual and the other on the historical background of the frontier hypothesis. Their chief contribution is to demonstrate the considerable, though not total, influence which the theories of the Italian economist, Achille Loria, exercised over Turner's leading ideas about the role of the frontier and the disappearance of free land in America.

The remainder of the book, a long essay on Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution, is an important interdisciplinary accomplishment. Here Benson seeks to adapt to historiography, procedures developed in other disciplines." This application of methods in use in sociology to a major (yet, in its original form, all but outdated) historical theory takes the form of a critique of Beard's main hypothesis, of his method, and of the methods of his chief critics.

Benson's critique of Beard rests upon two telling points, the first of which derives from multivariate analysis technique and the second from sampling considerations His first point is that Beard's main potentially verifiable hypothesis is cast in the form of a two-variable relationship between economic class and opinion on the Constitution; and this hypothesis cannot be verified unless at least one, and preferably more than one, other variable is held constant as a check against the possible spuriousness of the original relationship It is possible to do this, yet neither Beard nor his critics have done so. The other point concerns what Benson refers to as the "logical fallacy" in Beard's method, a "fallacy" inherent in Beard's inference from the characteristics of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention to the class divisions of opinion among the voters in the country at large who were favorable or opposed to ratification. There are no grounds for assuming that the delegates were representative of the voting population.

Thus Benson contends that Beard's method, and that of some of his critics, rests on logically

untenable grounds, and, therefore, his hypothesis has never been adequately tested; hence, his theory is neither verified nor refuted. In the end, Benson offers an alternative theory with directions on how to test it.

This stimulating essay on Beard will undoubtedly provoke a great deal of controversy among historians. Its implications probably appear Spartan in their rigor, at least to those historians who have tended in the past to regard social science methods as somehow not quite germane to a humanistic discipline. For, to put it baldly, Benson is implying that, if a historian deals with a problem which is amenable to investigation by appropriate methods of social science, he fails to employ these procedures at the risk of undermining the soundness of his conclusions. And what Benson has so convincingly demonstrated is that Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution is one problem that can be so treated.

GEORGE S. ROSENBERG

Washington, D.C.

Community Political Systems. Edited by MORRIS JANOWITZ. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. Pp. 259. $7.50.

This book is announced as the first volume of the *International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research.* Other volumes, under the general editorship of Heinz Eulau of Stanford University, are planned to focus on comparative political systems, on comparative studies of political leaders, and on political movements and ideologies.

In this volume, Morris Janowitz has selected six papers covering a wide range of sociological inquiry into community political systems. The major contributors include Robert O. Schulze, Peter H. Rossi and Phillips Cutright, Harry Scoble, Amos H. Hawley and Basil G. Zimmer, Scott Greer, and Henry Valen and collaborator Daniel Katz. Each paper stresses relationships between theory and research and seeks methodological rigor and careful specification and control of the relevant empirical variables. Each deals with political (or power) processes in a community. But any further similarity is purely adventitious.

Robert O. Schulze leads off with a more complete statement of his community power study in the Michigan satellite city he has called Cibola. It will be remembered that he followed methods similar to Hunter's and here he reports in full historic and analytic terms how the economic dominants withdrew from leadership as a relatively self-contained community changed into a host community for absentee industrial owners. Harry Scoble's study should have come next since it also searches for a community power structure in Bennington, Vermont. This Yale-inspired doctoral study implements Robert Dahl's idea that community issues reveal the truth about local power structures; it also provides historic and analytical interpretation of a small Vermont town of about 12,500. If the economic dominants have withdrawn in Cibola, then Bennington College has withdrawn from Bennington, for there is not a single reference to the college or to an official or faculty person from it. However, there is a community structure whose factions provide rather fluid alignment of power.

Rossi and Cutright now take off in another direction. The problem is to discover how party organization operates in a midwestern community that is called "Stackton." They show how patronage and favors reward and discipline party workers. It is an interesting contrast to read, in the paper by Valen and Katz, how Stavanger, Norway, employs parties to assist electoral decision-making. In both communities there is evidence of great gaps between democratic ideals and practices. Hawley and Zimmer, exploring resistance to governmental unification in a metropolitan community in the area of Flint, Michigan, conclude that it rests largely on ignorance of government and what to expect of it. Although the reader can only guess, there is good evidence that Scott Greer and the Hawley-Zimmer team would agree on a lot of things about resistance to metropolitan unification. Greer describes the metropolitan St. Louis Survey. He, too, finds a great gap between dissatisfaction and objective facts. Rational man does not seem to exist in the fringe areas: what he wants in services he is not willing to concede to larger governmental facility even though the services are denied thereby. Greer sadly concludes that "one cannot discuss the metropolitan problem until he has a framework [of values] in terms of which these ad hoc problems become aspects of policy."

Janowitz tries to pull these diverse studies together in his "Converging Perspectives in

Community Political Analysis." He acknowledges that no systematic theory guides the selections, which are independent investigations. He does say that they reveal common efforts to explain political behavior by relating it to relevant community and other social variables.

Impressive is the increasing quantification in these studies and the fruitful conclusions which emerge when studies can be compared. Janowitz has epitomized this work by the conclusion: "Everywhere, community leadership faces a common problem, highlighted by these essays. Namely, the issue is not the manipulation of the citizenry by a small elite, but rather the inability of elites to create the conditions required for making decisions."

This conclusion is almost in direct opposition to those of Hunter in his pioneer work on Southern Regional City, and it indicates the progress of more extensive research on community power. This book is important to the political sociologist for its valuable field research. The unifying threads must be supplied by the reader, but the merit of the research makes it all worth while. There is a well-selected bibliography by Melvin Reichler with sections on "The Structure of Power," "Socio-economic Bases," "Mechanisms of Power Allocation," "Goals and Policy Issues," and "Research Techniques."

DELBERT C. MILLER

Indiana University

A German Community under American Occupation, Marburg, 1945–52. By JOHN GIMBEL. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961. Pp. vi+259. $5.50.

As a historian, the author of *A German Community under American Occupation* studies the United States Occupation of the German city of Marburg during the period 1945–52 by means of an extensive examination of documentary and personal records which he supplements by unstructured interviews with participants, mainly German residents. His central thesis is that the Occupation failed, and the book mainly emphasizes the details of this failure in Marburg as reflecting the natural history of the total United States effort.

The Occupation suffered, in the author's view, because of organizational and personnel deficiencies and because of failures in policy. He describes how the authority of the tactical military commands which were concerned with military security hampered military government. He documents the well-known high turnover of United States personnel and their limited knowledge of the German language, which reduced the effectiveness of military governmental units.

On the issues of policy, the author deals with denazification, deindustrialization, decentralization, and reorientation. Denazification suffered because the initial policies were much too ambitious; they were inconsistently applied, and when the process was turned over to the Germans there was considerable resistance and perversion of the program. Since the Marburg area was not heavily industrialized, the policies of deindustrialization, designed to supply reparations to the victorious Allies and to limit German war-making potentials, did not have a significant impact. However, Gimbel claims that the residents of Marburg resented these policies as they were applied to Western Germany.

The decentralization program sought to strengthen federalism and local government. Again, its impact was very limited The reorientation policies fashioned to build democratic public opinion and new political institutions fell into two phases. Initially, after a short period in which organized political activity was discouraged, Military Government operated by means of a system of licensing political parties. Because of a mechanical administrative approach the result, according to Gimbel, was to give needless support to Communists and inadequate attention to political groups which might have assisted the Occupation. In the second phase, Military Government and the Department of State circumvented German political parties and launched a direct grass-roots program of contact with Germans through discussion groups, libraries, cultural missions and the mass media Gimbel found these direct activities relatively more successful.

As a study of directed social change in Marburg, this case study is without adequate sociological balance and incomplete in the interpretation of its findings.

First, the author relies uncritically on a mass of personal documents and interview reports by Germans uninhibited in their criticisms of Military Government's efforts and seeking to

extract every possible concession from United States authorities.

Second, he fails to analyze the general political and social context in which the military occupation took place. The initial German response to the Occupation was kept private. During the reconstruction, the German outlook was conditioned less by the specific political policies of Military Government and more by the simple facts of their standard of living and their sense of personal security which Military Government made possible. The average German was profoundly relieved by the historical accident which put him under Western rather than Soviet occupation. As a result, the German population displayed a high level of acceptance of the military occupation and a strong desire to remain associated with western Europe and the United States. Military occupations usually alienate the population from the occupiers.

Third, the efforts of planned social change by Military Government were enhanced by the undirected social changes taking place in Germany at this time: Germany was becoming an advanced industrialized society. This produced a further weakening of traditional and arbitrary authority, a modification of the social structure toward a more middle-class society, and a rise in the social position of women These changes helped to weaken authoritarian and extremist political behavior At the same time, the presence of American officials with their diffuse zeal, their easy personal relations, their personal sense of justice, and their immense energy in technical matters, presented the Germans with new models of behavior

Fourth, the major weakness of the study is the failure to offer explicit criteria for judging when a successful experience in military occupation had taken place The Occupation authorities recognized that Military Government, as an instrument of planned social change, could only have limited objectives or mainly negative ones to displace the power of the Nazi party, and to give anti-Nazi leaders immediate advantages so that they could resist traditional forces once the Occupation came to an end, as it must. From this point of view the United States occupation was more of a success than Gimbel concludes And this would hold true for his case study of Marburg

Under the Weimar Republic, Marburg was a stronghold of ultra-nationalism, almost a third of the population voting for the Nazi party. The political institutions were weak with a very diffuse multiparty system. By 1952 when the Allied occupation was at an end, the Nazi party and its abortive offshoots had been completely displaced, a stable three-party system was emerging and the Socialists became, locally, a dominant political party. The Germans had not yet developed a sense of their recent history, an essential ingredient of adequate democratic institutions In the long run, the future of democratic political forms in Germany will be crucially influenced by the pressures of Soviet-American relations But the deficiencies in United States Military Government cannot obscure its positive role in directing social change and assisting a viable political reconstruction to accompany the rapid economic reconstruction.

Morris Janowitz

University of Michigan

Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes By Andrew Hunter Whiteford (Logan Museum Publications in Anthropology, Bull No 9) Beloit Wis Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit College, 1960 Pp viii+156+xlvi $3 50 (paper).

Andrew H Whiteford professor of anthropology at Beloit College undertook field work with students and assistants at the city of Popayán, Colombia, sporadically from 1949 to 1952, and at the city of Querétaro Mexico in 1955 and 1958 It was his purpose to determine and compare the social classes of both locations, discounting time differentials The result is a useful report that throws light on a subject treated too superficially as regards Latin America

The author presents the information in eight chapters which deal with background and methodological materials, the upper class, the middle class, the lower class, social mobility and interclass relationships and the forces of time and space as they affect the class structure The materials for both cities are elaborated together in each chapter, with pertinent comparative summaries There is an appendix of forty-four interesting pictures. Cultural data are interwoven with conceptual insights such as the intelligent use which Whiteford makes of the

concept of "social perspective" to explain local definitions of classes. After analyzing the available evidence, the conclusion is reached that social classes are real entities in Popayán, where a castelike system prevails, whereas the classes are more evasive in the more fluid structure of Querétaro. The middle sectors are rising in both cities, but considerably faster in Querétaro, with qualities which make them distinct from those of the United States. The climb into the upper, aristocratic group in Popayán is still almost impossible: this power group has been able to maintain its hold by rejecting innovations which would adversely affect its feudal system of landed properties.

The book is a mine of valuable information about social stratification in Latin America, but it lacks methodological rigor to demonstrate many of the hypotheses presented. This observation pertains to the newly found tasks of anthropologists attempting to study complex societies, tasks for which sociology provides know-how. For instance, the author is on the brink of demonstrating something objective (as distinct from his own impression) when he refers to eight diagnostic traits for the definition of social classes. But there the treatment ends, and remains largely qualitative and personal. Likewise, figures from which conclusions are derived (e.g., p. 37 and others) prove to be lacking in significance, and the discussion on the levels of living is confusing and unsystematic.

Nevertheless, Whiteford is to be commended for his book, which will enrich our knowledge of urban societies in Latin America.

ORLANDO FALS BORDA

Universidad Nacional de Colombia

Industrializzazione e sottosviluppo ("Industrialization and Underdevelopment"). By EUGENIO PEGGIO, MARIO MAZZARINO, and VALENTINO PARLATO. Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1960. Pp. 277. L. 1,200.

Comunità e razionalizzazione ("Community and Rationalization"). By ALESSANDRO PIZZORNO. Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1960. Pp. 431. L. 1,500.

No explanation seems necessary to explain the title of the first book. The word, "community" is rather foreign to Italian speech since it has been restricted to religious communities, despite the efforts of the late Adriano Olivetti to give it a wider context. The author of the second book, therefore, feels a need to define what he means when he employs it in his title: "the territorial community consists of a particular system of conditions of behavioral relations, and, in general, of the social relations of a given population." Furthermore, he says of the word "rationalization" that "the term is not strange to the idiom of business organization; they frequently speak of rationalization as a particular process of business reorganization. Nor is it foreign to sociological idiom, for Max Weber has adopted it to characterize one of the essential aspects of 'the spirit of capitalism.'"

The two books give evidence of the entrance of empirical sociology into Italian thinking and writing, but the volume by Peggio and others is superior in technique to that of Pizzorno.

The Peggio volume investigates the effects of industrialization on the province of Siracusa, Sicily. A description of the province prior to the incursion of industrialization is followed by one chapter on circumstances favoring the coming of industrial processes and by another chapter on the new industries of petroleum, allied chemical, construction materials, electricity, ship-building, and metal tubing, among others. The book also includes an analysis of the correlative development of agriculture. Following a general description of the demography of the province come an investigation of employment and unemployment and the condition of the workers under these forces; a study of labor unions; and, in conclusion, investigations of the forces of transformation on the economy and on society in general. The Peggio volume points out that industrial development contributes to agricultural development, not that they necessarily proceed *pari passu*, but that the rise in the economy contributed by industrial development means other development in agriculture. Internally, one can discern that the organizational concept provided by industrial development contributes to parallel thinking in the organization of agricultural production.

Pizzorno studies quite another locality, a community "located . . . about 22 kilometers from Milano," and therefore in an already highly industrialized ambient. His volume makes a careful study of the community, including its demography, proceeding to a study

of the "urbanistic community" and of industrial development. There follows a highly theoretical chapter on the logic of rationalization. Discussions of affects on the family, the neighborhood, cultural values, and other sociological phenomena lead to concluding chapters on social organization and the power of the social group in the community. Roughly sixty pages are devoted to two appendixes, the first being life histories told in the first person and the second a description of the method of his research. The book ends with a facsimile of the questionnaire.

The authors of both volumes recognize the great value of orienting their readers both to the historical backgrounds of their communities as well as to the fact that these are only a small part of a very much larger world. They do not fail to make the point that what the communities now are is partially due to their long past. Traditions, especially in older countries, are viable particularly in influencing current actions and thinking.

Both books furnish indications that research in Italy is passing from the heretofore highly speculative method. Fact-finding, in the past, has been hindered by the unwillingness of the Italian scholar to do the necessarily grubby task of investigation and by the general suspicion of the Italian populace of any invasion of the home. Recent years have demonstrated, perhaps with the aid of American visitors, an awakening of the Italian scholar to the possible values in empirical research. These two books provide good keys to where gold may lie and point to how communities, by self-study, may know more about themselves and aid further development by that knowledge.

VICTOR A. RAPPORT

Wayne State University

When a City Closes Its Schools. By ERNEST Q. CAMPBELL, with the assistance of CHARLES E. BOWERMAN and DANIEL O. PRICE. Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1960. Pp. v+195. $1.00.

A research team from the Institute for Research in Social Science went to Norfolk, Virginia, in January, 1959, to determine what happens when a city closes its schools; or to be more exact, when a city has its schools closed by a state legislature that would rather have the established order of a community disturbed through closing its schools than through allowing it to desegregate under a federal court order.

The research findings have been presented under the headings of "What the Children Did," "What the Adults Believe," and "What the Students Believe." In the first of these, it is shown that over half (almost four thousand) of the evicted students attended lodges, churches, and homes that had become impromptu classrooms, with instruction often provided by evicted teachers. Other students were sent to private schools, to high schools outside Norfolk—including one in an adjoining community which offered night classes for the occasion, and to Tidewater Academy which had been recently organized by segregationists. Close to one-third of the displaced children were not attending an alternative school. Here it appears that in assuring one form of segregation, another was encountered, the reason given most frequently by parents to explain why their children were not at a substitute school was financial cost (p. 24). And many of these, white children who did continue their education under emergency conditions were provided with inadequate facilities, more separate than equal: for example, it is reported that over half of these relocated students were taking less than their usual number of courses (p. 3[illegible]).

The data of the first two sections have to be regarded with what the author has called "considerable caution" (p. 24). One-third of the randomly selected adult respondents were lost in the categories, "incomplete" and "no answer." Although Campbell is more hopeful about the data for "What the Students Believe," their representativeness is, in fact, equally doubtful. In this case, the sample was drawn with substantial selectivity (the less formally organized tutorial groups were excluded) and the interviewers were denied access to Tidewater Academy where the student body was likely to have been skewed toward segregationist responses.

The last two sections, those concerned with "beliefs," are further weakened by conceptual difficulties. To begin with, the socioeconomic categories of respondents have been abstracted away from the scene of battle. That is, the study controls, say, occupational strata, but nothing is shown about the vulnerability of the job to pressures from employers or customers. The unreliability of supposing that these cate-

gories are inviolable may partially explain why Campbell discovered that the "differences between religious groups are sharper and the range between extremes greater than those between categories on any other variable we have discussed" (p. 84). In *Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness,* Melvin Tumin commented on the relative ineffectiveness of the religious variable whose differences were "clearly insignificant in most of the cases" (p. 64).

To account for a decrease in support of the school-closing, as indicated by responses in interviews, the author notes: "It is clear that closed schools had become increasingly unsavory to the citizens of Norfolk" (p. 89). However, the process by which the schools became savory is not revealed. Was reinforcement provided by the Committee of one hundred (local notables) who argued for school-reopening in a full-page newspaper advertisement? Did the threat of the Navy to forsake Norfolk provide a less attractive alternative to desegregation? The possibility of such positive and negative sanctions is not acknowledged by the study.

Campbell has stated: "The important observation, however, and one we can state with considerable confidence, is a negative one: Parents of children closed out of public schools in Norfolk did not constitute a distinctly more vigorous body of opponents to the school closings" (p. 65). Surely there are more effective measures of "vigor" than whether a respondent says he "preferred desegregation as the right thing to do" (p. 56). It would presumably have been just as simple, and certainly far more relevant, to ask whether the respondent belonged to the Committee for Public Schools or its opposite the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (these were the partisan groups that arose in response to the desegregation issue). This would have recognized the well-established difference between action and introspection, a difference that becomes all the more clear in a crisis when attitude-responses and position-taking are drawn apart by a multiplicity of old and new pressures. It is, finally, this difference which answers a question put and left unanswered by the author: "And why, given such expressed opposition [by high school students in response to opinion-gathering questions], did not constant violence and intimidation occur when integrated schools opened less than a week following our questionaires?" Yet one of the most ingenious working demonstrations of this difference appears in *Christians in Racial Conflict: A Study of Little Rock's Ministers,* by Campbell and T. F. Pettigrew.

CHARLES J. LEVY

University of Chicago

Historical Sociology. By BERNHARD J. STERN. New York: Citadel Press, 1959. Pp. xii+433. $5.00.

Between 1927, when Bernhard Stern published his doctoral dissertation, *Social Factors in Medical Progress,* and 1952, when he published *General Anthropology* (with Melville Jacobs), his last major work to appear during his lifetime, the subject matter of sociological inquiry underwent a slow but decided change Increasingly it came to reflect the events and developments within the discipline itself and less and less the trends and day-to-day events in the wider society. Stern himself, however, chose neither to play a leading role in this shift in focus nor to criticize it. Instead, except for an occasional comment or two, he simply ignored it. As a result of this stand, his essays, twenty-six of which are brought together in this posthumously published memorial volume, have today a curiously anachronistic ring. They are not so much essays on historical sociology, which the editors' title might suggest they are, as materials for a history of sociology. For with one exception, discussed below, they provide neither a coherent orientation to long-term social change nor a definite set of problems from which one might infer Stern's view of the nature and scope of historical sociology. But they do display the concerns of a generation, or a part of it, and suggest the scope of its intellectual interests

There is, for example, the battle against biological determinism, against both the systematic misapplication of the principle of natural selection and the equally systematic oversimplification of genetics. Stern's essays here, including his 1929 classic, "Concerning the Distinction between the Social and the Cultural," still read well. The public policies advocated by the Social Darwinists or their collaborators in misinformation, the early eugenicists, deserve the criticisms they receive, and Stern's discriminations among the problems that biology, psychology, and sociology can legitimately pronounce upon are careful and unexceptionable. Yet, on the whole, the essays are unexciting. It is not that Stern fails to convey his engagement

in the issues and his enthusiasms; he does convey them. It is just that he and his generation were too successful. The matters under review are no longer issues today, and unless one puts himself in the spirit of those times, both the engagement and the enthusiasms may seem mildly and oddly out of place.

Another concern of the times was social evolution. Stern deals with it here on several occasions, especially the evolutionary relation between the family and the economy. Owing perhaps to the growing interest in this subject among some of today's younger anthropologists, these essays have, if not an air of freshness, an air of contemporary relevance, of pertinence to present-day intellectual trends, which those on biological determinism lack. In particular, his long pieces on Lewis Henry Morgan and on Engels' *Origin of the Family* merit attention.

Stern differed from most of his contemporaries, however, in that he carried his attack on biological explanations well beyond the confines of the heredity-environment controversy and into the very center of applied biology. For he challenged the latter's adequacy as the sole or even principal basis of medical science and medical practice, arguing that medicine is as much applied sociology as applied biology and that there ought to be a social medicine alongside of (and as prestigeful as) biological medicine To support these and parallel arguments he did a great deal of research on medicine, writing nine monographs as well as numerous articles on the subject and, in consequence, laid much of the groundwork of what has since become the specialty of medical sociology. The present volume, therefore, contains only a few of his papers in this area. Of those included, the most important is perhaps the last, "Toward a Sociology of Medicine" (1951), for here Stern writes what for him is a rare sort of paper, an outline of the scope and contents of a field of sociology, in this case of one he did so much to bring into being. Perhaps for that reason, despite the fact that in tone and title the paper points forward, it now reads more like a summary of the topics he had worked on than a program for future research. Or perhaps it seems outdated only because developments in the decade since it was delivered have made it so. Whatever the reason, though, like so many others in this volume, it has the qualities not of a contemporary essay but of an historical document, more relevant to the interests of historians of the discipline than of present-day practitioners.

Stern was also unusual among his peers in his interest in the place of science in society, especially the social conditions under which inquiry is restricted or its products go unused. And again, in the several essays devoted to this topic, the contemporary reader feels he is going over familiar ground; and he is But then he realizes it is a rather long time since he has gone over this ground and the essays here hold his attention in a way that those in the field to which Stern contributed the most, paradoxically, do not. In particular the long essays on resistance to scientific discoveries, to inventions, and to innovations in medicine all written before World War II are of interest for their wealth of materials and documentation

By contemporary standards, however, none of the essays is as systematic or as well organized as it might be and for this fault Stern's point of view and especially his mode of analysis are responsible Stern was in a way, a Marxist, and this commitment aided him in his choice of problems and, to some extent in his analysis But he was not enough of a Marxist at least in his use of dialectics Too often in these essays the "historical" parts are little more than chronological arrangements of events illustrating particular social forces or tendencies; seldom are the periodicities in society, the changes in the relative strengths of opposing social forces, examined But if innovations in medicine have been strongly resisted at times it is also true that at other times they have been accepted as rapidly as they have been made What shifts in the structure of medical research and practice, or in the larger socioeconomic structure, account for the varying reception that medical innovations have met with, historically? Stern however, almost never asked such questions.

The reason he did not, derives, I think from the limited meaning he gave to the concept of "contradiction." He was enough of a Marxist, it is true, to conclude the most stimulating of his essays, "Some Aspects of Historical Materialism" (1949), with the observation:

> Just as few individuals attain complete [psychological] integration, and few groups complete conformity, cultures, too, are incompletely integrated . [Much contemporary] discussion postulates [a degree of] cultural and psychological integration unwarranted by available evidence, and obscures incongruities and variants occasioned by

differential adjustments of other aspects of culture to socio-economic changes [p. 32].

But Stern used the concept of contradiction, like "incongruities" in the above passage, to designate the characteristic condition of society after economic changes have occurred. Contradictions are simply manifest incompatibilities among cultural elements, or "cultural lags," and they have no further effects or significance because, owing to "a strain toward consistency," they tend in time to disappear (p. 32).

Instead of following Ogburn's lead and deriving "contradictions" from change, Stern could have, and I think should have, treated them as inherent in society and as likely to generate change as to be generated by it. He could then have viewed the events that concerned him, such as resistances to scientific discoveries, as the observable results of underlying contradictions (tensions, strains) among various socio-economic forces. Had he done so, he would have seen much more clearly than he did the need to focus on the variations in the historical occurrence of events, and he would have described and analyzed such variations far more often than he did. And *Historical Sociology* would in consequence have been a more appropriate title for his essays than it now is.

TERENCE K. HOPKINS

Columbia University

The Calas Affair: Persecution, Toleration, and Heresy in Eighteenth Century Toulouse. By DAVID D. BIEN. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960. Pp. ix+199. $4.00.

Voltaire's version of the Calas affair—that Calas, a Protestant, was the victim of Catholic intolerance—has long been the one that most people are familiar with. Moreover, as Bien says:

The interest of French liberal historians ever since has centered on developing Voltaire's theme, on showing just how typical in their perversity were the Catholics at Toulouse. Ever more suggestions and evidence tending to prove Calas' innocence have been gathered and cataloged, but no one has thought to ask *why* the Catholics at Toulouse acted as they did. The intolerance was simply taken as a constant. On the other side, Catholics have reacted by trying, vainly, to amass an equal quantity of evidence to show that Calas was in fact guilty [p. 26].

In going far beyond these traditional approaches to the Calas affair, Bien has written a book of great interest not only to historians (perennially concerned with "new interpretations"), but to sociologists, who will find his analysis of why the Catholics of Toulouse acted as they did a model for the analysis of any other *cause célèbre* (the Dreyfus case, the Sacco-Vanzetti case), of any incident in which the deviant behavior of individuals becomes the symbolic focus of more general social hostilities.

The gist of Bien's argument is that Calas *père* was in all likelihood guilty of the murder of his son, but that the motive attributed to him, both by the tribunal that convicted him and by the populace of Toulouse, was the wrong one. The motive ascribed to Calas *père* (and to his wife, to another son, to his servant, and to a friend, all alleged accomplices) was religious: he was supposed to have sought to prevent his son's defection to Catholicism. The probable real motive was the father's rage at his son's dishonesty and shiftlessness. Why, then, were the Catholics of Toulouse driven to the "unnecessary insistence on seeing in the crime purely religious motives" (p. 111)?

For over half a century before the Calas affair, in 1761–62, the small Protestant minority of Toulouse had been tolerated as long as it conformed outwardly and did not openly defy the laws againnst Protestants. At the time of the Calas affair, however, Catholic Toulouse experienced several threats which mobilized the latent hostility to Protestantism that existed in the period of toleration. The allegiance of the Protestants to a faith outlawed by the state, their "responsibility" for the religious wars of an earlier time, and their consequent association with revolt, treason, and disorder, all inspired suspicion and fear in the Catholics when France was at war (she was doing badly in the Seven Years' War) and when a religious-political struggle was being waged by the Gallican monarchy against the Ultramontane Jesuits, who were expelled from France in 1763. Moreover, a specific incident in the environs of Toulouse had further aroused fears of Protestant violence. It had been suspected that a Protestant mob would liberate some imprisoned co-religionists by force.

All these events converged to create the conditions under which the judges of Calas selected evidence supporting their preconceptions of how Protestants were likely to act. The key word in preconception is "fanaticism." "The

murder for religion was quite understandable to the judges who were sure they knew the innermost nature of the anti-social Huguenot" (p. 115). The uneducated population went even further, believing the murder of Calas *fils* to be not merely a likely consequence of the Protestant personality but required by "the religious fanaticism rooted in Calvinist thought and doctrine" (p. 125).

A brief review such as this can only indicate the crude outlines of Bien's excellent analysis. Readers of the book will be pleased by the fine details of the analysis and by the soundness of the evidence behind it.

ELINOR G. BARBER

Dobbs Ferry, New York

The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past By HARVEY WISH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960 Pp ix+366. $7.50

This descriptive study of historians and their books is tantalizing for its suggestiveness and disappointing for its particularistic approach Almost every American historian and school of historical thought of any note is mentioned, at least briefly. But there is more here than men and movements. Either explicitly or implicitly, Professor Wish raises questions concerning the writing of history as a social activity. For one, he invariably describes the social origins of individual historians but gives no systematic attention to the question of what, if any, were the consequences for historical studies when the writing of history became no longer chiefly the work of the wealthy. As it is, we have only some fascinating hints concerning the closely related matter of the development of history as a professional field in this country. For the professionalization of history is not raised as the context of the question of social origins but only occasionally and with reference to particular historians.

While the debt owed to other disciplines by certain historians is mentioned, the question as to whether borrowing influenced the professional self-conception of the historian is kept separate from it. Wish notes that Turner borrowed ideas from an economist, Brooks Adams from physicists, and a generation of historians borrowed Darwin's terms and made analogies to what they thought were the social counterparts of biological evolution. And he also reports that Beard, Brooks Adams, and the "social evolutionists" thought of themselves as scientists. Wish implicitly raises the issue of whether it was necessary for the historian to borrow from the "hard" sciences in order to hold this self-image. Turner, for example, was also influenced by Ranke, by way of Herbert Baxter Adams' seminar at Johns Hopkins.

In the final chapter, where he deals mainly with Nevins and contemporary business history, his emphasis on the notable leads Wish to ignore the various commitments of historians whose note is not yet established. Thus, Nevins is quoted as believing that the increasing sources of data and more refined techniques of analysis available today might lead to the proposal by historians of laws about human behavior But Wish does not note that, for example, the Purdue group of economic historians believes that they might become indistinguishable from economists as a result of their use of computers and techniques of statistical inference to solve problems involving large amounts of data. A discussion of present tendencies here would enable future historians to show which of many possibilities were realized and how. Will historians propose covering laws and still conceive of themselves as "humanists," or will the more "scientifically" oriented split off from the field and join the economists and sociologists?

This provocative book should be read by all who are interested in the sociology of science.

GEORGE S ROSENBERG

Carnegie Institute of Technology

Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin Edited by STANLEY DIAMOND New York: Columbia University Press, 1960 Pp xxiv+1014 Illustrated $15.00

This volume of essays contains much of importance to all social scientists, particularly to sociologists and anthropologists It was originally planned as a *Festschrift* in honor of Professor Paul Radin, head of the anthropology department at Brandeis University who died before it was published and thus it became a memorial volume rather than a *Festschrift*

The work begins with a graceful foreword by Dr. Sachar, president of Brandeis, and a very informative appreciation by Cora DuBois. There is also a short preface by the editor; and at the

end, a valuable bibliography of Radin's works by Richard Werbner.

Stanley Diamond, now with the National Institutes of Health, began to edit the work while he was on Radin's staff at Brandeis. He has grouped the various essays under five headings: "The Primitive World View," "Approaches to Culture," "Ritual, Religion, and Myth," "History, Social Theory, and Law," and "Language," each a field in which Radin has made significant contributions. There are fifty-two contributors.

Some articles are factual and descriptive, others are philosophical, speculative, or analytical. One is a scant four pages, but another runs to fifty-six. All are in English, except for one in German and another in French. Subjects range from a study of the museum's place in anthropology, to a tentative classification of Tai dialects. Most of the contributions are accompainied by notes and bibliographies, and several contain drawings or photographs. Among the most stimulating articles are those dealing with intellectual processes as they are expressed in world view, myths, rituals, or language. Other provocative papers deal with problems of socio-cultural dynamics revealed in studies of acculturation, changing social institutions, or the emergence of the state.

Because this volume contains so many diversified contributions, and because some of the authors are strange to the average reader, it is to be regretted that there are no biographical sketches of the contributors. As a result, one is sometimes at a loss to know why a given essay has been included, or what connection a particular writer had with Radin. The Index is incomplete and inconsistent.

On the whole, this book contains a wealth of important material on a wide range of subjects Despite its lack of unity, it stands as a worthy tribute to the memory of an insightful and creative, if somewhat mercurial, anthropologist.

MISCHA TITIEV

University of Michigan

Man, Mind and Land: A Theory of Resource Use. By WALTER FIREY. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 256. $6.00.

Almost all men participate regularly—many almost unceasingly—in social structures which have evolved to deal with the discovery, extraction, and processing of materials for consumption. Even though these patterned activities comprise some of the most critically important aspects of societal organization—the provision of livelihood for society's members—sociologists have long relinquished study of them to economists and geographers. It is not surprising that existing studies tend to be narrowly conceived in economic terms or predominantly descriptive and divorced from theory. *Man, Mind and Land* is a major effort to bring the perspective of broad social science to this crucial area of social organization.

This is a theoretical work; it contains no maps of the distribution of coal, iron, or hardwood forests and will have limited appeal for forest rangers, county extension agents, or others whose daily tasks concern the development or use of resources. *Man, Mind and Land* will be well received, however, by persons interested in theory-building in general and in the theory of organization and change in particular.

Firey begins by recognizing that most governments today are committed to the improving of their people's use of land and resources. It is further evident that the changes in their practices concerning resources sometimes follow deliberate efforts to produce these changes and at other times bear no relationship to them. Out of the observed discrepancies between purposive planning and actual events arises Firey's problem: What general theory will specify the necessary and sufficient conditions for effecting changes in people's use of land and resources?

The key to Firey's analysis is his realization that the configuration of events that go into man's use of his natural resources has many of the properties of an organic whole, that is, a *resource system.* Conceived as a system the many varied phenomena—tools, animals, seasons, soils, market forms, specialization of labor, magical beliefs, empirical knowledge, etc. —become amenable to types of analysis with which sociologists are already acquainted.

The author rejects the proposition that in every social order the ecological, ethnological, and economically optimum resource processes coincide, and he concludes that no one of the three can by itself provide an adequate basis of planning. Their theories can only provide a system of reference points against which planners can plot the relative position which a given resource system occupies on such dimensions as permanence, consistency, and efficiency.

Building on these three, Firey develops a theory encompassing social organization, culture, and habitat—man, mind, and land. Resource systems are integral aspects of the larger social system. Under conditions which Firey attempts to spell out—and "plannees' consent" is a basic component—"good" resources practices become established in the social order and regarded as morally right. A number of hypotheses are introduced and evaluated. Those who have trouble with the notation of symbolic logic may still be fascinated by the case studies of individual societies presented in buttressing the argument. All in all, this is a stimulating, tightly reasoned and scholarly work.

WALTER T. MARTIN

University of Oregon

The Study of Population: An Inventory and Appraisal. Edited by PHILIP M. HAUSER and OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Pp. xvi+864. $15.00.

This book will be of interest to most sociologists, certainly to all who are not satisfied with the current state of theory in our discipline. Written for the National Science Foundation to aid its development of a program of population research, many of its contributed chapters are somewhat traditional accounts of the current state of the field. But the five chapters by the editors are forceful expressions of their view of contemporary social science, demography providing a specific example.

Interesting to sociologists is the reaction of the editors to the paper by Wilbert E. Moore on sociology and demography, a plea for recognition of the importance of functional analysis of societies in providing a base for the development of theory in demography. The view of the editors can be inferred from their statement: "'theory' as Moore uses it in this context embodies much of what are elsewhere in this volume considered as 'misconceptions' of theory." Hauser and Duncan delineate various conceptions of theory in the social sciences and argue for greater emphasis on the predictive and explanatory functions of theory. They are opposed to conceptions of theory as speculation, philosophizing, taxonomy, or creation of concepts; theory, to them, is an integral part of the process of research, with the natural sciences as the model.

To organize the field of investigation, the editors differentiate between demographic analysis and population studies. "Demographic analysis is confined to the study of components of population variation and change. Population studies are concerned not only with population variables but also with relationships between population changes and other variables—social, economic, political, biological, genetic, geographical, and the like."

Using this dichotomy, the volume contains a series of national surveys of the state of demography but the international character of the scientific enterprise makes this section artificial and boring. Then the field of demography is broken down into its elements, with separate chapters on processes, such as fertility; techniques, such as estimation and projection; and data, such as family statistics. Despite the lack of coherence of the topics, these chapters are useful and systematic. Finally, population study is considered through a series of chapters relating demography to ecology, geography, economics, genetics, and sociology. The editors note that the integration of multidisciplinary theories in the study of population is unlikely.

The great merit of this work, in addition to its usefulness as a quick introduction to the field, is the editors' concern with key issues in the development of social science. They do not allow their specific task to obscure the larger problems. Students of sociological theory will find astute and provocative sections on social-psychological reductionism, the relation of theory to the prediction or explanation of concrete events, and the boundaries which historical conditions set for the utility of purported general scientific theories. There is meat here for every sociologist.

SANFORD M DORNBUSCH

Stanford University

Housing a Metropolis—Chicago. By BEVERLY DUNCAN and PHILIP M. HAUSER Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xvii+278 $7.50.

This volume is an important technical addition to the statistical study of the urban community. Focusing on housing, this is a careful analysis of the data reported by the National Housing Inventory and the Chicago Supplement to the Inventory, which were gathered by the Census Bureau in 1956. These data permitted the analysis of the components of change in

size and composition of the housing inventory. This study carried out such an analysis not only of gross and net changes in number of dwelling units between 1950 and 1956 but also of "patterns of change in the size and composition of metropolitan housing inventories during the 1950's, the relationship of income to housing, differentials in the housing of whites and nonwhites, and the housing of families at different stages of the family life cycle."

This is not a mere summary of raw facts; it is a well-organized evaluation of certain critical features of housing data pertaining to the nation's six largest Standard Metropolitan Areas (Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia) and the cities of Chicago and Philadelphia.

Among the findings are these: that, although urban-renewal clearance has reduced the supply of housing units, especially in the central portions of the cities investigated, the number of available vacancies increased sharply in each of the six cities, with a consequent easing of the war-induced housing shortage. City residents are more apt to fill city vacancies and suburban residents are more apt to fill suburban vacancies. While substandard housing is twice as prevalent for non-whites as for whites in the central core of the city, housing conditions in the "middle" section of the city are about the same for both and considerably better than for either in the central city. Not only are nonwhite families in general twice as likely as white families to live in substandard housing, but they are more apt to receive less "quality" per dollar spent on housing. Households which include an older person are no more likely to be substandard than the households of younger persons living alone or with non-relatives.

These are but some of the interpretive findings this excellent monograph documents. Its text and its tables are clear, and for those who may be interested in ways of handling comparable data, the authors have deliberately discussed alternative methods of analysis. Throughout the study, the authors take pains to indicate why they have used one technique rather than another; they are the first to acknowledge the limitations of their data.

This volume should have value both for the social scientist concerned with the urban community and for the practising professional in the fields of housing, planning, urban renewal, intergroup relations, family living, and the like, as well as for the interested citizen who wants to be informed in greater depth.

MEL RAVITZ

Wayne State University

The Analysis of Political Systems. By DOUGLAS V. VERNEY. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. vii+239. $6.75.

One of the obstacles to communication between sociologists and political scientists is their different usage of words such as "theory." When the author, a British political scientist, talks of theories of government, he is not referring to explanations of the manner in which government operates but to "theories" of the most desirable governmental structure. His objective is to combine the traditional concern of political science with formal governmental structure and the nature of the state with contemporary work on political process in which politics is considered in a wider social context. He sees this book as a partial bridge between the philosophic and behaviorist wings of political science.

In spite of promising intentions, there is little here of interest for sociologists. In comparing three "theories" of government—presidential, parliamentary, and convention—he uses categories which are primarily descriptive (e.g., in the parliamentary type, "ministers are usually members of parliament"). While certain underlying relationships between the branches of government are implicit in the categories, the distinctions are never used in analyzing the political process. In fact, his discussion of the operations of the political system is little more than a reiteration of current work, frequently rather superficial and elementary. For example, the author finds it necessary to explain that "modern techniques of manipulation are so subtle and highly developed that there is what is sometimes called the 'mass society,' which allows those in positions of power and responsibility to direct its thought and actions."

There is need for relating formal governmental structure to the practice of politics. The author feels that the new enthusiasm for the study of political process can lead to neglect of the still important traditional concerns. His analysis of the dilemma faced by underdeveloped countries in choosing between efficiency in a governmental system and maximum par-

ticipation does meet his objectives to some degree. But in general this book offers neither the incisive theoretical analysis of a Schumpeter (who has a similar goal in *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*) nor the intimate textural detail of a V. O. Key.

WILLIAM A. GAMSON

Harvard University

The Politics of Nonpartisanship: A Study of California City Elections By EUGENE C. LEE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. xiii+232. $4.75.

Over 60 per cent of all American cities, which accounts for some sixty-five million people, are governed by non-partisan political institutions, yet this is the first book devoted to the subject. The fascination with big-city bosses and machine politics has made non-partisan government one of the largest single uncharted areas in American political science.

Lee's volume is an attempt to describe and evaluate the local election process, in general, in California cities, all of which are non-partisan), and in detail in six middle-sized communities: Berkeley, Chico, Fresno, Maywood, Pomona, and San Leandro. The research involved first-hand observation in the six cities and a questionnaire mailed to 718 officials throughout the state, 320 of which were returned.

The principal findings confirm the belief that non-partisanship tends to place in office persons who are Republican, higher in socioeconomic status than the average, Protestant, and business-oriented. In the six cities, although only 42 per cent of the registered voters were Republican, 69 per cent of the mayors and councilmen between 1931 and 1955 were of that party. On the average, 45 per cent of the Republicans who enter non-partisan contests are elected, while only 21 per cent of the Democratic contenders are successful.

Candidates are generally recruited by either incumbent elective officials acting together or individually or by business and business-oriented civic associations. Elections are genuinely non-partisan in almost all cases, although the incidence of party activity increases with the size of the city. Democratic county chairmen desire more partisanship (61 per cent oppose non-partisanship), while Republican county chairmen disapprove of it. In general, political campaigns are based on personalities, acquaintanceships, and the mobilization of various groups.

In his appraisal, Lee argues that, although non-partisanship does deny certain groups (ethnic minorities, members of the working class) representation in elective offices, it produces a system in which there is real competition and opportunity for dissent along with a high level of integrity. He sees the basic issue as non-partisanship's ability to promote competition and consensus and concludes that no categorical answer can be given.

The narrow focus of the research probably makes this appraisal premature. In the book there is no systematic comparison of non-partisan with similar partisan cities nor is there a study of actual decision-making or the pattern of influence within the government. It could be argued that the crucial factor which distinguishes non-partisan from partisan government is the character of the ends served by the governing process. A set of political institutions embodies a conception of the public interest which may be rooted in the class and status affiliations of those who operate them.

The electoral process may be an important explanation of the direction in which power is distributed, but an appraisal of a system of government requires an evaluation of distribution and the goals which it serves rather than simply an evaluation of procedural arrangements. Lee's book is, nonetheless, a very useful beginning to the study of a neglected area of community affairs. One hopes it will prompt others to an examination of how public policy is made in non-partisan cities. Some work on this subject, such is the forthcoming volume by Charles Adrian and Oliver Williams, is already under way, but much more is needed.

JAMES Q WILSON

University of Chicago

Welfare in America By VAUGHN DAVIS BORNET. Norman University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp xi + 319. $4.95

This book attempts to provide a critical, challenging, and objective analysis of the public and voluntary social welfare programs in America. In particular, the author is interested in bringing into focus the major issues regarding their

respective roles in our national welfare structure. To do this, he examines a wide range of subjects, including historical factors in the development of both public and voluntary programs, their financing, and questions of major policy confronting them. Particular attention is given to social workers, their educational preparation and adequacy to discharge their responsibilities; also to the present dispute over method of financing between the federated fund-raising agencies and the national voluntary health organizations which solicit their financial support independently.

Unfortunately, the book will disappoint those in search of an objective appraisal of the many serious questions of policy and purpose regarding these programs. The book is riddled with the clichés so often used by the critics of government's role in social welfare. The author is obviously alarmed by the present scope of the public programs: his preference is plainly for the voluntary programs which impress him as being truer to traditional values such as individual self-effort, freedom, and personal independence.

In addition, the author reveals a somewhat limited concept of social welfare. As he defines it: "Social Welfare is special services supplied and material assistance given by all or part of society to a human being thought to be in need." The use of the "thought" is both clever and revealing.

Further, the general orientation of the author is evident in the opening chapter on historical trends and influences. In discussing the respective policies of the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations during the Depression, it is made clear that he prefers the former's general reliance on voluntary efforts. The Roosevelt administration is depicted as "opportunistic," swamping "the Voluntary Way" and proposing "patchwork efforts" in the adoption of such measures as the Social Security Act. There is almost complete ignorance of certain salient facts of the Depression, namely, the high levels of unemployment, the near collapse of basic financial institutions, and the widespread personal suffering of many American families which, above everything else, were the major determinants in the subsequent programs enacted during the administration of the late President Roosevelt. Throughout, similar presuppositions are shown, especially when the public social welfare programs are scrutinized.

In our opinion, the major merits of the book are found in the several chapters which deal with the issues confronting the voluntary programs. There is a particularly lucid chapter on the growing practice of fee-charging by the voluntary programs and its possible implications for their survival. Another chapter provides an insightful analysis of some dilemmas involved in the current fund-raising and planning practices of voluntary organizations. Still another chapter includes one of the clearest discussions which we have seen concerning the struggle over financing at present being waged by the United Fund movements and the large national health agencies.

While an advocate of the voluntary approach, the author is concerned about certain centralized and bureaucratic tendencies which, in his opinion, depersonalize its services and, subsequently, produce less support for its programs. He concludes that as a result "Voluntary welfare has the face of a sick man." Accordingly, he offers several suggestions toward solutions, or, at least, alternatives to the tendencies. Interestingly, the AFL–CIO is seen as a prime force in the invigoration of voluntary programs.

Sociologists, especially those interested in the many facets of social welfare, may find this volume intriguing. While the author has largely met his purpose of defining the crucial issues in social welfare, his readers, to achieve a better balanced appraisal of social welfare, its purposes, policies, and present issues should, it is suggested, seek more sophisticated and scholarly discussions elsewhere.

William D. Bechill

Sacramento, California

Delinquent and Neurotic Children: A Comparative Study. By Ivy Bennett. New York: Basic Books, 1961. Pp. xii+532. $10.00.

Dr. Bennett had three main aims: testing psychoanalytic hypotheses about the etiologies of delinquency and neurosis; providing data valuable for differential diagnosis and treatment; bridging the gap between psychoanalysis and psychology and the social sciences.

Sample children aged four through sixteen, were selected from those attending a child guidance service in a rural district of England. Relatively full data were available. Fifty pairs were selected so that each pair had one delinquent and one neurotic of the same sex, age within

two years, and I.Q. within ten points. Diagnoses of "delinquent" or "neurotic" were made by the clinic staff. No borderline or mixed types were included.

The first part of the book contains a useful review of the literature and a presentation of the design of the research. In the second part, delinquents and neurotics are compared (using chi-square) as to attributes of behavior, family background, and developmental history. In the third part, summary case histories of the subjects are presented.

Looking first at the aim of gap-bridging. Dr. Bennett selected variables mainly in accordance with psychoanalytic theory, and used contingency tables; that seems to be the extent of it. Many important behavior-theory, ecological, social-structural, and cultural approaches to problems of delinquency are ignored.

The compact, well-organized case histories may be of use to practitioners. But the statistical results are misleading. First, the data are open to doubt. The clinic staff made diagnoses from case materials. The bases and definitions of the diagnoses were discussed fully in preliminary work with Dr. Bennett. Then she used the materials to judge, in each case, if certain attributes (e.g., lying, "tough," unsettled home) were present. Frequencies were then compared: for example, "delinquents" lied more than neurotics. But all this means is that the clinic staff used the cue of "lying" to reach their differential diagnosis of "delinquent." The larger the chi-square, the greater the weight given the attribute in reaching a diagnosis (or composite of attributes). Worse, no means were provided to keep the judge from knowing the individual diagnosis as she judged each case. Naturally, the "results" are full of "confirmations." Even null-hypotheses are "confirmed"!

Second, the statistical bases for inference are dubious. The samples were not selected randomly from specified target populations to which generalizations may be made. Moreover, no base rates are provided. Consider the psychoanalytic theory that "severe traumatic experiences . . . may form the kernel of much future psychopathology" (p. 209). Clearly this cannot be supported simply by showing that high percentages of both delinquents and neurotics have had such experiences at some time. The rates of incidence for non-pathological groups in the general population must at least be shown to be smaller.

Dr. Bennett has not in fact offered "support for various tenets of psychoanalytic theory" (p. 202).

DESMOND S. CARTWRIGHT

University of Colorado

The Etiology of Schizophrenia. Edited by DON D. JACKSON. New York: Basic Books, 1960. Pp. 456. $7.50.

In this volume the editor has brought together fourteen papers concerned with various approaches to the etiology of schizophrenia. The contributors are recognized investigators in their respective fields. As an introduction, the editor presents a critical analysis of etiological theories of schizophrenia. The papers are arranged in six sections, genetics, biochemistry, physiology, psychology, and family dynamics, and in general they sum up views and investigations from the biological (medical), psychological, and sociological fields that have some direct or indirect bearing on the causation of schizophrenia.

The occasion for this volume was the centennial commemoration of Morel's introduction of the term "dementia praecox" in 1860. A comparison of the views held one hundred years ago with the material presented in this volume shows clearly that despite a vast quantity of publications and some research, the obscurity surrounding the causation of schizophrenia is only slightly less dense than it was in 1860. For this reason, it is surprising that the epidemiological approach is not considered, except in part by Clausen and Kohn. This is probably related to another problem: the difficulty in delineating sharply what is to be called "schizophrenia" and what will be classified as normal behavior. On the whole, however, this volume will give the sociologist a picture of representative kinds of thought and investigation now being devoted to clarifying the genesis of schizophrenia.

GEORGE ROSEN

Columbia University

The Crisis in American Medicine. Edited by MARION K. SANDERS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. Pp. x + 144. $3.75.

The social scientist who goes over these 150 pages may ask, why is this provocative, temporarily useful little book published at this

time? Most of its contents appeared originally in *Harper's Magazine* in 1960: why in hard covers now? John Fischer, editor of *Harper's*, gives his own answer to the question in his Foreword: "This book is offered in the hope that it may serve as the basis for informed debate, in which both laymen and doctors may take part much more freely—and with more mutual confidence—than has been their habit." The articles, by two journalists, five physicians, several administrators and professors, each penetrate some economic, political, administrative, or professional issue. The tone is set by the journalists, who open the book with severe deflation of the social policies and political attitudes of the American Medical Association. In a later chapter, even the president of the Arizona State Medical Society is firmly though politely critical of his brethren. Discussions of the values and shortages of family doctors and specialists, the organization and economics of hospitals, the benefits and insufficiencies of various types of health insurance, the "Strange Ethics of the Ethical Drug Industry" provide meat for "informed debate" which Fischer would like, even though—or perhaps just because—the diagnoses and prescriptions offered in a series of articles by diverse authors are necessarily symptomatic.

The exceptionally large number of letters which poured into the magazine when the articles first appeared certainly convinced the publishers that there was unusual interest in the subject. The sociologist will inquire: Interest on the part of what social groups? During the past fifteen years, organized labor has joined battle with "organized medicine" in many parts of the country, and anyone who follows union newspapers is aware that labor has reached the stage of looking to economic or political action rather than to "debate." The *Harper's Magazine* audience is presumably middle class, well above the average in income and education. Is this group now starting to translate its medical-economic gripes into action—action which obviously cannot be carried out by individuals only? Debate will help them define goals and methods of action. Perhaps during the next decade our middle class will appear in a leading part in the third act of the drama of medical-social change.

The two concluding articles of the book deserve special attention. Joseph Fletcher, of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, challenges doctor, clergyman, lawyer, and public with "The Patient's Right To Die." Medicine's new powers to keep life going, even if the person is already buried beneath pain or unconsciousness, must be controlled by "the morality of human freedom and dignity." Rene J. Dubos of the Rockefeller Institute packs into six pages basic questions of the future, raised by swift change in the psychosocial environment on the one side and the advancing powers of medicine on the other. Medicine must undertake leadership for both individuals and society. "Modern man," concludes Dubos, "will need the guidance of physicians to achieve fitness of body and mind to his new physical and social environment."

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Chevy Chase, Maryland

The Culture of the State Mental Hospital. By H. WARREN DUNHAM and S. KIRSON WEINBERG. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960. Pp. xxiii+284. $5.00.

The authors of this book were among the first sociologists to study the mental hospital as a social system. This volume, reporting research completed over a decade ago, is a product of their early interest. In it, Dunham and Weinberg describe social interaction in a large state mental hospital, focusing particularly on the informal aspects and how the culture sabotages the hospital's formal goals and organization.

The authors found that the employee culture is oriented toward norms of control; that the patient culture is oriented toward norms of accommodation; and that different wards in the hospital focus on different values. For example, patients in the hopeful wards are concerned with values relating to the outside while those in chronic wards are concerned with hospital routines. Significant is their description of patient-staff interaction, which makes clear how the hospital contributes to patient chronicity by increasing anxiety and isolation, by intensifying the opportunity for paranoid delusions, and by inhibiting normal assertiveness and reasonable expression of desire. They emphasize that the employee culture functions to preserve itself, irrespective of patient welfare.

It is unfortunate that this book was published so long after the research was completed, for ten years ago its impact on social psychiatry would have been greater than it will be today.

In the intervening decade, many sociological and social-psychological studies of different types of mental hospitals have been completed. Thus, we now have a body of literature on this social institution that analyzes in a more precise and intensive way, and with more sophisticated conceptual tools, the central problem with which the authors are concerned. Thus, what might have been new and revealing ten years ago now sounds introductory and familiar.

MORRIS S. SCHWARTZ

Brandeis University

Employee Rights and the Employment Relationship. By HOWARD M. VOLLMER. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. 175. $3.00 (paper).

Early in this monograph Vollmer states that his basic objective "is to analyze the relation of employee claims to, and the managerial recognition of, certain types of employee rights." Four guiding hypotheses are developed for the research: conditions of employment favor the development of managerial self-restraint and mutual expectation regarding employees' rights; these expectations will vary for different types of workers; management and workers do not always agree, and one might expect greater stability in managerial self-restraint when they do agree. Most of the data were collected between 1953 and 1958: survey techniques were employed in four separate studies and material is drawn from all. A methodological appendix describes the composition of the respondents but makes no statement about their representativeness. The reader is also informed that, in an exploratory study such as this, statistical tests are neither necessary nor employed.

Supplementing his survey data with other studies, Vollmer argues that greater bureaucratization has developed in modern industry: more companies now use organization charts; more have rules specifying such personnel practices as hiring, firing, discipline, and seniority; more use human-relations experts and techniques. These rules and practices have limited the free hand of management with their employees, and this managerial self-restraint allows the latter to do more predicting of the employer's behavior. Vollmer never makes it quite clear why these practices have developed although he does manage to argue inconclusively that increases in size of organization, American values other than efficiency, and the unions' growth and power probably have less to do with them than the need for co-ordination and control within the organization. Interestingly, there is never a suggestion that these managerial practices may be a function of an expanding economy in the past two decades, and in a contracting market, management's self-restraint might be less noticeable (if it existed at all).

Vollmer appears on much stronger grounds when he delves into his own data. Demonstrating that higher-skilled employees identify themselves more with their occupation than do females or low-skilled workers, Vollmer points out that these two types have different expectations of their supervisors, their participation in decision-making, the exercise of managerial authority, and their claims to special privilege. Generally, the workers of higher status concur more with management's expectations than do those of less skill and lower status. When he has controlled the various strata, Vollmer's findings are often quite suggestive. For example, if the different strata have in varying degrees identified themselves with their co-workers and the job, then the Hawthorne study and its famous "Bank Wiring Room" might have yielded other findings if skilled rather than semiskilled workers were observed. Similarly, Vollmer's data suggest that when opportunities for promotion are fewer than expected, staff specialists are dissatisfied with their situation. One would expect otherwise from the research findings of *The American Soldier* of a decade ago, where it was reported that army units with many opportunities for promotion were more disgruntled than those with few chances of advancement.

To sum up, *Employee Rights* is a very uneven book. There is an imaginative use of existing data and often stimulating findings and suggested directions for further research. If the total impression is vague and perplexing, perhaps the problem lies with an author who attempts to give his work more significance than appears justified. The theoretical arguments contribute little: a study does not gain advantage from mere genuflections before Weber coupled with endless name dropping; the link between theory and research must be built into the research designs.

PHILIP M. MARCUS

Purdue University

Migrants and Proletarians: Urban Labour in the Economic Development of Uganda. **By Walter Elkan. New York: Oxford University Press (on behalf of the East African Institute of Social Research), 1960. Pp. x+149. $3.40.**

It is a very important truism that the transition from a non-industrial to an industrial economy depends on a supply of industrial labor. The question of the sources of such supply, and the organizational and social implications of recruitment from the various sources, is of no little significance to both the theory and practice of economic development. In this monograph, a very illuminating case study of the present situation in Uganda, with data drawn largely from Kampala and certain other communities in Buganda province, Mr. Elkan finds that the development of industry there has thus far not been accompanied by the development of an urban proletariat (i.e., a pool of settled, urban wage-laborers). Rather, Buganda industry is largely dependent on short-term migrants and somewhat longer-term "temporary townsmen." The degree to which this is true, as well as the relative emphasis on each of the types of temporary workers, varies with the type of industry and level and type of occupation. Essentially, the book deals with the relationship of this pattern to the demand for, and supply of, labor at various levels of skill and at the supervisory level, as well as with implications for industrial relations, wage policy, labor problems, and techniques of management.

In addition, the book contains considerable descriptive information about such topics as the general state of economic development in Uganda and the structure and philosophy of Uganda management. The exposition throughout is interspersed with comparisons of present-day Uganda industry, and early nineteenth-century English industry, particularly as regards the development of an urban proletariat, the relative absence of which makes the case of Uganda interesting.

On the whole, this is a rather successful book. It contains a great deal of useful and interesting information. It is quite true that the data and methods are not always ideal, but this is not the fault of the author, who, moreover, appears well aware of the difficulties. The fact that the author is an economist makes it hardly surprising that the emphasis is at times less sociological than a sociologist might desire. Also, as the author carefully points out, the book does not attempt generalization; it is avowedly a case study. Perhaps, however, the claims of the author are unduly modest, for his findings have general relevance to the interrelations of industrialism, urbanization, and the mobility of the labor force.

The material is presented in such a way as to be at least conceivably comparable with similar case studies. This work is therefore useful for purposes above and beyond simply gaining information about Uganda. It can be read profitably not only by anyone generally interested in economic development, but also by those interested in broad relationships of industry to society.

Stanley H. Udy, Jr

Yale University

Social Structure in South East Asia. ("Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology," No. 29.) Edited by George Peter Murdock. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960. Pp. ix+182. $5.00.

The title of this book may be misleading, at least to sociologists. It deals primarily with only one sector of social structure, that is, kinship and descent groups, and with only a few parts of Southeast Asia. Nine essays by as many authors analyze the residential and kinship groups and kinship terminology of peoples in central Viet-Nam, Formosa, the Philippines, Sarawak, central Java, northern Ceylon, and Southeast Szechwan. Each essay adds important new material to our knowledge of a society. Some, like that of Eggan on the Sagada Igorots, or Mabuchi on the aboriginal peoples of Formosa, reorganize and provide a new framework for material on a whole region. Some, like that of Leach on the Dry-Zone Sinhalese, embody significant theoretical statements about social structure in general. Only one, however, on the Javanese, examines status relations in any detail.

Only a few of the societies described have unilineal descent groups. In the rest, the principle of unilineal descent is either absent or is not the main organizing principle. In recent years it has come to be realized that social systems of this bilateral or cognatic type are widespread and important. The first essay, by Murdock, not only surveys the material presented

in the essays, but also sets out on a world-wide basis a typology of the cognatic forms of kin group structure. He distinguishes three basic subtypes: the "bilateral" type, of which the Eskimo is taken to be the prototype, is characterized by small domestic units and bilateral personal kindred; the other two, termed "quasi-unilineal" and "ambilineal," are marked by the presence of larger kin groups.

Although the treatment in the various essays is uneven, the book has considerable merit. Though there will not be universal agreement on the validity of the criteria used in the analysis of non-unilineal systems, they are undoubtedly of great significance and will stimulate much further research. The inclusion of Javanese as "Eskimo type" is disconcerting if one is thinking of social structure in general, but at least it does call attention to some broad similarities in the character of the small domestic unit in each. The analysis also stresses the importance of the relation of residence and land-holding to the structure of corporate kin groups. It shows that the characterization of societies by the presence or absence of unilineal descent groups is not enough. Unilineal descent is never simply present or absent. It can exist in varying degrees as an organizing principle in the society, and the groups concerned may be functionally highly significant or relatively insignificant in the structure as a whole. The study of such cognatic kinship groups, here undertaken for the first time in such detail, reinforces the significance of variation in individual behavior as an element in structural arrangements.

RAYMOND FIRTH

London School of Economics and Political Science

New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change. By ROBERT F. MAHER. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961. Pp xii + 148. $5.00.

This concise, clearly written, meticulously limited study of the observable consequences of contact with European culture upon the groups of tribes in the Purari Delta of New Guinea is a model of work within a single level of analysis and, as such, should provide very valuable teaching material.

Professor Maher takes a classical functional approach in his insistence upon the interrelatedness of the institutions of a society. In 1954 he made a restudy of an area studied immediately following World War I by the late F. E. Williams, the government anthropologist of Papua (*The Natives of the Purari Delta* ["Anthropology Report," No. 5 (Port Moresby Territory of Papua, 1924)]). The details of Williams' descriptive ethnography were rechecked by Maher and found accurate. Patrol reports and missionary records providing demographic material, changes in village site, etc., were also available.

Out of loyalty to period which is not required, as is the fidelity of Williams' level of analysis, Maher centers his research on an hypothesis of the twenties—that of W. H. R. Rivers ("The Psychological Factor," in *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, ed. W. H. R. Rivers [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922], pp. 84-113)—that depopulation in Oceanic societies was linked with the type of breakdown in institutional forms which resulted from culture contact and from the suppression of such institutions as head-hunting and cannibalism. He has, furthermore, presented an example of an anthropological method of the first quarter of the century, in the search for a crucial instance and faithful to a central dictum of functionalism, he has chosen to make his study where culture change can be documented rather than inferred from retrospective accounts.

Within this framework, he presents with great clarity and economy the outlines of the social and religious structure of the Purari tribes and places their raiding warfare within the areal context of New Guinea, stressing the relationship between continual raiding and the formation of villages which are extremely large for the area. He shows how village integration depended not only upon the fear of raids but upon village-level ceremonial which involved a peculiarly Purari concept of *imunu*, in which each class of being had its essence. With the suppression of warfare and cannibalism, this integration broke down; the large villages dissolved into small hamlets of a type characteristic of New Guinea; the village-level ceremonial disintegrated, and work for the contact culture of the white man became a regular part of the peoples' lives. After World War II a nativistic movement, unaccompanied by a cargo cult, developed which, after a stage of excited modernization, change in house form, and attempt at co-operative business enterprise, failed and left the Purari people with closer ties to the capital,

Port Moresby, and to the economy of the white man, and with many gradations of acceptance of the changed ways. The discussion of this series of changes is conducted at the level of social history, only individuals of "national stature" are mentioned, and whole communities are described as more or less acculturated. The discussion of why the movement failed is dealt with only in terms of itself without any comparison with the other nativistic movements in the Territory and with almost no reliance upon F. E. Williams' classical study of a nativistic cult (*The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Native Ceremonies in the Gulf Division* ["Anthropology Report," No. 4 (Port Moresby: Territory of Papua, 1923)], pp. 1–78).

Professor Maher then presents in a series of tables changes in size of village, in population pyramid, in crude birth and death rates, and concludes that there has been depopulation associated with, but not necessarily caused by, the suppression of raiding and cannibalism.

The student of social systems can take it from here and, using what Maher has done, consider how handicapped any conclusion is without either mediating variables or a comprehensive comparative study. Since Rivers' and Williams' day, we have learned how to study primitive communities, delimiting their boundaries, identifying each individual, following sequences of events which make it possible to discriminate between the various possibilities outlined in the UNESCO study of culture and human fertility (Frank Lorimer *et al.*, *Culture and Human Fertility* [Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1955]), disease, increased extra-marital sex relations, decreased sexual activity within marriage, increased antinatal practices, etc. Maher contents himself with quoting this list, and inferring the possibility of increased sexual license from the behavior of a neighboring tribe. The mediating variable in determining how, when social disintegration has occurred, this will be expressed in rise or fall of survival rates in a given population, is what particular individuals within that social system do. At the level Maher has chosen, we are no farther along than we were in Rivers' day.

It is, however, possible to remain on Maher's level, working only with culture patterns and demographic data over time, and arrive at more precise conclusions if a large number of societies are included and compared, not simply in crude demographic statistics of birth or death, but by a finer analysis of the intricacies of the patterns involved. This procedure is represented by Yehudi Cohen (*Social Structure and Personality: A Case Book* [New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961]) who, using ethnographic materials as generalized as Williams', can arrive at more precise relationships among different institutions within a society. We would then be able to deal with such differences as those between cultures in which the response to raiding was to space out settlements and those where fear of raiding was used to keep people with imperfect political mechanisms together; between cultures with a high degree of dependence upon trade with members of other cultures and those with an autarchical type of economy; between those in which cannibalism was central to warfare, either as its avowed object, or as a means of provisioning troops, and those in which it was ceremonial, a way of proving manhood by taking risk. It would be possible to compare peoples who had substituted pigs for human victims—as the Orokaiva did—and those who had not. The inquiry could then be enlarged to include societies that had disintegrated because of other types of loss, like the loss of land or the disappearance of the buffalo, to consider whether the loss of behavior which was violently disapproved by the invading culture was more crucial than less ethically laden losses.

As a third resort, we have the possibility of using experiments like those of R. L. Strecker and J. J. Emlen, Jr., on the different types of response to food pressure found in different colonies of the same strain of mice—sexual apathy, overactivity without conception, and maternal neglect ("Regulatory Mechanisms in House-Mouse Population: The Effect of Limited Food Supply," *Ecology*, XXXIV [1953], 375–85). These models would suggest a reexamination of Maher's data by settlement groups, something he does nothing with, and possibly explain why the most reactionary community in the Purari has the highest birth rate, and the most progressive, the highest death rate (Table X). But to answer this question, and to answer the larger question of the relationship between such intangibles as a sense of growth, or well-being, or meaning in life, and increase or decrease in population, it would be necessary again to go to the microcultural level of the behavior of known, identified, and interactive individuals in bounded clusters.

In sum, Maher's study does not add to our knowledge of the process of depopulation, but it provides a clear example of the inability of

macrocultural studies of single societies to answer such questions.

MARGARET MEAD

American Museum of Natural History

Upper Nankin Street, Singapore: a Sociological Study of Chinese Households Living in a Densely Populated Area. By BARRINGTON KAYE. Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1960. Pp. xvi + 439. 50s

This descriptive survey is offered as a contribution to the sociology of community development "under extremely unfavorable conditions." Physically, life in "Chinatown" Singapore may be the most primitive of any urban area in the world: 230,000 persons per square mile were crowded into two- and three-story shophouses in 1947. Political independence and modernization require that the population have some degree of identification with the larger community, or, failing this, at least some neighborliness and participation in formal associations, on the basis of which larger loyalties might be developed. These problems were investigated between 1954 and 1956 by the author and a team of interviewers in co-operation with the Department of Social Welfare of the Government of Singapore. The findings provide little cause for optimism concerning these hoped-for developments.

Area sampling was rejected in favor of a complete census of all the households on a single street, on the assumption that it formed a "natural" neighborhood. In the multi-stage survey of physical, demographic and social aspects of the street's population, each household was interviewed five times over a period of months. Over one hundred pages of appendixes helpfully supply all the interview schedules, instructions to interviewers, a classification of industries, and a stratification of occupations in Singapore.

Concerned "solely with the presentation of data . . . there was no attempt to substantiate or disprove hypotheses" (p. 289). But even the description leaves much to be desired. There is virtually no analysis of the interaction among the various immigrant groups, or between immigrants and the local born. We are not told whether the extreme localism traditional in these Chinese subgroups breaks down in an overseas urban setting. Table 154 states that 54 per cent of the population are "bachelors or spinsters," without noting that half of them are under ten years old! It is shown that the more recent the marriage, the more likely that it was self-arranged (p. 179). Had age been held constant, we should know whether this was, in fact, a trend, or merely the result of later marriage among those who arrange their own. There is a tendency in the 246 tables in the text to run everything against everything else without highlighting the theoretically strategic findings. The description would also have been enhanced had the findings been related to general formulations, for example, Wirth's "urbanism as a way of life." Attitudes of immigrants toward natives in Singapore and toward life there, as contrasted with Malaya and China, are presented only in the forms of selected case histories.

The measurement of "neighborliness" (the informant's assessment of the extent of friendly attitudes and acts directed toward himself by the other residents of the street") was done through Guttman scale analysis. The existence of an attitude of "neighborliness" as measured by several scale items was demonstrated, but the attitude was found to be not very intense—most respondents were more or less indifferent toward it and tended to a negative feeling (p. 275). As to membership in associations, only 17 per cent belonged, of whom [illegible]7 per cent never attended meetings.

We are left then with an impression of considerable privatization in densely overcrowded Upper Nankin Street. We are grateful for a most painstaking fact-finding survey; what is now needed is the spelling out of the findings in relation to larger sociological questions.

ROBERT M. MARSH

University of Michigan

Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership. By SIDNEY VERBA. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp. xii + 273. $6.00

The avowed purpose of this book is to introduce the political scientist to the substance and some of the political implications of research on the small group. That Verba is well prepared to undertake this task is amply demonstrated by the impressive range of the material he reviews and the scope of his twenty-page bibliography.

The book is not only recommended to political scientists interested in scientific studies of group behavior but to graduate students in sociology who are anxious to do some late-hour reviewing of the literature on the small group. But those of us who are not facing examinations might get a little impatient with the author and wish that he would get on to some crucial point. The subtitle and the Introduction promise that political leadership will be discussed in some theoretically significant way, but when we reach the two final chapters (promisingly entitled "The Participation Hypothesis," I and II), we find further summaries of the literature, with only a rather disappointing effort to relate research findings to the workings of a political system. The author disavows any intention of presenting a systematic theory derived from small-group studies, but he might have posed the issue more sharply and more provocatively had he set forth a few theoretical assertions to stimulate the reader at least to leaf through the pages for evidence to refute him. Since he seems to have no intention here of urging political scientists to do this kind of research, the exact relevance of small-group studies to their discipline remains rather obscure.

It is perhaps ungrateful of a reviewer to attempt to point out deletions in a summary that subsumes hundreds of titles and runs to some 250 pages, but surely political scientists would be interested in the way in which Parsons has raised the frame of reference developed out of small-group research in the *Working Papers* to the societal level in *Economy and Society* and in the essay on " 'Voting' and the Equilibrium of the American Political System."

Political sociologists whose background lies mainly in sociology and who are perhaps already familiar with small-group research will profit from the introduction at various points of findings from political science which bear out the generality and point to larger implications of certain conclusions from studies of small groups.

The author has written a book which, while not revolutionary and perhaps not "required reading," is still a useful summary and reference for those interested in the large-scale application of some of the most dynamic research in social science of our time.

WILLIAM ERBE

Washington State University

Must Labour Lose? By MARK ABRAMS and RICHARD ROSE. With a commentary by RITA HINDEN. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1961. Pp. 127. $0.85.

In the aftermath of the 1959 election, in which the British Labour party suffered the third consecutive national setback, *Socialist Commentary*, a magazine, engaged Mark Abrams and Research Services, Ltd., to do a survey of British voters to find out why. *Must Labour Lose?* is a report of that survey, written by Mr. Abrams; accompanied by exegeses by Mr. Rose, an academic analyst, and by Miss Hinden, the editor of *Socialist Commentary*.

This book does not—nor was it meant to—contribute anything new to the conceptual superstructure of political sociology. No new variables are introduced, and no new relationships between previously isolated variables are discovered. The book is not recommended to students with limited time, seeking to explore the theoretical domain of political sociology. However, it is recommended to those interested in the substance of the current political situation in Great Britain. *Must Labour Lose?* is a workmanlike application of known techniques of political analysis to a contemporary electoral system.

The authors conclude that Labour's chief liabilities at election time are that it is identified with the interests of only a segment of the population—the working class—and with nationalization, which has not proven to be a popular policy, and that the British public sees the leadership of the Conservative party as stronger and more unified than the leadership of the Labour party.

The major weakness of the survey analysis lies in its preoccupation with domestic, at the expense of foreign, affairs. For instance, Table 30 (p. 49) shows that the two party attributes considered most important by the British electorate have to do with working for world peace and preventing nuclear war. Table 3 (p. 16) shows that working-class individuals who do not support Labour are four times as likely to believe that the Conservative party could do a better job of preserving world peace than the Labour party. Given its present limitations, the Labour party is most likely to make headway among members of the working class; and the present apparent pre-eminence of the Conservatives in foreign affairs appears to be a

major dividing point between Labour and non-Labour voters in the working class.

WILLIAM ERBE

Washington State University

Family and Class in a London Suburb. By PETER WILLMOTT and MICHAEL YOUNG. New York: Humanities Press, 1961. Pp. xiii+187. $4.50.

Woodford is a London suburb that houses a high proportion of middle-class people, which made it particularly useful as a locale for comparison with a working-class section of London, Bethnal Green, studied by the authors and their colleagues at the Institute of Community Studies. The scope of the Woodford survey was modest, in large measure set by the earlier survey. In workman-like fashion, the authors set about to describe selected aspects of family life and how class intervened. Many of their findings echo familiar results. The working class had less of a social life outside of the family; the middle class belonged to more organizations and was more active. The Woodford husband, a suburban home-owner, helped with the housework and spent his leisure as a home craftsman.

Where the working-class families of Bethnal Green were closely knit into extended clans, the middle-class families of Woodford had nucleated. Over half of the Bethnal Greeners lived in the borough as their parents; in fact, 40 per cent were within a five-minute walk, which departs widely from the urban stereotype. That only one-quarter of the middle class lived in the same borough as their parents was more than a geographic fact, for it symbolized class differences in family relationships.

Woodford's working class often seemed to be between the Woodford middle class and the Bethnal Green working class. Fewer of them lived near parents, compared with their counterparts in Bethnal Green, but parents were not as far away as was found in the middle class. The situation was generally more strained in the Woodford working class as it was forced to contend with the middle class at closer quarters and at a greater disadvantage than the Bethnal Greeners because they lacked the support of a total working-class milieu.

Two features of the study might cause consternation to the purists, although on the whole it was reasonably sound: the first was an occasional slip into generalizations that outran the data; the second a rather high refusal rate of 19 per cent in an old-age sample and of 10 per cent in the general sample. The damage did not appear to be serious, however, and the results can be added to the literature with confidence.

LEONARD REISSMAN

Tulane University

The Attitudes of Steelworkers to Technical Change. By OLIVE BANKS Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960 Pp. viii+152. 25*s*.

The intent of the study reported in this monograph is clearly set forth in the first sentence of the Introduction: "the attitudes of workers to technical change.' And, indeed, simplicity may be said to characterize it from beginning to end. The study centers around some of the effects of the technical modernization of a British steel plant, a change that involved some degree of what the British refer to as "redundancy," though with reabsorption within the same plant of all but a few of the workers, some upgrading and downgrading of both jobs and wages, and changes in the skill and the structure of opportunity of the plant.

The over-all conclusion drawn is that this change had apparently produced surprisingly little hostility or negative feeling on the part of the workers involved The author, however, is careful to point out the somewhat limited nature of the study, reminding the reader that there were relatively few cases of permanent employee-separation, that much of the downgrading was of older workers who might normally have anticipated, and even welcomed, downgrading to positions of less status or pay but also with less demanding tasks, that the industry had a history of good labor-management relations, and that there was considerable recognition by the workers of the industry's unhappy relation to the international steel market.

The major shortcoming is that the analysis, in focusing almost exclusively on the effects of the changes on individuals (wages, promotion opportunity, job satisfaction, etc.), provides little direct information about how these

changes affected social relations within the plant. It is almost as if each worker stood alone in his relation to the plant, and that he did not remain within a structure of on-going (if changed) social interaction where many of the attitudes toward the common experience were first expressed, molded, and confirmed.

WILLIAM SIMON

National Opinion Research Center

British Industrialists: Steel and Hosiery, 1850–1950. By CHARLOTTE ERICKSON. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. Pp. xxi+276. $7.50.

The excellence of this book lies in the imagination and methodological sophistication with which strategic cases have been selected for comparative analysis. Two industries, steel and hosiery, were chosen because they differ structurally in specifiable ways—the steel industry is nationwide, organized in large units of production, dominated today by public companies; the hosiery industry is small, highly localized in the Nottingham area, and still consists largely of private companies and partnerships—and because they are alike in having undergone radical technical change after the middle of the nineteenth century. Charlotte Erickson has, furthermore, made admirable use of the opportunity created by her choice of cases, for her comparisons are connected with problems of undeniable theoretical importance: the effects of the differential structures and developments of these industries on the recruitment and the career patterns of business leaders, and the sources and consequences of radical technical innovation in the two industries.

So far as the recruitment of leaders is concerned, Alfred Marshall's theory that revolutionary change in an industry will produce striking social mobility appears to be refuted by the case of the steel industry (p. 16), but the "small-scale, highly competitive [hosiery] industry offers more support for Marshall's theory of opportunity for humble men during periods of change" (p. 79). An examination of the career patterns in the two industries shows that, while the managerial revolution is not complete in either, the hosiery industry has far fewer technically trained leaders; it is more inbred, more of its firms are still being started independently, and it is led by younger men than is the steel industry.

The introduction of new techniques is examined by Miss Erickson in the context of some of the theories of Joseph Schumpeter. She feels that her materials provide an opportunity to "inquire whether or not firms which first adopted a new method amassed the 'surplus gains' which [Schumpeter] regarded as the 'distinctive return on [the] function' of entrepreneurship. Was the innovator 'almost as often' an inventor as he was a capitalist? Where did he obtain capital for making changes? Did innovators as a class come from virtually all ranks of society?" (p. 141) Her findings—that successful innovation was dominated by existing, not new, firms; that commercial rather than technical abilities were important for successful innovators; that innovators were usually young men but not men of humble birth (p. 187)—modify, if they do not refute, Schumpeter's theories.

The last and shortest part of the book attempts to discover the effect of public ownership of companies on managerial recruitment and careers. Briefly, the author concludes that it is not the public company, as such, that has brought more men of humble origin into the board room, but that in both industries, whether publicly or privately controlled, "new board members during the past fifteen years have tended to be executives in the firm who continue as executives after they reach the board room. . . . The view appears to be gaining acceptance that active executives in the firm are best qualified to participate in making major decisions" (p. 192).

Miss Erickson has evidently felt it to be either unnecessary or impossible to draw general conclusions at the end of her investigation; she treats the several problems as if they were self-contained, and she does not explicitly relate them either to each other or to more general theoretical concerns. Sociologists, however, will find it rewarding to consider her findings in the context of larger theories about class structure or the professionalization of business.

ELINOR G. BARBER

Dobbs Ferry, New York

The Red Executive: A Study of the Organization Man in Russian Industry. By DAVID GRANICK. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. xiii+294. $1.45.

The era of comparative studies of American and Soviet societies is here. Visiting the Soviet Union for no more than one month, the author has succeeded by relying predominantly on published American and Soviet data in drawing vivid and stimulating comparisons. The book moves from comparisons of business education and family budgets of managers in both societies to comparisons of structural properties of plants, such as their staffs and maintenance and units of control. Considering the major problems to be solved by business executives in both societies, and their values, the author ends on an optimistic note in the matter of East-West competition in economic aid. Granick is inclined to believe that the business managers in Soviet society do not constitute any special social class and that, consequently, their political influence should not be overestimated. A Soviet manager has usually more formal education and has mastered more data, but his analytical training would be inferior to that of his American counterpart who has been trained to be more "creative." The Soviet manager usually starts in production, the American as staff; the Soviet has an engineering degree, the American usually graduates from a business college.

Considering 1936 data only, the author states that the majority of factory executives are of middle-class origin in the Soviet Union. Because of official emphasis upon working-class descent, Soviet managers are under more pressure than their American colleagues.

Soviet plants tend to be larger, with considerably more maintenance and control personnel. However, the staff in the plant, as such, is smaller than that of the American plant of a similar size. This is explained as a result of the differences in the general structure of the market: the Soviet economy does not have a need for smaller, more elastic plants because its production does not react so sensitively to demand. As shown by Granick in his earlier study on the Soviet managers, one of the major problems of the Soviet executive is to secure supplies, for the national headquarters develops investment plans but leaves it up to the plant to get its supplies. Therefore, the industrial unit tends to be as self-sufficient as possible. On the other hand, Soviet production is not under any great pressure to develop new models every year. Granick finds similarity in the position of the foreman in both societies as well as in the organization of industrial research.

The study is good. Yet caution is recommended in accepting what is said about the significance of the labor union in a Soviet factory (pp. 195, 198-99). My own observation in other Communist countries revealed that the dominant figure tends to be the manager, while the union plays the role of a supportive "personnel department" to a greater extent.

JIRI KOLAJA

University of Kentucky

Der soziale Auftrag der freien Berufe: Ein Beitrag zur Kultursoziologie der industriellen Gesellschaft ("The Social Mandate of the Free Professions") By HEINRICH STIEGLITZ. Cologne and Berlin: Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1960. Pp. 340. DM 14.50.

Stieglitz explores one special aspect of the social-cultural role of the liberal professions. In this book, originally written as a thesis at the University of Cologne, he focuses on the relationship of the liberal professions to culture. Stieglitz does not use the word "culture" in its anthropological sense but, rather, to mean *Hochkultur*, the sense in which one speaks of a cultured person.

The author differentiates the liberal, or free, professions from others according to two main criteria: their economic self-reliance and their universalistic world view. The classical examples of the liberal professions are doctors and lawyers. He places the liberal professions among the intellectual professions. The latter are said to share a critical concern with existence and an interest in some aspect of the production and use of culture. The other intellectual professions are the *Intelligenz*, or culture creators (authors, composers, and the like), who are characterized by a strong feeling of exclusiveness and the experts, or practical users of culture (college teachers, engineers), whose outlook is rather pragmatic.

The conclusion that Stieglitz reaches is that

the liberal professions can be placed functionally between the *Intelligenz* and the experts in the production and use of culture. He states that the liberal professions are the mediators between creators of culture and the practical users of it; this function is not culture-creative but is rather that of an interpreter and expediter of cultural innovation through interest, financial support, and conspicuous knowledge.

Stieglitz' book is an addition to Parsons' work on the professions and their functions. However, in using a system similar to that of the school of Parsons, his book is subject to some of its faults, as well. One such issue is the static quality of Stieglitz's description. No meaningful discussion is devoted to the changes in the liberal professions in recent years—the increasingly large numbers of doctors and lawyers employed by large bureaucracies, the growth of specialization, and the like. Thus no discussion is given of the effects of these changes on the professions' cultural functions. The question here is fundamentally to what extent an integrative, static description is adequate for groups now undergoing a dizzy rate of change.

There is also some doubt that it is the liberal professions which, in fact, fill the role assigned them by Stieglitz. It may be that people who are liberal professionals may be among the expediters of culture not because of their professional status but for other reasons. That is, the middlemen in the production and use of culture are persons with money and taste; that many of them are of the liberal professions as well may be incidental.

This book, however, has interest because it explores an area that has, unfortunately, been of little interest to American sociologists. It is, in addition, a painstakingly thorough work. However, a theoretical work, even of the most abstract kind, should have some relationship to reality. It is not certain to what extent Stieglitz's book fulfils this criterion.

ARTHUR J. KOVER

New York City

Escape from Authority: The Perspectives of Erich Fromm. By JOHN H. SCHAAR. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1961. Pp. xii+349. $6.50.

The title of this book indicates an area where the author and Erich Fromm are definitely at odds. Erich Fromm is plotting an escape and the author, John H. Schaar, professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley, acts as his jailer, resolutely restraining his every sally.

The book is a careful analysis of Fromm's thought to which the author brings a thorough grounding in the history of political and social thought together with an understandably uneven familiarity with philosophy, psychology, and sociology. Franz Alexander has said that psychiatry, history, and sociology constitute the "music of the future." Schaar employs this kind of contrapuntal analysis with some effect. He also writes with clarity and vigor, at times rising to epigrammatic brilliance.

Fromm does not fare very well here: in fact, he collapses so miserably at each onslaught that the author is at some pains to pick him up off the floor and set him up for the next right cross. Schaar does a good job of dating Fromm in pre-Humean social theory and of pointing out the structural resemblances to Marx in his thought. He also demolishes the romantic primitivism in Fromm which he traces to Rousseau. In other words, love, work, and spontaneity are neither clear in themselves nor reasonably related to the millennium that Fromm would bring about. Rank's deviation from Freud and his analysis of the "irrational" self bite deeper than Fromm's placid affirmations of the essential self.

On the matter of authority certainly Fromm suffers from cross-cultural myopia. The apt investigation would be of the causes and conditions producing a certain type of authority and an exploration of the means of changing this type, rather than a revolution against authority as such.

Schaar is not one to take his authority lightly. He points out that it is an essential part of the human condition and that while man often cannot get along with it, he is also miserable without it. Schaar is insistent and reasonable on this point. Yet, analysis of authority can be illuminated a good deal by close inspection of sociological and anthropological material, and Schaar has not exposed himself to this material in a sufficiently systematic way. He has hung his clothes on a hickory limb but he has certainly not gone far into the water. One reason for this is the dim view he takes of academic

social scientists: "Academics are, on the whole, a gentle breed, unfit by temper and training for the rough calling of criticism." This may prevent the author from perceiving that much of his analysis is pure Durkheim. His own solution is less than revolutionary and bears the aura of traditional respectability. He feels that "Fromm lacks a clear and accurate conception of the political." "Political authority is that authority which defines the ideal aims of the community and which tries to shape and direct nature and society in accordance with these ends." It appears that we may have surcease from our woes when political scientists are kings. If this is a kind of Platonic utopianism there is also in the author a strain of humanistic Puritanism. "For Fromm, these things, which some of us judge noble precisely because they have been built at the price of great sacrifice, and in the face of great risks, are just not good or beautiful enough In his eagerness to see man reborn, Fromm fails to see the beauties and nobilities which man achieves even—no, only—in the fallen state."

The author, then, poses the problem of the paradox of man being dependent on society for the achievement of the freedom that he demands but cannot spontaneously realize. The sociologist will agree with Schaar that this paradox is not here for a day. But he certainly will shy away from a premature closure of the issue, especially one which invests authority in politics without inquiring into the grounds on which this authority rests. Here Max Weber would come in handy.

This book is well worth the reading. It has virtues not exactly germane to its central topic, such as some penetrating analyses of Marx and Hegel which the author introduces into the middle of the book in a kind of aside Fortunately, the happiest expressions are associated with the most suggestive insights.

BARTLETT H. STOODLEY

Wellesley College

Search for Security: An Ethno-psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana. By M. J. FIELD. ("Northwestern University African Studies," No. 5.) Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1960. Pp. 478. $6.50.

This study of emotional disorders among the rural Ashanti is a most welcome addition to the existing, and frequently inadequate, literature on mental illness among African natives. M. J. Field is a field-tested ethnographer; she speaks the Ashanti language and has written two important books on the Ga. She is also a fully trained psychiatrist. She returned in this capacity to make a thorough investigation of acutely and chronically disturbed individuals who visited Ashanti shrines to have their symptoms and diseases treated by native curers.

Dr. Field presents 146 of her total case studies. They "are a representative selection from" her notebooks and, arranged by diagnosis, take up nearly three-fourths of her book. This material is preceded by an unexcelled synoptic discussion of the sociocultural background of the native population. together with a most useful delineation of the institutional or magico-ritual context and value system within which the curing of physical and mental ills takes place One chapter, "The Troubles and Desires of Ordinary People," provides the reader with an illuminating insight into the great range of problems which supplicants daily seek to investigate and treat by short visits or long stays at the village shrines

While the experienced Africanist may find few surprises in the "facts" in this book, just as the sociologist he will be impressed by the wealth of accurate clinical case material on depression, fear and anxiety reactions, obsessive-compulsive disorders, paranoia, and the like A chapter dealing with mentally ill children and their "confessional" treatment at the shrines, as well as one on so-called "stable personalities, all with reason to believe themselves smitten by an outraged deity, yet preserving astonishing self-command ' are proof of Dr. Field's thorough coverage of her subject.

Of particular interest is Dr. Field's survey of chronic schizophrenia in twelve Ashanti country towns and villages, a survey which is all the more useful for comparative purposes because of her careful screening of inadequate data. Apparently, mental disease is no more common in this relatively simple society than in contemporary Western societies. However, the author concludes that traditional rural Ashanti kinship groups do seem to make it easier for "inadequate" persons and cases of subclinical schizophrenia to be carried indefinitely as dependent "passengers" of society.

Dr. Field's presentation illustrates the need for distinguishing between emotional symptoms and their cultural manifestations and gives further proof of the importance of cultural conditioning in the expression of emotional stress. Her examination of the socioemotional formation and elaboration of guilt and anxiety in terms of the cultural "idiom" is a highly rewarding part of her study.

It is possible that some readers may wish that Dr. Field had spelled out in more detail some of the key sociostructural stresses inherent in rural Ashanti society and their relationship to characteristic disease patterns. This stricture, however, does not really diminish the over-all excellence of her study. If the reader makes the effort to elucidate this issue for himself from the ample case material or, better still, in conjunction with the many available sociocultural studies of the Ashanti, he will greet the advent of this book with much satisfaction.

OTTO VON MERING

University of Pittsburgh

Personnalité de la femme katangaise: Contribution à l'étude de son acculturation ("The Personality of Katanga Women"). By MARIA LEBLANC. Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1960. Pp. 403. Belg. fr. 380 (paper).

This lengthy study has a double purpose: to examine through systematic research to what extent the process of acculturation leads to a change in the social environment of the African woman in Katanga, Congo; then to ascertain whether the change affects her personality.

The book is comprised of two parts. The first contains an analysis of attitudes toward the African woman in Katanga. For this purpose the author created a sentence-completion test that was administered to 137 individuals—men, women, and adolescents—in the cities of Elisabethville and Kolwezi. The rating scale was based on an investigation made by experts in African and European culture. The second part is devoted to the application of an original version of Thematic Apperception Test, developed by the late Dr. Leblanc, which includes fifteen pictures closely connected with local cultural traits. It was applied to two groups of women who work as assistants to European social workers in Kolwezi (fifteen women) and Elisabethville (fourteen women). The interpretation and statistical evaluation are based on the works of William E. Henry and are limited to the variables which the author considers the most important.

According to Dr. Leblanc, the results show constant significant differences between both groups which are at different levels of acculturation.

The author concludes that the process of acculturation provokes a new structuring of the ego and superego, the breaking down of ethnocentrism, and a progressive search for more individualized values.

This study makes use of an elaborate system of quantitative assessment. Methodological explanations take up a great deal of the book. The author was obviously eager to anticipate numerous objections which might arise in the reader's mind: the subjectivity of some interpretations, the small size of the two groups under study, the construction of research techniques and sampling methods. It is questionable whether she has entirely succeeded in overcoming these objections. For one thing, it is undoubtedly interesting to compare individuals living in towns built at different times, but the two groups are not homogeneous, the tribal affiliation of their members varies, and the concept of the "Katangese woman" is meaningless. The author does not pay any attention to the differing lengths of settlement in the cities, but an individual who has emigrated from his village to the town cannot be likened to a second-generation urban resident, born and educated there. Moreover, the Kolwezi group contains both educated and illiterate women.

The author believes that her TAT is more suitable to the local tradition than the former projective tests created for African countries. This TAT may well be a very useful research tool, but the style of the drawings is not so completely traditional as she claims. Actually, it is rather similar to that of a school of painting which was established some twenty years ago in Elisabethville under the direction of European painters.

The work is, nevertheless, an original contribution to the study of the psychological effects of acculturation in the Congo. And since there are so few studies of this kind, this one is likely to contribute to a valuable synthesis in the future.

ALBERT COLLETTE

Université Officielle du Congo et du Ruanda-Urundi

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TECHNICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS IN PRODUCTION ORGANIZATION: A PRELIMINARY MODEL

STANLEY H. UDY, JR.

ABSTRACT

A rough model describing interrelations among certain technical, institutional, and administrative variables in organization is proposed theoretically and tested, largely by rank correlations, using data from thirty non-industrial production organizations. The seven variables included in the model are technical complexity, specification, specialization, authority, rationality, social involvement, and scope of reward system. The findings lend support to the realistic character of the model and suggest a more systematic way of dealing with technical and institutional elements in organization.

While it is true that administrative structure is likely to be strongly influenced by technical exigencies as well as by the institutional setting, at the same time, existing systematic models of organization are largely restricted to variations in the internal workings of administrative structures.[1] For many purposes this is indeed quite appropriate, but often the absence of explicit technical and institutional variables from organizational models is severely felt.

Two fairly common examples may be cited: The first is the frequent necessity, *faute de mieux*, of using the essentially residual concept "informal organization" as an explanatory variable where institutional conditions are actually involved. The second, on the technical side, is the difficulty in accounting for—if not the frequent lack of recognition of—differences in patterns of job satisfaction among workers engaged in different types of technical activity.[2] Both instances, and others like them, point to the need for systematic organizational models which explicitly introduce technical and institutional variables as influencing administration. It is the purpose of this paper to develop and test a preliminary model of this type.

Specifically, the unit to be described is the *production organization*, that is, any social group manifestly (though not necessarily exclusively) engaged in producing material goods from raw materials. Since any such organization is carrying on a technological process in a social setting, it will be oriented not only to an *administrative system* (a system of role expectations defining interactive relationships among members), but also to a *technical system* (a system of activities performed on raw materials by members), and an *institutional system* (a system of norms and roles

[1] See, however, James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958); Talcott Parsons, *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), pp. 16–96.

[2] Robert Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," in W. Galenson and S. M. Lipset (eds.), *Labor and Trade Unionism* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960), pp. 339–60.

through which participation and motivation to work are institutionalized and carried out).[3] Our model, essentially, attempts to show how certain aspects of administrative structure are shaped by certain technical and institutional influences, in the course of production. The model in no sense purports to be exhaustive; the purpose here, rather, is to demonstrate the feasibility of the method with a view toward further work on a more complete version. The empirical basis of the analysis is a sample of thirty production organizations in thirty different societies, using data drawn from the Human Relations Area Files, supplemented by additional ethnographic materials.[4]

DEFINITIONS

The particular aspect of the technical system which will concern us is the *flow of production;* that is, the pattern of spatial and/or temporal division of labor among work positions differentiated in the same process.[5] Three principal dimensions of the flow of production are: *specialization* (the differentiation of activities performed simultaneously); *specification* (the differentiation of sequential sets of specialized activities over time); and *combined effort* (the manifest rhythmic integration of simultaneous activity).[6] For the thirty cases studied it proved possible to construct process charts from the ethnographic descriptions. The degree of specialization could thus be measured in each case by the maximum number of specialized activities ever performed at once in the process; the degree of specification, by the number of sets of such activities temporally differentiated in the process; and the degree of combined effort, by its presence at any point (1) or its absence at all points (0). The total *technical complexity* of any flow of production is defined as the arithmetic sum of these three quantities.

We shall consider two dimensions of administrative systems: *authority* (institutionalized power over the actions of others); and *rationality* (in this context, role expectations based on planning for the announced objectives of the organization). Organization charts were reconstructed from the descriptions of the cases, and the amount of authority was measured in each case by counting the number of hierarchical levels. Similarily, the data permitted classification of the organizations studied into three ranks of increasing rationality, depending on whether none, one, or both of the following characteristics were reported present; (*a*) limited objectives (announced objectives limited to production); (*b*) segmental participation (participation based on any kind of mutual limited agreement).

On the institutional level we shall be concerned with two dimensions of production organization: social involvement and the scope of the reward. Any production organization is socially involved to the degree that participation and motivation are institutionalized through expectations and obligations existing independently of the

[3] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp 60–65

[4] This sample represents all those cases employed in an earlier comparative study of work organization on which adequate data were available for present purposes. The following societies are represented here: Aleut, Andamanese, Atayal, Azande, Bemba, Betsileo, Buka, Cambodian, Central Chinese, Crow, Dahomean, Haitian, Hopi, Jukun, Kabyle, Karen, Kikuyu, Li, Lobi, Maanyan, Malekulan, Mam, Mbundu, Navaho, Ojibwa, Paiute, Sanpoil, Siriono, Sotho, Tibetan (for details on methods of selection and bibliography see Stanley H. Udy, Jr., *Organization of Work: A Comparative Analysis of Production among Nonindustrial Peoples* [New Haven: HRAF Press, 1959]).

[5] Arnold S. Feldman and Wilbert E Moore, "The Work Place," in W. E. Moore and A. S. Feldman (eds.), *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas* (New York Social Science Research Council, 1960), p 27.

[6] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* trans. A M. Henderson and T. Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 225 26; Karl Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (Tubingen: J C B. Mohr 1920–21), Vol I, chap. viii ix; W G. Ireson and E. L Grant, *Handbook of Industrial Engineering and Management* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey Prentice Hall, 1955), pp 291 92

production situation. The organizations studied were ranked into six categories of presumed increasing social involvement, as follows:

1 Participation of all members voluntary, in the sense of no socially prescribed sanctions attached to non-participation.
2 Agreement to participate voluntary for all members, but participation obligatory in terms of an agreement, once such agreement is made
3 Participation of a permanent core of members required on the basis of kinship and/or political obligations, but not continuously for each separate occasion; participation of temporary auxiliary members the same as category 2 above
4 Participation of all members as in the permanent core of category 3
5 Participation of a permanent core of members as in the permanent core of category 3; participation of temporary auxiliary members based on institutionalized reciprocity, without option to refuse
6 Participation of all members required on the basis of kinship and/or political obligations, continuously required on each separate occasion and sanctioned legitimately by force if necessary

The above rank order was devised by asking: "To what extent do members or potential members have the option to refuse to participate?" Category 1 is clearly the "most voluntary" from this standpoint Initial membership is also voluntary for category 2, but members must remain members once they have agreed to participate In categories 3 through 6, on the other hand, all or a major part of the membership is ascriptive; one may not refuse to participate. Category 3 is ranked below category 4 because it contains an element of option; category 5 is ranked above category 4 because it involves compulsory reciprocity in addition to kinship and or political criteria. Category 6 is ranked above categories 3, 4, and 5 because participation is continuously (rather than just usually) required and may be compelled by force.

One might reasonably dispute the relative ranking of categories 4 and 5, on the ground that kinship and political ties are stronger than the convention of reciprocity. Inversion of these two categories in the analysis produced no change in the over-all results beyond a slight lowering of a few τ values. (It is hoped that any other possible alterations in the ordering appear as unreasonable to the reader as they do to the author, for when they are made the outcome is severely disrupted.)

The institutionalization of participation and motivation may also (or alternatively) center on some type of reward system, a reward being any material object accruing to some party as a consequence of production by a given production organization and a reward system being the pattern of allocation of rewards relative to the membership of the organization. The scope of the system of any production organization will be deemed broad or narrow to the degree that motivation to participate and work is or is not, respectively, expected on the basis of rewards received by the organizational membership A rough ranking could be achieved of the organizations studied, on the basis of the number of different aspects of participation of members which entered into determination of the type or quantity of rewards The following situations were counted, and the organizations ranked in presumed order of increasing scope of reward system, according to the number of the situations: differential allocation of rewards on the basis of proprietorship (control over possession of the means of production), differential rewards in the office by organization differential rewards according to performance (quantity and or quality of work done) allocation of rewards to members doing physical work on raw material, absence of contributions by members lower in the hierarchy to those of higher authority

THE MODEL, PROPOSITIONS AND FINDINGS

Figure 1 illustrates the proposed model schematically The boxes represent variables already defined, with lines and arrows

indicating causal patterns and alleged causal direction. Plus and minus signs denote positive and negative relationships, respectively; dotted lines indicate relationships which apply only to complex organizations, as that concept is defined below.

TECHNICAL COMPLEXITY AND AUTHORITY

The relationship between technical complexity and authority is contextual, relative to the other relationships in the model. must be given in order to assure production flow, and (2) that five such items is the maximum effective limit of the human span of attention—it follows that:

1. Organizations having a technical complexity of five or more tend to possess at least three levels of authority.

The results in Table 1 confirm this hypothesis; a similar result was reported in the earlier paper.

The argument maintains only that tech-

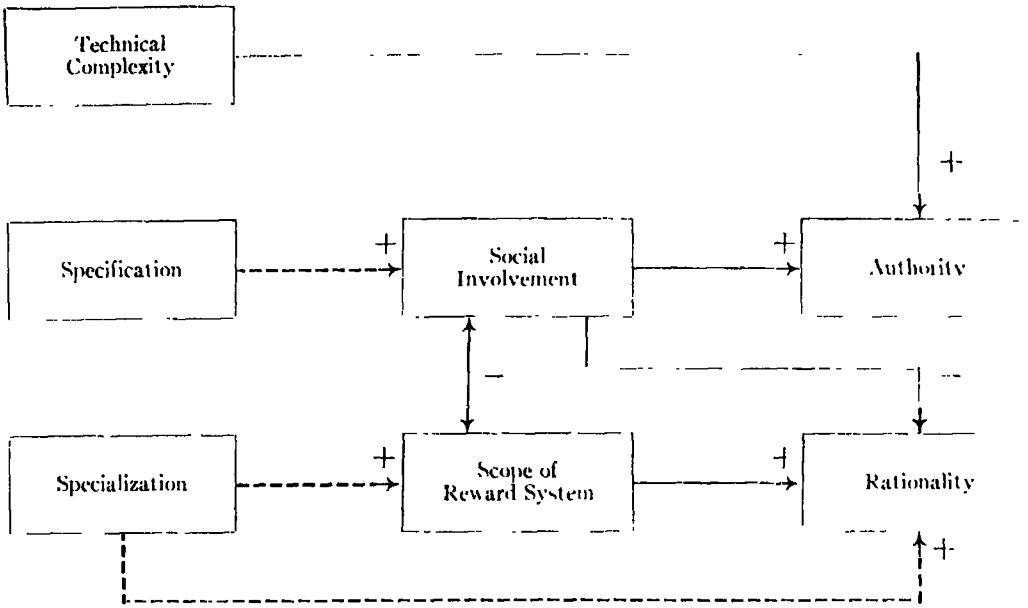


FIG. 1.—Interrelations among technical, institutional, and administrative factors in production organizations.

TABLE 1

	Authority > 3	Authority < 3
Technical complexity ≥ 5	9	1
Technical complexity < 5	1	19

$Q = +.98 \quad \chi^2 = 18.01 \quad p < .001$

In an earlier paper I discussed in some detail two assumptions.[7] From these assumptions—(1) that technical complexity plus one is a valid measure of the number of items to which administrative attention

nical complexity determines a minimum amount of authority consistent with gross effectiveness. Presumably, other circumstances may have the effect of increasing the number of levels of authority beyond the technical minimum and also, conceivably, of decreasing the number of levels, presumably at the expense of effectiveness. Over-all technical complexity thus emerges as essentially a base line relative to which other effects alleged by the model must be observed. It is not, however, continuous in its effects; it serves, rather, to differentiate organizations into types. Accordingly, in the remainder of the analysis, we shall dis-

[7] Stanley H. Udy, Jr., "The Structure of Authority in Nonindustrial Production Organizations," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (May, 1959), 582–84.

tinguish between simple organizations (where technical complexity is less than five) and complex organizations (where technical complexity is five or greater). The findings appear not only to justify the establishment of different base lines but also to indicate that other qualitative distinctions are involved as well.

As Figure 1 suggests, not only does total technical complexity have this effect on the structure of authority, but two components of technical complexity—specification and specialization—are alleged to have in and of themselves separate effects on other aspects of organization. The implied formal properties of the system demand some clarification. Technical complexity requires administrative attention, which, in turn, "generates" a minimal structure of authority. For present purposes it is assumed that it makes no difference whether the attention required results from specification, specialization, or, for that matter, combined effort insofar as the direct relationship with authority is concerned. However, specification in itself is alleged to affect social involvement through a different, essentially ecological and adaptive mechanism quite independent of its generation of a need for integrative administrative attention. Similarly, specialization per se is alleged to affect rationality and the scope of rewards through a mechanism which is different from its contribution to the required level of overall administrative attention. It thus would appear proper to treat technical complexity, specification, and specialization as three separate variables, provided one bears in mind that from a purely formal standpoint (1) a high level of technical complexity implies as a minimum a high level of either specification or specialization, with attendant consequences, and (2) a low level of technical complexity severely restricts the possible ranges of variation of both specification and specialization.

SPECIFICATION, SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT, AND AUTHORITY

One would expect specification to have organizational consequences quite independent of its effect as a component of technical complexity, on the basis of ecological reasoning. For specification per se involves (1) redefinition of proximate organizational objectives, and (2) reallocation of personnel and resources. It is in the social setting of the organization that objectives are ultimately evaluated and personnel and resources procured. Consequently one would expect specification in particular to involve adaptive problems vis-à-vis the external environment. Therefore:

2. The more specification, the more social involvement.

As alleged in the model, social involvement in turn tends to lead to an expansion in the number of levels of authority beyond the technical minimum. Any organization is faced with the problem of legitimating the authority system. In a socially involved administrative system, general differences in societal status are carried over into the organization and act as a basis for such institutionalization, differences in authority are perceived as legitimate on external social grounds. When legitimation of authority occurs in this way, however, the social selection of the status system is presumably governed by the conditions of proposition 1. The number of levels differentiated in the external system must be at least as great as the technically required minimum, otherwise the organization will not be effective. There is, however, no technical reason why the external status system cannot distinguish more levels than the minimum requirement. If it does under conditions of social involvement, such "extra" levels will presumably also be carried over into the administrative system. Under the assumption that a one-to-one correspondence between minimum technical requirements and number of levels of status in any available external system is

unlikely, one therefore infers that:

3. The more social involvement, the more levels of authority, over and above the technical minimum.

Table 2 shows the results of a rank correlation test of propositions *2* and *3*. The results are generally consistent with the hypotheses but indicate that social involvement is affected by specification only under conditions of complexity. In part, this would have to be true on purely formal grounds, inasmuch as specification cannot by definition vary greatly in simple organizations. Such variation as it does exhibit however, appears to have little or no relationship to social involvement; furthermore, simple organizations are just as socially involved as complex ones (the average rank is 3.3 for each type). The implication is that specification controls social involvement under conditions of complexity; whereas social involvement can vary independently under conditions of simplicity. Evidently simple organizations are indeed so simple from a technical viewpoint that operations can be carried on effectively regardless of the mode of institutionalization. Maintenance of a given pattern of interdependence among substructures is essentially not a problem.

TABLE 2

SPECIFICATION, SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT, AND AUTHORITY (ZERO-ORDER VALUES OF KENDALL'S τ)

	Entire Sample (N = 30)	Simple Organizations (N = 20)	Complex Organizations (N = 10)
Specification/Social involvement	+.31	+ 10	+ 90
Social involvement/Authority	+ 28	+ 41	+ 81

As regards social involvement and authority, the fact that the correlations appear higher for both simple and complex organizations separately than for the entire sample lends support to the alleged status of over-all technical complexity as a variable of the context. It also appears that the correlation is higher for complex than for simple organizations. This again may be interpreted as indicating that complexity increases the salience of organizational solidarity; where operations are relatively simple, organization can be quite loosely knit and still be adequate to the task at hand. But as complexity increases, the degree of interdependence among substructures becomes greater. Such broad interpretations can, of course, hardly rest on these findings alone. They are mentioned at this point, however, because they are also suggested by findings elsewhere in the model.

SPECIALIZATION, SCOPE OF REWARDS, AND RATIONALITY

Like specification, specialization also has organizational consequences of its own which are independent of its effects as a component of over-all technical complexity. For a large number of specialized activities implies an emphasis on specificity of administrative roles if structural co-operation is to occur. This suggests explicit agreement in the organization as to what the members are supposed to be doing. Therefore:

4. The more specialization, the more rationality.

As the number of specialized activities increases, furthermore, the problem of differentiating the persons performing them becomes increasingly acute. Presumably this could be done by means of social involvement. Indeed, certain social criteria of assignment of roles are well known to be universal, such as division of labor on the basis of sex. Unlike the case of specification, however, there is no mechanism involved in specialization per se which would tend to bring the organization into contact with its external setting and hence actually produce more social involvement as specialization increases (the actual τ value is — .11). If social involvement is already present for some other reason, it presumably can provide a basis for differentiation and assignment of roles, but if not, there is no reason to believe that it will be produced by anything inherent in specialization. An alternative mode of dif-

ferentiation, internal to the organization and hence subject to the effects of specialization, is the attachment of differential rewards to positions and activities. Hence, assuming the model to be exhaustive:

5. The greater the degree of specialization, the greater the scope of the system of rewards.

A reward system which is broad in scope links organizational activity directly to personal motivation and hence supports incentives to organized planning. Therefore:

6. The more extensive the system of rewards, the more rationality.

These hypotheses were likewise tested by rank correlation, with the results shown in Table 3. Again, the results are generally consistent with the hypotheses, but with the suggestion again that administration is not a technical problem in simple organizations. Also, the relationships appear less pronounced than in the previous series, suggesting that possibly the model is open to more question at these points.

TABLE 3

SPECIALIZATION, RATIONALITY, AND SCOPE OF REWARD SYSTEM (ZERO ORDER VALUES OF KENDALL'S τ)

	Entire Sample (N = 30)	Simple Organizations (N = 20)	Complex Organizations (N = 10)
Specialization-Rationality...	+.23	+.05	+.59
Specialization-Scope	+.21	+.07	+.41
Scope-Rationality	+.44	+.41	+.33

SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT, SCOPE OF REWARDS AND RATIONALITY

Social involvement and a system of rewards emerge as potentially competing ways of institutionalizing administrative activity. It appears that under some circumstances social involvement overrides rewards or renders them superfluous, while under others the opposite is true. Rewards, for example, can be removed by forcible action and work still compelled, if enough social involvement is present. It is also conceivable that social involvement can be adequate to differentiate roles, thus rendering differentiation by rewards unnecessary, at least on cognitive grounds. On the other hand, a broadening scope of rewards can undermine a traditional system of obligations, as for example in the case of the introduction of general media of exchange in folk society. Thus, apparently for a variety of reasons:

7. Social involvement and scope of the system of rewards vary inversely in a reciprocal causal relationship.

TABLE 4

SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT, SCOPE OF REWARD SYSTEM, AND RATIONALITY (ZERO ORDER VALUES OF KENDALL'S τ)

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Social involvement-Scope	[illegible]	[illegible]	–.51
Social involvement-Rationality	[illegible]	[illegible]	–.94

Social involvement by definition implies the introduction of ascriptive elements into recruitment and assignment. Therefore:

8. The more social involvement, the less rationality.

Rank correlation of the variables in propositions 7 and 8 yields the results shown in Table 4. Again the relationships seem more marked in the case of complex organization, particularly as regards social involvement and scope of rewards. The inverse relationship between social involvement and rationality on the other hand seems ubiquitous. Complex organizations appear to be neither more or less socially involved nor more or less rational than do simple organizations. The average rank of social involvement for both types is 3.3, and the average rank of rationality, 1.8. However, complex organizations appear possibly to possess systems of rewards of somewhat broader scope than do simple ones (the average ranks are 3.8 and 3.1, respectively). This may indicate that rewards do not begin to interact with social

involvement until they reach some minimal threshold of importance.

The results by and large sustain the realistic character of the model proposed, particularly in the case of complex organizations. In simple organizations, certain of the proposed relationships are attentuated or disappear entirely. This might be because (1) the technical system is so simple that virtually any administrative form can adapt to it; (2) organizational solidarity becomes more important as complexity increases; and (3) the scope of rewards is too narrow in simple organizations to be felt in terms of social involvement.

Alternative explanations, equally consistent with the empirical findings, are of course possible. One could, for example, maintain that rational planning can rid the organization of social involvement, that social involvement produces specification, and so forth. We have alleged those which seem most plausible in view of existing theory and research. For example, in view of the fact that social involvement stems from the setting within which rationality takes place, it seems plausible that it influences rationality, rather than the other way around, at least most of the time. This contention is also in accord with most findings on human relations. It is easier to explain the differences in specification and social involvement between simple and complex organizations if one assumes the explanation of cause and effect posited in the model, although it may well be true that under certain conditions socially involved organizations "invent" extra specified tasks to fill idle time if the system is already complex. As regards the including of additional arrows in the model, given the present data, one must again rely largely on verbal theoretical reasoning. The presence of tied ranks, as well as the numbers of cases, ruled out the possibility of partial correlation; the fact that the data could not defensibly be converted to interval ordinal scales unfortunately ruled out causal analysis of the type proposed by Simon and Blalock—a method of analysis which otherwise would seem particularly appropriate.[8] It should, however, perhaps be noted that when all variables are correlated, the τ values for relationships not alleged by the model are in all instances lower than those where direct causal relationships are alleged.

This rough model illustrates the relevance of technical and institutional features to certain aspects of administrative structure. Furthermore, if the relationships alleged are correct, they suggest the existence of certain endemic organizational problems and tensions, and also indicate further research possibilities. The interplay of social involvement, rationality, and scope of reward system would appear to be of particular interest, especially if some measure of the efficiency of performance could be added to the model. Assuming that rationality "produces" efficiency, organizations involving a great diversity of specified tasks which are also highly specialized would be expected to face rather severe difficulties. It is possible that such difficulties are minimized through certain systems of rewards. Similarly, the technical complexity–authority–social involvement–rationality set of interrelations seems of particular relevance to problems of "human relations."[9] In any event, it is hoped that the model proposed may prove useful in ordering data in cases where technical and institutional conditions have a bearing upon administration.

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[8] Herbert A. Simon, *Models of Man* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), pp. 37–49; H. M. Blalock, Jr., "Correlation and Causality: The Multivariate Case," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (March, 1961), 246–51; also see Blalock's *Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), chap. xix.

[9] Stanley H. Udy, Jr., "'Bureaucracy' and 'Rationality' in Weber's Organization Theory: An Empirical Study," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December, 1959), 791–95.

COMMENT

ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE

When a paper introduces, as Udy's does, a number of new measures, measuring variables we are not used to handling, it is useful to have a number of examples of organizations fitting at least the extreme values of the variables, to be sure we know how to classify the instances we know.

In the past, research in organizations has depended largely on samples of one or, at best, two. Some of Udy's generalizations rest on thirty cases, some on ten. When a generalization depends on a single organization, scholars generally support their causal imputations with detailed descriptions of processes, statements by the people involved, items of behavior, and, generally, rich empirical detail, which is often "superfluous" to the concepts and the argument; but it gives people other than the author some chance to look for spurious causal imputations themselves. The ultimate compliment to a man's report of field work on a single case is to be refuted from his own description.

If, for example, Gouldner describes a few peculiarities of gypsum-mining, and if I happen to know a little about coal-mining, hard-rock mining, steeple-jacking, sandhog work in tunnels, combat, and other dangerous situations, I can judge with some confidence whether something he attributes to shared danger might be due to some other peculiarities: this sort of mine may somehow be unique in a way to make his inferences spurious.

When we start looking at statistical regressions, the move from one case to ten is a major improvement, but there is still so much room for random spurious factors that we need some empirical detail. We will always have the problem of correlated spurious factors, which can only be solved by theoretical work and research; but when they are random, they can be partially eliminated by judgment if enough "irrelevant" detail is supplied. It might happen by accident in a sample of ten complex organizations, for example, that those organized into "stages" ("specification" in Udy's terminology) are all constructing fortifications under the authority of the king. The peculiarity of the client and the urgency of the purpose, rather than the technical system, might explain all the correlations. As long as Udy does not tell even what his ten complex organizations make, or what countries they are in, we get an uncomfortable feeling of having abstracted prematurely.

For both these reasons, while we are still trying to figure out how to abstract from organizational data and are working with small samples of organizations, we must preserve the reporting of physical events and what people say about them and what they say about each other. Even model-building should preserve enough of empirical richness for us to, in the poet's phrase "get the beauty of it hot." But these are mainly statistical and stylistic problems.[1]

[1] I would like to take this opportunity to disagree strenuously with E. R. Leach's negative judgment of the value of work like this based on the Human Relations Area Files, in his review of Udy's *Organization of Work* (*American Sociological Review*, XXV [February, 1960], [illegible]). Leach makes several methodological mistakes, aside from his general (and somewhat unbelievable) objection to any sort of probability statements in social science (cf. p. [illegible]). For instance, he states "There is plainly a fundamental assumption that the record concerning any one production organization and any one society is comparable in quality and kind to the record from any other." This assumption is not necessary at all. The "cost of error" for any particular case decreases rapidly with the size of a sample (esp. for small numbers). If we only want to be wrong one time out of a hundred, we can either take one of Firth's fat volumes or several less reliable ones. But these latter may include Firth's without violating any assumptions. The only requirement is that the errors not be systematic and that the reports have at least slightly better than a random relation to the facts. As long as the errors in the material are random with respect to the issue at hand, they will be dealt with by most statistical models. We need not assume, e.g., that all inter

There is a fundamental theoretical difficulty with the concept of "social involvement." According to Udy's argument, social involvement merely means the interpenetration of statuses outside the organization and statuses in the authority system of production. But according to the indicators chosen, only one type of external status is measured, namely, ascriptive status in kinship and political institutions. This becomes explicit in the statement: "Social involvement by definition implies the introduction of ascriptive elements into recruitment and assignment."

There is no recognition here that much of the shooting in the modern world is precisely about what kinds of external statuses will interpenetrate with administrations of various kinds. Two types of achievement systems, Communist and capitalist, compete in undermining many types of ascriptive systems. Both now and in the past, non-ascriptive status systems in the society at large have often been introduced by powerful people with the explicit purpose of making a certain type of administration more possible or more efficient.

To assess the achievement or ascriptive implications of external status systems for production systems, one may divide the problem into two: (1) what sort of resources for motivating subordinates are put into the hands of those who take responsibility for organizing productive activity? and (2) how are those who take responsibility for the productive activity chosen?

1. The larger the component of personal loyalty (or of force allocated to private persons and appropriated by them to further their productive activity) in the resources given by society for getting obedience to productive authority, the more ascriptive elements are introduced into production. A labor market, resting on a cash nexus, with free mobility from one authority to another, is much more universalistic and achievement-oriented than a system depending on force or kinship for motivating productive work. But a labor market requires delicate adjustment of the "welfare" institutions (i.e., institutions in which rewards are allocated ascriptively) to preserve the will to work.

2. As to the selection of productive authorities, both competition of productive units in the market and universalism in appointment reduce the role of ascription. The two main types of appointment which can be either ascriptive or achievement-based are collegial election (e.g., universities, the Royal Society, or in the ascriptive case, some kinds of guild organizations) and monocratic appointment (bureaucracy, patrimonial administration).

If the status system outside a productive organization is dominated by universities, government bureaucracies with standards of achievement, free competition for laborers who have little personal loyalty to particular productive authorities, then so-

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viewers are of equal competence in order to use their materials in statistical analysis We also make the assumption of the lower costs of error in larger samples when we demand trained psychologists or highly skilled interviewers for case studies but will take virtually any literate person for survey interviewing. But it surely would not invalidate a survey if we hired one or two extraordinarily talented interviewers, even Firth himself. To take another example, Leach assumes that Udy's purpose is to "assess the socio economic tendencies of the human race," by which he seems to mean some sort of population estimate. Leach infers that this would require weighting instances in proportion to the population of the society. It is difficult to see how anyone reading what is clearly a hypothesis-testing operation could mistake it for a population description, and in checking hypotheses weights should be assigned to instances in such a way as to minimize the chance of being wrong In the absence of other criteria, equal weights are proper. The source of Leach's erroneous judgment is clearly brought to light when he states, near the end of the review, that studies which rest on giving attributes to societies (he is thinking mainly of those based on the Human Relations Area Files) are "worthless *ab initio* " Anyone who has made up his mind that certain kinds of studies are worthless *ab initio* is bound to make scientifically mistaken judgments of particular examples of the genre. Unfortunately, I have to agree with Leach's literary judgment.

cial involvement does not introduce appreciable ascriptive elements into administration. To be sure, appointments rest on status outside the organization, on their status in the labor market, determined by their college degrees, by the supply and demand of their skills, by their experience in other organizations. But this social involvement need not involve kinship or political status. Nor need social involvement limit very much the differentiation of rewards within the organization on the basis of performance, to insure adequate performance of complex jobs.

What this amounts to is that in modern society men in most organizations have both their immediate status in the productive organization and a latent status in the labor market—status made up of certificates from collegial bodies (craft unions, professions, universities), the supply of men with equal talents and competences, experience, capacity for movement (determined by age, roots in the community, the transferability of skills, etc.), and so on. Such a latent status structure may be highly elaborated when organizations have to be put together on short notice, as in construction, or when the number and complexity of "stages" in producing the product is large, for example, in higher education. Or, as with much clerical work in the United States, the labor-market structure may be fairly vestigial, and each woman may be, or may conceive herself to be, dependent on the particular job and loyal to her particular employer.

The point here is twofold: In the first place, Udy has implicitly assumed that societies are always highly ascriptive, which he knows simply is not true. Whether the status system with which a long-drawn-out productive process gets socially involved is ascriptive or achievement-based depends on what society the productive process is carried on in. In the second place, the dynamics of change of stratification systems is very closely related to one of Udy's main findings. He finds that limitation of the purposes of an organization to production alone, segmental participation on the basis of mutual agreement, and elaboration of complex performance-based systems of rewards, all are inversely related to social involvement in ascriptive societies. That is, long drawn-out production processes inevitably become tightly involved with social stratification.

If that system of stratification is ascriptive, then specificity of commitments and proliferated system of rewards required for productive efficiency are discouraged by the ascriptive tone of imported status. This leads to inefficiency.

This is, of course, a problem confronted by men of affairs when they want to increase the efficiency of their enterprises (or of their armies or their fiscal systems) in the early stages of industrialization or commercialization of agriculture. If, for any reason, they are pressed to increase efficiency, by the market or by increasing consumption demands or by a powerful military enemy, they look for solutions. Sometimes (the historical conditions for this are very complex and form a main topic of Weber's research) such men introduce universalistic status systems outside their organizations to increase the efficiency of the work inside them.

For example, the large landowners in Austria-Hungary during the first part of the nineteenth century started asking themselves how they could make more efficient use of their resources. Their agricultural societies encouraged the introduction of fertilizer, new breeds, and seed strains, and so forth. But they also made comparative cost and output studies of traditional forced labor (called *robot*) versus wage labor. And they found that wage labor was from two to two and a half times as efficient as customary forced labor.[2]

The answer they gave to the problem of incompatibility between ascription and efficiency was to abolish ascription. In 1848

[2] Jerome Blum, *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria, 1815-1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), pp. 192-202.

in Austria-Hungary there was little resistance by nobles to the commutation of *robot* into money rents at about one-fourth of its theoretical value, using these rents to hire more efficient wage labor. That is, the institution of a labor market in which people starve if they do not work for wages puts social pressure on workers to get them into productive organizations and yet allows the internal system of rewards to proliferate and become complex, providing superior discipline of labor. (The main superiority was the capacity to reward wage laborers for coming to work on time.) These landowners are, in effect, saying that a labor market is a functional equivalent of force and kinship in motivating people to work. Moreover, it is a functional equivalent compatible with efficiency.

The same answer to the problem of institutionalizing social pressure to work, yet permitting rationality in rewards, was given early in the industrial revolution in England. One of the clearest statements is that of William Townsend in 1785 or 1786:

> Hunger will tame the fiercest animals, it will teach decency and civility, obedience and subjection, to the most perverse. In general it is only hunger which can spur and goad [the poor] on to labour; yet our laws have said they shall never hunger. The laws, it must be confessed, have likewise said they shall be compelled to work. But then legal constraint is attended with much trouble, violence and noise; creates ill will, and never can be productive of good and acceptable service; whereas hunger is not only peaceable, silent, unremitting pressure, but, as the most natural motive to industry and labour, it calls forth the most powerful exertions; and, when satisfied by the free bounty of another, lays lasting and sure foundations for good will and gratitude. The slave must be compelled to work, but the free man should be left to his own judgment and discretion; should be protected in the full enjoyment of his own, be it much or little; and punished when he invades his neighbour's property.[3]

Systematic provision that the idle shall hunger, or at least live less well than the industrious, creates great pressure to work; yet a man is "left to his own judgment and discretion" about whether he will work or not, and how hard. Something like "voluntary" participation and highly differentiated rewards can thus be combined with pressure to work induced from the social structure.

That such a system is by no means simple or easy to invent is shown by the complexity of the rules of eligibility in modern welfare legislation or unemployment compensation, and by the failures, like the Speenhamland poor law in England. Likewise it was not easy to "invent" the modern achievement-based structure of science and education; and the kings who tried to make their achievement-based appointments into status generally recognized in the society, as, for instance, in early modern Prussia,[4] had to do a good deal of arguing, ideologizing, organizing, legislating, and occasionally fighting. Much of the social invention of modern stratification by achievement was undoubtedly accidental, facilitated by a particularly favorable conjuncture of circumstances. But also some of it was the product of very hard work by able and powerful men who wanted to make more money or win more wars.

[3] Quoted in Edward H. Carr, *The New Society* (Boston. Beacon Press, 1957), p. 42. The importance of formally free wage labor for factory production in England has been emphasized by Marx in *Capital;* Max Weber in *General Economic History* (New York. Greenberg, Publisher, 1927); Karl Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* (New York· Rinehart & Co, 1944); Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York· Macmillan Co., 1951), pp. 27 28. The implications for relations of authority in economic enterprises are especially clearly spelled out in Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), pp 73 99. Part of the quotation from Townsend is quoted also by Bendix, p. 74.

[4] Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660–1815* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), is an excellent study of the relation between a bureaucracy (bureaucracies differ) and social stratification. See also Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1955), *passim*

What these comments on the evolution of systems of stratification in the West intend is that status systems respond to pressure. The changes in them affect variables in Udy's model, such as the proliferation of performance-oriented systems of rewards. A formally free labor market, as well as a technical system that is not drawn out over time ("unspecified"), encourages contracts for specific services and a highly differentiated system of rewards. If someone wants high efficiency in a long-drawn-out process of production, he has reason to prefer universalistic stratification in society at large. Particularly when this would also increase his own status (as is generally the case with the bourgeoisie in ascriptive systems), he may even fight to introduce it.

"Involved," in the concept "socially involved" is a nice loose word, which could mean that the dynamics of the technical system create pressures for revolutionizing stratification, just as easily as it could mean the shaping of patterns of authority within the enterprise by societal stratification. The former is what Marx would take it to mean; the latter is what Udy has defined it to mean operationally. With the former notion we can give meaning to such terms as "the bourgeois revolution"; with the latter we can explore the social sources of "human-relations problems" within the enterprise. I think it is clear that the causal relations go both ways, that problems of productive authority help determine patterns of stratification and that received patterns of stratification limit the range of types of productive authority.

Of course, it is inherent in Udy's methodology that social involvement should mean involvement in ascriptive systems of status. The tribes and feudal states in his sample quite deliberately exclude societies with formally free labor markets, universities, professions and crafts recruited and trained universalistically, civil servants with an ethic of competence and of the rule of law, and so on. Such excluded societies either have become dominated by or were created by the modern market and factory production of commodities, and therefore are eliminated from the sample. Hence in the societies of the sample, socially involved means "ascriptive."

It is also inherent in Udy's method that changes in systems of stratification, such as the introduction of formally free labor, should not show up in the data. The data have the limitation (if also the advantages) of cross-sectional studies, which never show people changing social structures to do what they want done. It also has the limitation of studies that look at society from inside the small systems that constitute it, in that the movements of societies and institutions are lost from view. I do not want to imply that studying eddies of snow and the insides of fissures of ice is less important than studying glaciers. But at least, let us not forget that glaciers, too, move, that some are warmer and some are colder, and some break up altogether.

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REJOINDER

STANLEY H. UDY, JR.

This is not so much a "rejoinder" as it is a "further comment" on some of the issues raised by Stinchcombe's highly instructive remarks. Now that I have read these remarks, it appears "obvious" to me that the original paper does not adequately confront the general case of the effects of social involvement on administration. It would seem that the degree to which social involvement implies ascription is indeed, as Stinchcombe suggests, culturally relative to some degree. And to the extent that it is, the "problem" of administrative efficiency may possibly be solved more realistically by assuring that social involvement is of the "right kind" rather than by trying to get rid of it.

However, I do not think the problem is

actually quite so simple. Assuming (1) that no society (including the industrial variety) has "objectives" in the sense that administrative systems do, and (2) that no society can be organized without some ascriptive criteria being present in the system, it would still be true that social involvement in any situation would involve some tendency toward ascription—though, as Stinchcombe indicates, cross-cultural variations on this score are certainly more relevant than is indicated in my paper. Such ascription, in an industrial setting, may at times be largely limited to recruitment on non-germane bases rather than on the basis of qualities perceived to be immutable.[1] An example likely to be familiar to anyone who has ever studied or consulted for a company manufacturing in a highly diversified competitive market is the probable adverse effect on costs and production scheduling resulting from recruitment of too many salesmen to serve as executives in the production department. Another instance might be the insistence that only a person with a Ph.D. degree can do even routine engineering work in industry or, for that matter, teach undergraduates in a university. Social involvement, even in the more general case which Stinchcombe quite properly develops, would still appear to carry with it certain "ascriptive" inflexibilities and broadened recruitment criteria which may tend to be not germane to the purpose at hand. The next questions to ask are clearly the ones which Stinchcombe poses: What are the limits of cultural variability of ascription in social involvement? How can the degree and kind of ascription involved be affected by technology or purposeful social invention?

Stinchcombe's plea for empirical examples is also, I admit, well taken. I am personally opposed to burdening a brief exposition (other than a case study) with examples, particularly when it appears in a journal, on the grounds that I would prefer to see more articles of a wider variety rather than a few articles which are rather lengthy. But most people seem to disagree with me on this point, and I fear this cold war is being lost. In what I hope will be a graceful retreat, I thus stand ready to furnish some mimeographed material giving representative examples of cases to anyone who cares to write me for it.[2]

[1] There are certain difficulties attaching to the concept "ascription" in this type of context. Sometimes "ascription" is used to refer to a situation wherein qualities are perceived to be "immutable," such as age, sex, social status of parents, etc. At other times "ascription" denotes a situation involving characteristics which in some objective sense from the viewpoint of the observer are "not germane" to the purpose of the actors, such as the recruitment of former stagecoach drivers to be locomotive engineers in New England in the first half of the nineteenth century (sometimes with disastrous results; see A. F. Harlow, *Steelways of New England* [New York: Creative Age Press, 1946], pp 362–63). It is by no means necessarily the case that immutable qualities are always non-germane (it might, e g., be important that a female office receptionist be attractive), nor is it true that performance capabilities are always germane (as in the example cited of stagecoach drivers). A more general treatment of social involvement in administration would require detailed treatment of this problem.

[2] My address is 1965 Yale Station, New Haven 11, Connecticut On the question of examples as well as coding and classifying, I should also refer to my article on cross-cultural analysis which is to be published next year in a volume on research methods edited by Phillip E Hammond

CORPORATE SIZE, BUREAUCRATIZATION, AND MANAGERIAL SUCCESSION[1]

OSCAR GRUSKY

ABSTRACT

Two studies of the largest and smallest business corporations among the top five hundred were conducted. The positions of board chairman, president, treasurer, controller, and secretary were examined over a ten-year span to determine whether succession had taken place in each office. The findings indicated that frequency of succession was positively related to size of firm. An explanation was proposed which suggested that the process of succession may be radically different in form and organizational consequence for the large, bureaucratized system than for the smaller, less bureaucratized one.

Studies of administrative succession—the process by which key officials are replaced—have been confined primarily to small organizations and, at times, to small subunits of large concerns. The reasons for this probably include the following: direct access to relevant data on large organizations is difficult if not impossible to obtain; smaller units appear to be more manageable because they are considerably less complex; large organizations are generally distributed geographically over a wide area and therefore are more costly to investigate. Accordingly, most of the leading intensive studies of succession in business firms are handicapped, in general, by the natural limitations of the case-study approach and, specifically, by the *size* of the organizations selected for study which may in itself produce effects on the dependent variable (succession). The inherent limitations of the case-study method are widely recognized. It is the second factor, the relationship between organizational size and succession, which we shall explore in this paper.

One of the most prominent and intensive studies of succession in industry was that by Gouldner, which examined a gypsum plant employing 225 persons. Studies of industrial plants by Guest, by Christiansen, and of a restaurant by Whyte—all focused on small units.[2] In contrast, however, trend data from the *Census of Manufactures* have shown that the percentage of wage-earners employed in firms of 1,001 or more workers increased steadily from accounting for 15.3 per cent of the total in 1909 to 34.4 per cent in 1951.[3] Moreover, Kaysen has pointed out that a mere 438 firms of the 4.5 million business concerns in the country account for 28 per cent of the total number of employees. Only 202 corporations owned 40 per cent of the $413 billion of assets that constitute the total.[4] Although it is widely recognized that the large corporation is now and will likely

[1] Data for this paper were collected during the tenure of a Ford Foundation faculty research fellowship in social science and business. The author gratefully acknowledges this assistance, as well as that of Judith Fairston, who did most of the coding. This is an expanded version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in St. Louis, 1961.

[2] See A. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954); R. H. Guest, "Managerial Succession: Two Studies Compared," paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings in New York City in 1960; W. F. Whyte, "The Social Structure of the Restaurant Industry," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (January, 1949), 302–10; C. R. Christiansen, *Management Succession in Small and Growing Enterprises* (Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1953).

[3] Cf. D. R. Miller and G. E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), pp. 44–45.

[4] Carl Kaysen, "The Corporation: How Much Power? What Scope?" in E. S. Mason (ed.), *The Corporation in Modern Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 86–87.

continue to be the dominant economic unit, studies of succession have tended to neglect this fact.

Does it matter? Since man is mortal, all organizations, large or small, must experience succession. Succession, like conflict and the emergence of informal groups, qualifies as a generic organizational phenomenon. It may be argued accordingly that generalizations dealing with the nature of this process may be "discovered" through case studies of *any* kind of organization. However, the fact that the *existence* of the process is universal does not necessarily mean that the *consequences* are uniform; it is these which are of basic interest to organization theory. For example, Gouldner has argued that bureaucratization may be a necessary consequence of succession. Since organizational size is likely to be positively correlated with degree of bureaucratization at the top, this proposition may be pertinent only to small firms.

As organizations increase in size the complexity of organization increases whether or not the proportionate size of the administrative component is greater.[5] Evidence from two independent studies recently discussed by Caplow indicated that the greater the size of the organization the greater was the stability of the system.[6] At the same time, evidence mainly derived from studies of small organizations has consistently demonstrated that succession at the top leads to organizational instability by engendering staff conflict and lower morale.[7] Is the stability and effectiveness of large corporations related to their ability to "solve" the problem of succession? More precisely, the question which guided our research was this: Does a relationship exist between corporate size and frequency of administrative succession, and if so, what is the nature of this relationship?

METHODS AND FINDINGS

One crude method of avoiding the methodological limitations of the case-study method is to use secondary sources. On the basis of the 1959 *Fortune* magazine list of the five hundred largest corporations in the United States, two groups of firms were selected for study: the twenty-six largest corporations and the twenty-seven "smallest" (that is, those ranked 474–500).[8] Although all the firms were relatively large, the two groups varied greatly both in number of employees and net sales (Table 1). The data dealing with succession were collected from two sources: *Moody's Industrial Manual, 1959* and *Poor's Register of Directors and Executives, 1949*. By taking as evidence of succession a change in names listed for key job titles in these two volumes over the ten-year period 1949-59, we were able to secure data for most of the firms selected for study. This technique did not permit us to ascertain how many successions occurred within each office, but we could compare firms which were qualitatively different, namely, those in which succession had occurred and

[5] For a discussion of the contrary findings with respect to the relationship between size of organization and relative size of the administrative component, see T R. Anderson and S. Warkov, "Organizational Size and Functional Complexity: A Study of Administration in Hospitals," *American Sociological Review*, XXVI (February, 1961), 23–28.

[6] T. Caplow, "Organizational Size," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I (March, 1957), 484–505. More recent data suggest that this generalization applies to large business corporations today. *Fortune* (July, 1961, p. 167) noted that the sales of the five hundred largest industrials in 1960 were up 3 7 per cent over 1959 despite the recession, while the sales of all of the smaller corporations rose only 0 6 per cent.

[7] See O. Grusky, "Administrative Succession in Formal Organization," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (December, 1960), 105–15. Guest, however, interpreted his findings as contrary to this generalization (*op. cit*) My impression at the time his paper was read was that it may not constitute an exception. However, his study has not yet been published and I have been unable to obtain a copy.

[8] *Fortune*, Vol. LX, Part 2 (July September, 1959) Because 1949 data were unavailable, corporation Nos. 20, 492, and 499 were dropped and the next ranking firms added This meant that some data on succession were available for twenty-five firms in each group.

those in which the incumbent remained in office.

The data demonstrated that frequency of succession at the top was positively related to size of firm (Table 2). The large corporations were more likely than the small ones to have experienced succession in every one of the five key offices of board chairman, president, secretary, treasurer, and controller.[9] These offices were selected

TABLE 1

NET SALES AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES OF TWENTY SEVEN SMALL AND TWENTY SIX LARGE FIRMS

(First Sample)

Firm	Net Sales, 1959 Millions	No. of Employees, 1959 Thousands
Small	$50 $74	1 5*
Large	More than $1,000	30 or more

* Twenty two firms (82 per cent) were in this category. One firm had less than one thousand employees, and four between [illegible] and ten thousand.

for study both because they represent powerful positions in the formal structure of most firms and because they are relatively stable positions.

Since it was apparent that succession in the office of board chairman and president would be directly related to age, we attempted to control for this factor.[10] Although the average age of the board chairmen of the small firms was slightly greater than that of the large firms (64.9 as compared to 64.5), the average age of the president was considerably less for the small

TABLE 2

SIZE OF FIRM AND FREQUENCY OF SUCCESSION IN FIVE KEY OFFICES, 1949 59*

(First Sample)

	Small Firms (N = 27)		Large Firms (N = 26)	
Office	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Board Chairman †				
Succession	9	56	15	75
No succession	7	44	5	25
Total	16	100	20	100
President				
Succession	15	60	19	76
No succession	10	30	6	24
Total	25	100	25	100
Treasurer				
Succession	14	56	19	76
No succession	11	44	6	24
Total	25	100	25	100
Controller ‡				
Succession	8	50	14	67
No succession	8	50	7	33
Total	16	100	21	100
Secretary §				
Succession	13	57	20	83
No succession	10	43	4	17
Total	23	100	24	100

* Data [illegible]

† In 1949 [illegible] board [illegible]

‡ In 1949 [illegible]

§ In 1949 [illegible]

[9] Chi squares and two tail p levels were as follows: board chairman, 1.46, $p < .30$; president, 1.5, $p < .25$; treasurer, 2.24, $p < .15$; controller, 1.03, $p < .35$; secretary, 3.9, $p < .05$. In only one case did the significance level meet the standard criterion. Rather, it was the multiple comparisons and the replication which provided a basis for confidence in the relationship.

[10] Age, in fact, was significantly related to frequency of succession (for board chairmen, $p < .007$, for presidents, $p < .01$). Sometimes the importance of controlling for age when studying the problems associated with succession is neglected with dire consequences. A case in point is a study of the National Educational Association, *Teacher Supply and Demand in Colleges and Universities* (Washington, D.C., 1957) where turnover in 829 educational institutions was examined. The raw data showed that there was greater turnover among presidents, deans, registrars, and head librarians, that is, among administrative officials, than there was among head football coaches. If age had been controlled this finding might not have held, for this same study showed that the administrative officials mentioned had a rate of retirement, death and disability which was more than five times that of the football coaches! To compound the error, Lipset and Bendix in *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 38, cited this study to demonstrate how social research can discover fallacies in popular beliefs, noting: "There can be little doubt that most people, including university faculty members, would state that there is much more turnover among head football coaches than among other administrative personnel."

firms (50.2 as compared to 54.6). Using the median, we divided the board chairmen and presidents into two categories—young and old. Although the N's were reduced to a very small size and the differences slight, nevertheless in all four instances the direction was consistent: the large firms were more likely than the small ones to have experienced succession even when age was controlled (Table 3).

TABLE 3

SIZE OF FIRM AND FREQUENCY OF SUCCESSION IN TWO KEY OFFICES BY AGE OF INCUMBENT, 1949–59

(First Sample)

Office	Small Firms No.	Small Firms Per Cent	Large Firms No.	Large Firms Per Cent
Board Chairman:*				
Young (under 65):				
Succession	1	20	7	64
No succession	4	80	4	36
Total	5	100	11	100
Old (65 and over):				
Succession	8	89	7	100
No succession	1	11	..	.
Total	9	100	7	100
President:†				
Young (53 and under)				
Succession	6	50	6	55
No succession	6	50	5	45
Total	12	100	11	100
Old (54 and over).				
Succession	7	78	13	93
No succession	2	22	1	7
Total	9	100	14	100

* Age not ascertained for two small firms and two large firms

† Age not ascertained for four small firms

One other major office was examined, that of vice-president. In general, as our data revealed, the number of vice-presidents in a firm is directly related to its size. Therefore, analysis of succession in this position had to be approached separately. The data, as presented in Table 4, indicated that here also frequency of succession was directly related to size of firm. However, the index used was a very crude one which could not take the age factor into consideration, nor did it take into account fluctuations in the number of vice-presidents in small and large corporations. This control is essential because as they have grown in size they have increased differentially their number of vice-presidents. For example, only 7 per cent of the large firms had more than one executive vice-president in 1949, while 31 per cent reached this category only ten years later. A much smaller corresponding increase, from zero to 4 per cent occurred in the smaller corporations.

One of the potential advantages of the use of secondary sources of data lies in the increased likelihood that repeat studies might be performed. In our second study the twenty-six next largest firms (those ranked 28 through 53) were compared with the twenty-eight next smallest firms (those ranked 446 through 473).[11] It is apparent that these procedures necessarily involved a watering-down of the magnitude of the independent variable.[12] Be-

TABLE 4

SIZE OF FIRM AND FREQUENCY OF SUCCESSION IN POSITION OF VICE-PRESIDENT 1949–59*

(First Sample)

	Small Firms No.	Small Firms Per Cent	Large Firms No.	Large Firms Per Cent
Succession† (V-P's 1949, not V-P's, 1959)	56	71	217	82
No Succession (V-P's 1949, still V-P's, 1959)	23	29	49	18
Total No. of V-P's 1949	79	100	266	100

* All persons with "vice-president" in their titles were considered

† Data on succession not ascertained for two small firms and one large firm

[11] As in the original study some firms had to be dropped due to a paucity of 1949 data, in part due to later mergers. Among the large firms, No. 44 was dropped; of the small firms, those ranked 448th, 450th, and 462d were eliminated. Substitutions were made by adding the next-ranked firm. Therefore, some data on succession were available for twenty-five firms in each group.

[12] Nevertheless the differences between the two groups remained significant. Net sales in 1959

cause the results were consistent with those of the original study they may be presented in brief form. For all five offices examined (vice-presidents were ignored for the reasons mentioned above), the large firms experienced a greater rate of succession than did the small ones (Table 5).[13] When we controlled for age of board chairman and president in the same manner as we had previously, the relationship was maintained once again (Table 6).

TABLE 5

SIZE OF FIRM AND FREQUENCY OF SUCCESSION IN FIVE KEY OFFICES, 1949–59*

(Second Sample)

Office	Small Firms (N = 28) No.	Small Firms (N = 28) Per Cent	Large Firms (N = 26) No.	Large Firms (N = 26) Per Cent
Board Chairman †				
Succession	6	40	12	52
No succession	9	60	11	48
Total	15	100	23	100
President				
Succession	16	64	23	92
No succession	9	36	2	8
Total	25	100	25	100
Treasurer				
Succession	19	76	22	88
No succession	6	24	3	12
Total	25	100	25	100
Controller ‡				
Succession	2	17	15	71
No succession	10	83	6	29
Total	12	100	21	100
Secretary §				
Succession	17	68	17	71
No succession	8	32	7	29
Total	25	100	24	100

* Data on succession not ascertained for any offices for three small firms and one large firm.

† In 1949 ten small firms and two large firms had no board chairman.

‡ In 1949 thirteen small firms and four large firms had no controller.

§ Data on succession not ascertained for one large firm.

Although adequate levels of statistical significance were obtained only occasionally, uniformity of direction was found without exception including those cases where age controls could be applied. Yet because of the relatively small size of the samples, the homogeneity of organizational type, the possibility of correlated bias, and similar considerations, the findings must be viewed as tentative and suggestive. Despite these reservations, the data presented strongly support the proposition that frequency of administrative succession is directly related to the size of the organization. But the findings raise more questions than they answer. Is instability a consequence of succession only in small organizations? If so, why? Is the process of succession treated differently in large firms than in smaller ones? Again, if so.

TABLE 6

SIZE OF FIRM AND FREQUENCY OF SUCCESSION IN TWO KEY OFFICES BY AGE OF INCUMBENT, 1949–59

(Second Sample)

Office	Small Firms No.	Small Firms Per Cent	Large Firms No.	Large Firms Per Cent
Board Chairman *				
Young (under 67)				
Succession	1	17	4	[illegible]
No succession	5	83	8	67
Total	6	100	12	100
Old (67 and over)				
Succession	5	56	6	60
No succession	4	44	4	40
Total	9	100	10	100
President †				
Young (under 58)				
Succession	6	50	9	82
No succession	6	50	2	18
Total	12	100	11	100
Old (58 and over)				
Succession	7	70	13	100
No succession	3	30		
Total	10	100	13	100

* Age not ascertained for [illegible] large firm.

† Age not ascertained [illegible] firm.

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[12] ... were $50 million to $74 million for the small firms and more than $600 million for the large ones. Twenty two of the small firms had fewer than five thousand employees, while all of the large ones had eighteen thousand or more.

[13] The chi square and two-tail p levels were as follows: board chairman, .53, $p < .50$; secretary, .02, $p < .90$. And by Fisher's Exact Test president, $p = .06$, treasurer, $p = .58$; controller, $p = .02$

why? Although firm answers to these queries are not now available, we believe that some theoretical guidelines exist which point to a plausible explanation.

BUREAUCRATIZATION AND SUCCESSION

The most inclusive structural feature which distinguishes large organizations from small ones is bureaucratization—the process by which organizations rationalize social interaction so as to maximize effectiveness, chiefly through the use of rules, specialization, hierarchicalization, and impersonality.[14] Max Weber, while discussing the need for "calculable administration" pointed out this relationship between size and bureaucratization:

> It is this need which gives bureaucracy a crucial role in our society as the central element in any kind of large-scale administration. *Only by reversion in every field--political, religious, economic, etc.—to small-scale organization would it be possible to any considerable extent to escape its influence.*[15]

Accordingly, a comparison of organizations grossly different in size, as evidenced in our data by extent of resources and number of members, requires consideration of the consequences of the relative degree of bureaucratization. We may reasonably assume that these differences in bureaucratization had proliferated even to the highest levels of the organization and in so doing directly affected the process of succession.

Bureaucratization should serve to nullify, or at least cushion, the otherwise disruptive consequences of succession. In small, unbureaucratized firms the chief executive, who is likely to be the entrepreneur-founder or his kin, is closely identified with the organization as a whole. The welfare of the firm and that of the chief executive are seen as intertwined. Accordingly, centralization of control is maximized and therefore succession is likely to be seen as signifying rapid changes in policy and personnel. In marked contrast, the highly bureaucratized system, staffed primarily by professional managers, is likely to routinize the succession process by establishing rules which regulate retirement, rotation, and promotion of officials.[16] In the firms studied, for example, it was the large corporations which had the younger board chairmen, but older presidents. In bureaucratized firms, managers are conditioned to accept succession through constant exposure to procedures such as cross-training—the process of placing a manager in a position with which he may be totally unfamiliar so as to enlarge his experiences in the corporation. Managers, even at the top, are likely to be viewed by members of the organization as practically replaceable parts. Although some affection for the chief executive may have arisen, his departure, having been anticipated and planned for, is therefore likely to create only temporary and minor strain. In the same vein, Galbraith, stressing the assumption that large business enterprises attempt to minimize risk, noted:

> In the large organization even the risks associated with the selection of leadership are reduced. Organization replaces individual authority; no individual is powerful enough to

[14] P. Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 19.

[15] *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1947), p. 338. (My italics.)

[16] Data on reasons for succession were unobtainable, and information concerning the previous office of the incumbent was sparse. In the first sample, e.g., of the eighteen board chairmen in 1959 for which data could be found (34 per cent of the sample), eight were presidents, seven vice-presidents, and three assistant to the president in 1949. Of the fourteen presidents in 1959 for which data were available (26 per cent of the sample), eleven were vice-presidents, one a director, one a secretary, and one a treasurer in 1949. These data suggest that access to the top level positions is most available to those occupying a position at the next level down in the hierarchy. It is significant perhaps that the only two clear exceptions to this (one secretary and one treasurer succeeding to the presidency) were both found in small corporations. Bureaucratic succession should be a regularized, step-by-step, process up the pyramidal hierarchy.

do much damage. Were it otherwise, the stock market would pay close attention to retirements, deaths, and replacements in the executive ranks of the large corporations. In fact, it ignores such details in tacit recognition that the organization is independent.[17]

This perspective suggests that it is fruitful to view the concepts of organizational size, degree of bureaucratization, and administrative succession as systematically interrelated. Accordingly, two empirical generalizations, one indicating that size of firm was directly related to organizational stability, (as measured by length of life of the firm) and the other demonstrating a positive relationship between size of firm and frequency of succession, can be "explained" (as Braithwaite uses the term) in terms of the following general proposition: The more bureaucratized the administrative component of an organization, the less the instability that is created by administrative succession.[18]

The relationship between bureaucratization and organizational effectiveness is relevant at this point. The popular stereotype of the huge, highly bureaucratized organization is based on the extent to which its procedures are goal-displacing. In sharp contrast, our data, utilizing as rough measures of effectiveness profit as percentage of sales and profit as percentage of invested capital, demonstrated that the large corporations were, if anything, more effective than the small ones. Where the small firms averaged 5.3 per cent on the first index and 10.2 per cent on the second, the large ones averaged 6.3 per cent and 10.7 per cent, respectively. Weber's contention that bureaucracy is superior to other forms of organization and therefore "capable of obtaining the highest degree of efficiency" is not contradicted by these findings.[19] Bureaucratized systems are effective, in part, perhaps because they experience considerable success in controlling by rational means the disruptive responses often created by successions in key policy-making positions.[20]

SUCCESSION AND STRATEGIC REPLACEMENTS

Increased size and complexity in an organization, in addition to leading to the bureaucratization of administrative succession, may affect the nature of the relationship between succession and the appointment of "strategic replacements."

Evidence presented by Gouldner and others has suggested that succession at the top sets off a chain reaction.[21] The successor, particularly if he is new to the firm, often finds it necessary to bring new persons into the organization to support his policies and buttress his position. In so doing he invokes the technique of strategic replacement, and therefore the process of succession ramifies well beyond the necessity for integrating one person into the existing social structure. The size and corresponding degree of bureaucratization of the organization should be an important factor affecting this process. In small, unbureaucratized firms, relationships between top executives are likely to be more intimate than in large corporations. Accordingly, the chief executive in the small concern not only knows his major subordinates intimately, but is likely to take a strong interest in their activities. In contrast, the sheer size and degree of specialization at

[17] J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 102.

[18] R. B. Braithwaite, *Scientific Explanation* (Cambridge, England, 1953).

[19] Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[20] In his study of General Motors, P. F. Drucker observed: "As the top management of the corporation consists of five men of almost equal authority, *there should be continuity, succession should be a process of gradual* [illegible] *of the ranking executives rather than an abrupt change of command and policy.* The same holds true by and large of other managerial positions. There are always enough people available who are familiar with the work. *Their records are clear enough and based on a yardstick of achievement so that selection can be an impersonal and rational process rather than a civil war*" (*Concept of the Corporation* [New York: John Day Co., 1946], p. 55). (My italics.)

[21] Gouldner, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-85.

the top echelons in large firms would seem to militate against such closeness. Consider, for example, the fact that United States Steel has about 100 vice-presidents and Chase Manhattan Bank has 125. The giant corporation is not only likely to have a larger staff and more divisions and departments, but also is likely to be geographically dispersed to a greater extent. Taken together, we would expect closer relationships at the top in small firms than in large firms. If this is correct, then strategic replacements at the top should be less likely to occur following succession in large, bureaucratized firms and more likely to occur after succession in small ones. This hypothesis is predicated on the perhaps tenuous assumption that tight coalitions among the top executives of business firms are more likely to be typical of small firms than of large, bureaucratized concerns. Bureaucratic executives, because of their training and experience in the organization are less likely to have established strong, overt commitments to their predecessors. Therefore, replacement is not deemed as necessary by the successor. Although this was only speculative we decided to give it more careful consideration by recasting our original data.

TABLE 7

SIZE OF FIRM AND MAJOR AND MINOR SUCCESSIONS, 1949–59*

Size of Firm	Major Successions	Minor Successions 0–1	Minor Successions 2	p Level†
		First Sample		
Small firms	None	5	0	
	One	2	2	.06
	Two	2	3	
Total		9	5	
Large firms	None	0	2	
	One	1	3	.43
	Two	5	7	
Total		6	12	
		Second Sample		
Small firms	None	5	0	
	One	1	3	.01
	Two	3	3	
Total		9	6	
Large firms	None	1	1	
	One	4	6	.82
	Two	5	6	
Total		10	13	

* Major successions refer to changes in board chairman and president, minor successions to changes in treasurer and secretary.

† By Fisher's Exact Test (one tail), where the categories one and two major successions were combined.

A sizable difference in formal authority exists between the position of chairman of the board and president, on the one hand, and secretary, treasurer, and controller, on the other. Since Gordon has shown that either the board chairman or the president may actually represent the corporation's chief executive, we designated changes in each of these positions as "major successions" and changes in the others as "minor successions."[22] (Many firms, especially smaller ones, did not have a controller, so we did not include this position in our analysis.) Specifically, we hypothesized that a positive relationship would exist between frequency of major and minor succession for small firms but no such relationship would be found for the large firms. Obviously, our data would permit only a very crude and inferential test of this hypothesis, owing in part to the fact that the necessary information could not be secured for about one-third of the firms. Nevertheless, as Table 7 indicates, a positive relationship between frequency of major and minor successions was found, as hypothesized, only among the small organizations in both the original study and the repeat study. Certainly this finding must be interpreted with great caution. For example, the hypothesis would suggest that the major successions *preceded* the minor ones in time and, in fact, took place because of the actions of the top executives (and therefore not because of death, illness, and so on). We have no evidence from the data presented that such was the case. On the other hand, the findings are suggestive of

[22] R. A. Gordon, *Business Leadership in the Large Corporation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1945), chap. v.

the potential importance of organizational size as a factor which mediates social processes in complex systems.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The relevance of both succession and size to organization theory can be traced back to the titan of organizational analysis, Max Weber. Nevertheless as March and Simon point out, the major contemporary "models" of bureaucratic theory (particularly those of Merton, Selznick, and Gouldner) are based largely on case studies.[23] We have tried to demonstrate that, if succession is the problem being investigated, much may hinge on whether the firm selected for study happens to be small or very large.

To the spate of empirical generalizations, we have presented evidence for one more: namely, that frequency of administrative succession at the top is directly related to size of firm. From bureaucratic theory (and after the fact) we have attempted to make some sense of this and related findings by focusing on the assumptions that greater size necessitates increased bureaucratization and that this, in turn, increases the likelihood that succession will be rationally treated by being routinized. Members of large bureaucratized systems learn a generalized orientation toward authority which is less likely to be based on personal loyalty. It is the chain of command which must be maintained. Bureaucracies are thus able to decrease the disruptive aspects of succession. At the same time because of their prob[illegible] positions for stability, bureaucracies require periodic succession at the top if they are to adapt adequately to their environment. Without frequent succession, bureaucracies tend to lose that degree of flexibility which they especially need. Thus, a curious anomaly is presented: it may be that highly bureaucratized, complex organizations both can stand more, and require more, succession at the top levels.

[23] J. G. March and H. A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), p. 46.

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SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND THE CONTROL OF COMPETITION

EDWARD GROSS

ABSTRACT

Blau's theory of social integration emphasizes the individual's ability to make himself approachable and thereby become integrated into the group. However, since it is to the group's interest to have integrated members, the theory must go further to describe how a group makes certain that its members will be and remain approachable to one another. A group solves these problems through control of admission and through minimal norms A major norm, controlling competition, is demonstrated with data from a business office and a factory, and it is shown how office and factory groups differ structurally in means of controlling competition

Recent theoretical discussions of exchange processes, using such terms as "value," "pay-off," and "reciprocity,"[1] give an economic flavor to the analysis of interaction. These analyses have avoided the possible danger of reductionism by being careful to begin with patterned relationships, rather than with exchange itself. The Kula[2] involves the exchange of armshells and necklaces, and since men are making the long voyage, they will trade other items too; but the sociological problem is that of explaining how such exchanges are patterned, for exchange does not create or explain the Kula. Similarly, sexual intercourse always involves some kind of interchange but it may also be "a reciprocal ritual performed to confirm symbolically an exclusive social relationship."[3] In such a sense, Gouldner's concept of a reciprocity norm[4] may be applicable: when two persons mate, they may be establishing a norm of exclusive rights. What they are doing means something for the terms of exchange of future interaction in areas other than sex.

Exchange as a sociological process is well handled in Peter Blau's recently stated theory of social integration,[5] and this paper is addressed to certain implications of it. His problem is that of accounting for the attractiveness of persons *to* the groups in which they seek membership. A person seeking acceptance will first attempt to demonstrate his value, but he evokes defensive reactions from others thereby. His very attractiveness means he possesses the power to hurt by rejecting them; his superiority makes them aware of their inferiority and he is competing with them for popularity. To break through this impasse, the newcomer must, Blau says, demonstrate approachability.

> Completely reversing his earlier strategy of presenting only the most impressive parts of his self, he now flaunts his weaknesses. Having first impressed us with his Harvard accent and Beacon Hill friends, he may tell a story that reveals his immigrant background. . . . Such self-deprecating modesty is disarming—literally so, since it obviates the need for defenses. As the listeners sympathize wth a person's troubles or smile at his blunders, they will feel drawn to him, because he ceases to be a threat against which they have to protect themselves.[6]

Blau then presents supporting data from a public assistance agency. In particular, he

[1] George C. Homans, "Social Behavior as Exchange," *American Journal of Sociology,* LXIII (1958), 597-606; Herbert A. Shepard, "The Value System of a University Research Group," *American Sociological Review,* XIX (1954), 456–62; Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity," *American Sociological Review,* XXV (1960), 161–78; George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, 1961); John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley, *The Social Psychology of Groups* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959).

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: G Routledge & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1922).

[3] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, N Y.: Doubleday & Co, 1959), p. 194, n. 5.

[4] Alvin Gouldner, *op. cit.,* pp. 171 ff.

[5] Peter Blau, "A Theory of Social Integration," *American Journal of Sociology,* LXV (1960), 545 56.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 549.

describes being a newcomer and certain characteristics of class origin, race, religion, sex, and age as making for approachability. He goes on to show how others pay for the superiority of a new member in the coin of deference. But the person who does not have so much to offer "wins social acceptance in exchange for ceasing to compete for superior standing in the group (through demonstrating approachability)."[7]

This raises certain questions: The theory assumes that there always is some basis on which a man can make himself approachable. Newcomers were more approachable, but what if all members of a face-to-face group are old-timers in the agency and the man seeking their acceptance is also an old-timer? A Negro is more approachable to another Negro if there is a choice between white and Negro, but there may be only one race from which to choose. The individual is therefore placed in the position of having to hunt for some basis of self-deprecation, and this can be not only difficult, but he himself may perhaps find it unacceptable. Further, the assumption that the supplicant will do so places a great premium on his perceptiveness and his ability to control the impression he makes. Indeed, what may "demonstrate" approachability is the unintended *faux pas*, or the accidental revelation of hidden "humanness." The college student, needing reassurance as she crams the night before the final examination, takes the extreme step of telephoning her professor at his home. Her heart pounding because of her effrontery, she asks to speak to Dr. So-and-So. When she hears the shout: "Daddy, it's for you," the telephone call has already served a part of its function. In other words, great uncertainty is created in building social integration if we must hope that approachability will be deliberately demonstrated, or must wait until persons unintentionally "give off"[8] appropriate expressions.

Further, the assumption assigns a passive role to the group which it sees as a closed society examining the credentials of one who seeks entry. It may be, and often is, to the group's interest to make it easy for the supplicant to enter.[9] Such a consideration forces us to examine the circumstances under which groups assume a more active posture vis-à-vis the member-to-be.

This is true not only during the initiating process but at all times and with reference not only to new members but also to fully accredited members. At any time the danger exists that a member who has long ago demonstrated approachability and has been accepted may begin to erect barriers around himself. Conditions change, and an atmosphere in which a man was willing to "give of himself" may change to one in which he no longer feels it safe to do so. A most serious problem may be created by *overapproachability* in which a person finds his privacy invaded and his weaknesses exploited—a phenomenon seen in the "confession" experiences of American prisoners of war in China during the Korean War.[10]

The effect of this danger is that every cohesive group strikes a bargain with its members: It accepts him if he will be approachable, and he, in turn, agrees to be approachable if guaranteed that nothing he reveals will be used against him. Such a bargain appears to lie at the heart of informal professional colleagueships; their major function is reassurance in the face of significant professional failure, as the doctor who has killed a patient.[11] But to be able to provide such

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 556.

[8] A phrase of Goffman, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[9] Goffman discusses one phase of this phenomenon under the heading of "protective practices" which he defines as "the tactful tendency of the audience and outsiders to act in a protective way in order to help the performers save their own show", e.g. coughing before entering, paying attention to one's own business in public, giving the other man the benefit of the doubt in conversation, "not seeing" slips, and making special allowances for [illegible] (*ibid.*, pp. 229-3[illegible]).

[10] Edgar H. Schein, "The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War," *Psychiatry*, XIX (1956), 149-72, and Robert J. Lifton, "'Thought Reform' of Western Civilians in Chinese Communist Prisons," *Psychiatry*, XIX (1956), 173-[illegible].

[11] Edward Gross, *Work and Society* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1958), pp. 235-41.

reassurance, the group must provide an atmosphere in which the professional feels it safe to confess the failure at all.[12]

It is only in highly cohesive groups that the question of safety will be taken for granted. In most instances, the group is not so cohesive and therefore must face the problem of reluctance to demonstrate approachability. In order to be sure that it will hold its members, especially in crises when it needs them, the group must make certain that they will be approachable. In the extreme case described by Goffman as "total institutions," such as mental hospitals, armies, prisons, etc., "stripping"—often literal—is typical whether the person is willing or not.[13] A functional equivalent occurs when the psychiatrist meets his patient's defenses, or when the lawyer pleads with his client: "You must tell me everything so that I can represent you successfully."

Both the need of the group for continued approachability in its members, and the need of the latter for protection against overapproachability create an unstable set of forces which, presumably, will be stabilized by a set of norms. Such norms are likely to be regulative, rather than relational. In particular, they are likely to take the form: "You must not . . ." rather than "You are required to. . ." The former defines the limits of group control so that the member knows that so much and no more approachability is expected of him. Or, put another way, he is reassured that he may tell secrets but does not have to tell particular secrets, especially those which are private in that they do not affect group welfare.

How then does a group go about providing such a permissive atmosphere? How does it assure approachability and at the same time keep it within acceptable limits? In the broadest sense, two lines of action are available: criteria for admission of new members and continuing controls on existing members. The group can try to select as members persons who are sure to be approachable, and it can establish norms of minimal approachability. The following data are related primarily to the first of these, but we shall follow them with other data related to the second line of action. It will be seen, further, that the two lines of action are not simply different possibilities in a given group, but form the basis of an analytical distinction between types of groups.

The data are related primarily to the control of competition in face-to-face groups. Competition between persons is not necessarily divisive but, by definition, it creates status differences insofar as the object of competition is scarce and divisible. But here attention is called to the fact that competition is one of the most serious obstacles to approachability in any group. When men compete, they are especially likely to be ill at ease in one another's presence, and a premium is placed on secrecy— not "tipping one's hand." It is therefore hypothesized that in the interests of approachability, groups will deliberately attempt to control, even to eliminate, competition. It will be expressed in the form of a regulative norm: "In this group we do not compete with one another." Under such circumstances, persons can feel free to reveal such secrets about themselves as they choose; it will be safe to be approachable.

The research of the present author was carried out in the head office of a Chicago wholesale manufacturing and mail-order business firm which made plastic items, such as raincoats and ponchos, fountain pens, leather goods, jewelry, and various other products.[14] In this office there were approxi-

[12] A similar dilemma is described by Peter Blau in *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 105, where he writes: "Agents . . . were reluctant to reveal their inability to solve a problem to their supervisor for fear that their ratings would be adversely affected."

[13] Erving Goffman, "Characteristics of Total Institutions," in *Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 43–84. The discussion of stripping is on pp. 49–51.

[14] Edward Gross, "Informal Relations and the Social Organization of Work in an Industrial Office" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949) (Microfilm T 664).

mately 90 persons, though the staff fluctuated between 90 and 125. The office included the usual departments: accounting, credit and collection, sales, billing, etc. The research was carried out over a nine-month period, with intensive interviewing (201 interviews with 65 persons) and extended observation over a large part, and often the whole, of the working day.

Attention was focused on the strongly cohesive informal groups in the office, identified by eating lunch together, going on the daily "pass" together, engaging in some common activity together at lunch (besides eating), or on the pass, chatting informally at one another's desks, and assisting one another at work.[15] Based on those criteria, a total of eleven informal groups, ranging in size from two to six, were discovered. Two types of analyses were carried out: comparison of all members of an informal group, as a category, with all non-members, and the examination of the internal makeup of each informal group.

1. Members of an informal group were compared with non-members as to: age, sex, marital status, religion, education, race, and ethnicity (about one-quarter were foreign born). It was found that, as a category, the members were significantly more likely to be young, unmarried, native-born, and female. In addition, it was found that three informal groups exhibited distributions of the background characteristics *within* the group at probability levels below .05.[16] These were an all-Negro group, an all-Japanese (Nisei) group, and an all-Jewish group.

2. In examining the dimension of competition in the informal groups, two persons were defined as competitors, if one or both of the following were true: (*a*) they did similar kinds of work; (*b*) they had the same supervisor. This is competition in the generic sense: it is present when the situation gives reasons for it, whether persons are conscious of it or not. If two persons do similar work, a criterion for comparing them exists, even though they may be in different departments. On the other hand, two persons doing different work but under the same supervisor might not see each other as competitors but the common supervisor evaluates them comparatively (as of course supervisors must) in connection with recommendation for salary increases, promotions and so forth.[17]

A striking [illegible] informal group, not one member was a competitor of any other member of it. The interviewing revealed that members were, in general, unconscious of this fact. Propinquity and the formal assignment of work had the effect of bringing th[illegible] together on one floor and part of a second. But once assembled, they began to make choices for informal, friendly association. When asked the basis for their choices they replied, usually, some element of background or characteristic of personality. And such things probably do lead to choices, consciously or not. Table 1 shows the makeup of informal groups by background characteristics.

Although, as stated above, it was found that only religion and race (and only in three groups) occurred in distributions with low chance probabilities, members *did* have characteristics in common though such distribution could have occurred by chance.

[15] An additional criterion was employed wherever it occurred: namely, a voluntary statement that [illegible] was a member of an informal group, spoken of himself.

[16] The procedure employed was the expansion of the binomial $(p + q)^n$, where n is the size of the informal group and p the proportion in the office. For example, in one group of size four, all were Jews. The proportion of Jews in the office was $p = .47$. The probability of turning up a group of four, all of whom were Jews, from a population in which .47 are Jews is $p^4 = .048$.

[17] The need to make such judgments may at times place supervisors in the position of having to compare apples with oranges, as, for example, when one subordinate wraps parcels and the other does accounting, or when a university dean must decide whom he shall recommend for promotion to professor: an historian who has written an important article on historiographic methods or an economist who has served with distinction on a governmental advisory committee. Yet such judgments are made. Insofar as promotions and salary increases are scarce, if one man gets more, another gets less, and they are, hence, in competition.

(Table 1). Every group has at least two characteristics in common, and Groups 2, 3, and 10 have all seven in common. These might be grounds for seeking one another out, or for continuing interaction, among those accidentally thrown together. In Blau's terms, these might form the bases for original attractiveness.[18]

However, it is not enough to choose a person whom one likes or has reason to believe he will like. The chosen one must also be someone he feels comfortable with, someone with whom he feels it safe to discuss errors and problems. Why are others who have the appropriate characteristics excluded? It was found that potential members were excluded if they were competitors. For example, Group 2 has all seven characteristics in common. This was the all-Nisei group referred to above. One member is Rioko, who is, like her fellow members, young, female, single, Gentile, from high school, Mongoloid, and native-born. Working near her is May, whom Rioko knows, and May is also young, female, single, Gentile, from high school, Mongoloid, and native-born. If these are the forces attracting members to one another, then May has the proper credentials; yet she is not a member. May and Rioko work under the same supervisor and do very similar work. Hence, as a competitor, Rioko would not feel at ease in May's presence, and May is excluded.[19] In the case of Group 4, to take another example, the process of exclusion came out into the open: all three members of this group were accounting clerks, doing quite different work. Another clerk (*not* a member) had the job of handling the overload of work from two of them—that is, he "filled in," completing the work of either, when one was rushed or called away suddenly. As such, he was put in the position of doing exactly the same work as they did. They had the same supervisor, as well. Here was a case of competition, as defined above. Both interviewing and observation revealed strong antagonism toward this man and the two clerks made no secret of deliberately excluding him. Yet, he had the same background characteristics as they did, and in his interviews expressed being puzzled by their treatment of him. He saw himself as "simply

TABLE 1

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS FOUND IN COMMON WITHIN ELEVEN INFORMAL GROUPS*

Informal Groups	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Religion	Education	Race	Ethnicity
1		X	X	X	X	X	X
2	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4	X					X	X
5				X			X
6	X	X		X			X
7	X				X	X	
8	X				X	X	X
9			X	X	X	X	X
10	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11		X	X	X	X	X	

Source: Edward Gross, "Informal Relations and the Social Organization of Work in an Industrial Office" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949), p. 254

* An "X" means the characteristic was found in common in the group, e.g., in Group 1, all members were of the same sex, marital status, religion, education, race, and ethnicity, but differed in age. Age was divided into two categories: "young" and "old"; religion was "Jewish" and "other," education was "college" and "non college," race was "Caucasoid" and "non Caucasoid," and ethnicity was "native-born" and "foreign-born."

[18] We make no claim that these *were* all attractive qualities. Indeed, Blau ("A Theory of Integration," *op. cit.*) found some of these very characteristics making for approachability rather than for attractiveness. In interviews, our subjects did expressly refer to them as attractive qualities, but, of course, this might have reflected only difficulty in expressing often subtle and perhaps unrecognized attractive qualities.

[19] The data presented here do not permit us to answer the question of why May was excluded rather than Rioko. However, Rioko was employed before May was, and the group was already a going concern before May came to work for the company.

trying to be helpful"; indeed, he sometimes "covered up" for them when he found errors in their work. What he did not see (and what the others expressed in their interviews) was that, by that very token, he "had" something on them, and they could not feel comfortable in informal interaction with him.[20]

In the light of the finding that the groups were made up of non-competitors, the comparison of members of informal groups with non-members takes on new meaning. As a category, non-members were found to be older, married, male, and foreign-born, and, as might be guessed, these were intercorrelated. The foreign-born in particular, were mostly refugees from Hitlerian Germany and had been uprooted and dispossessed, many of them from positions of high status. The interviews revealed them to be a strongly competitive group who were, individually, seeking to re-establish themselves as men of competence and rank. There were eighteen of them in the office, and only two were members of any informal group. They felt some solidarity as refugees, but formed no strongly cohesive groups among themselves. Such persons, it may be reasoned, would not feel comfortable in any informal group at work, even a group made up of non-competitors, for in a real sense, they defined the whole office force as potential competitors for the top positions for which they felt themselves qualified. A similar argument applies to persons who were older, male, and married, whether German refugees or not. At least, compared to the younger,[21] unmarried females (who were more likely to be found in informal groups), the likelihood of a wholesale definition of competition (like that of the refugees) was greater. In other words, persons will, in general, feel more comfortable in the presence of non-competitors than of competitors. If a person defines everyone as a potential competitor, then he will not feel comfortable even in the presence of those who, in fact, are not.

A measure which groups may adopt to insure approachability, suggested above, was that of establishing norms of minimal approachability.[22] It would be hypothesized

[20] There is a clue here to what may be a central function of all informal groups or, more broadly, friendship and intimacy as social processes. To say one cannot feel comfortable with someone who "has something" on one leads to the further question of the forms that such discomfort may take. The power over another is the power to *expose*, not only to the supervisors, but to oneself. Helen M. Lynd (*On Shame and the Search for Identity* [New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1958]) points to the central role of exposure in the sentiment of shame. In shame, one is confronted with the fact that one has not measured up to a standard of excellence on which one bases one's self-esteem. In the context of our discussion, competitors are those we cannot trust because they can, as fellow workers, shame us. The informal group, if it is to enable us to "let down our hair" must protect us from shame by *allowing* us to expose ourselves to ourselves safely, that is, without threat to our image of self. Note the similarity of this formulation to Kurt Riezler's characterization of the love relation as one in which persons "are permitted to be to each other what they are to themselves" ("Comment on the Social Psychology of Shame," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII [1943], 461). In this situation, the preferred image of self is affirmed by the other. See the discussion above of the "stripping process." On the integrative role of shame and pride see Erving Goffman's review of Donald R. Cressey's *Other People's Money*, in *Psychiatry*, XX (1957), 325.

[21] Louis B. Barnes (*Organizational Systems and Engineering Groups* [Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1960], pp. 53-64) reports a striking difference by age in the frequency and range of interaction in an engineering department. Younger persons among a category he calls "socials" in one major department had both higher and broader ranges of interaction, participated more in non-work activities, and both made and received more choices of friends. Women tended also to be important in this group.

Is it possible that informal groups might, by chance, have been made up of non-competitors? In reply, the following three points should be recognized: (1) Independent evidence that non-competitors were recognized as such and deliberately excluded was present, and two cases of such exclusion are described. (2) The question betokens a possible misunderstanding of the social function of approachability as compared to attractiveness. To be invited to join a group, a man must have

from the foregoing that these would focus, among other possibilities, on the control of competition.

The informal groups in the much-described Bank Wiring Observation Room of Western Electric[23] provide a good illustration. Both groups studied there were, by our definition, at least partially made up of competitors: most of the men had the same supervisor, and many did similar work. Here, then, is an apparent contrary case, for we have competitors forming informal groups, and rather tightly knit groups, at that. Yet much of the description of the behavior of those groups dealt with the manner in which they imposed limits on production and sanctions on violators. In other words, here were two groups made up of men who could compete with each other, but a major point is that members took steps to see to it that they would not compete as to output. In sum, in the Bank Wiring Observation Room, as in the business office described above, informal groups were, in fact, made up of men who did not compete with one another.

This also explains what was puzzling to the writer at the time of the research: the office groups were "flat."[24] They exhibited little of the drama and excitement of the groups in the Bank Wiring Observation Room.[25] They went to lunch together, they chatted with one another, and in general, behaved in a friendly manner; and that was all. This now becomes understandable. Clearly, if the office groups are made up of non-competitors to start with, there is no need for actively controlling competition. Since they are not even potential competitors of one another, there is little danger that anyone will get out of hand. Rate-busters need not be controlled, since there are none in the group. The groups are less exciting in the eyes of the observer since the members do not threaten each other: they have seen to that by keeping threatening persons out to begin with.

Why were no informal groups of the Western Electric type found in the office? Why were there no groups composed of potential competitors whose behavior would then require control? The explanation may lie in the difference in the formal structure of the office, as compared to that of the factory. Offices, even small- and medium-sized, are composed of many departments, and the work is usually of great variety, even from typist to typist. In the factory—at least this was true at Western Electric workers are

qualities the group values. But to be acceptable, he must *also* be approachable (ignoring the analysis of status Blau presents). But approachability will not, by itself, produce acceptance, as Blau specifically notes. it is a sort of "veto" quality; it will not get you in, but its absence can certainly keep you out. Hence, by chance, non-competitors (that is, approachable persons) are continually being thrown together in this office, but they do not form groups for that, alone, it is merely subsidiary or facilitative. Therefore, how one happens to be with non-competitors, by chance or by design, is not relevant. Actually, persons are often not aware of their selectivity. they will like many persons, but associate only with those with whom they also feel comfortable. The latter may well be discovered by chance. (3) For a direct answer to the question, the calculation of probabilities is difficult because the population of potential non-competitors is different for each person However, for the case of common supervisors, if we simplify, assuming there were ten supervisors in the office with ten subordinates each, then what is the probability of finding in a group of four at least two persons who have the same supervisor? This probability is given by the expression

$$\frac{10!}{4!} \Big/ \frac{100!}{4!} .$$

It is clear that the value is extremely small.

[23] The best description of the behavior to which we refer here remains Fritz J. Roethlisberger and William J Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), Part IV, esp chaps xviii, xxi, and xxii

[24] On the problem of "flatness" in sociability, see David Riesman, Robert J. Potter, and Jeanne Watson, "Sociability, Permissiveness, and Equality,' *Psychiatry*, XXIII (1960), 323–40. Note also their discussion of the prohibition of the display of personal achievement (p. 335).

[25] It is, of course, possible that these things were present but the writer missed them. However, the intimacy and extensiveness of his contact with the office make this unlikely.

more likely to find themselves working with potential competitors. There were about ninety persons in the office, and each was potentially a fellow member in a group. They were near each other, physically, saw each other repeatedly, and had many opportunities to know each other. Therefore they had a much wider possible choice, other things being equal, than does the average factory worker. In contrast, a factory worker may well find himself limited, for informal association, to fellow-workers who may be doing similar work under the same supervisor. This would certainly be less true in smaller factories, but then smaller factories will probably have fewer shops. Offices, even of quite modest size, usually require at least an accounting department, a sales department, a credit department, and so forth. Hence it is more likely that office workers will easily be able to find non-competitors as group mates. In the office studied, six of the eleven groups were made up of persons all of whom had different supervisors. In three of the remaining five, all but one pair of persons had different supervisors. In five of the groups, members in each were from different formal work groups. In the other six, in no case was the whole of the group part of the same formal work group. In nine out of the eleven, members did different work.[20] In sum, in offices with many departments and many kinds of work, non-competitors are easier to find.

In concluding, to return to the issue of reductionism raised at the outset, one should note that, though our analysis revolves about the "economic" process of competition, it is not an economic analysis. Competition is not enlisted to "explain" the integration of informal groups. Rather, what makes these groups sociologically interesting is that they control competition.

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[20] An amendment to our [illegible] the office groups were "flat" [illegible] We found that the fact that informal groups cut across so many departments made the groups an ideal [illegible] department. Persons who were not part of these groups had to depend on the slower formal means of communication, often at considerable pain to [illegible] Cliques in Office Organization," Research Studies, State C[illegible]

PROCESS SATISFACTION AND POLICY APPROVAL IN STATE DEPARTMENT–CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

JAMES A. ROBINSON

ABSTRACT

Satisfaction with information parts of policy-making appears to correlate with satisfaction with policy. Among United States congressmen, those who are satisfied with the information furnished them by the Department of State and the weight given to congressional opinion in departmental policy-making are also likely to approve departmental policy. This finding, however, applies primarily to congressmen of the political party opposite the party which controls the executive. Thus, a Republican executive may facilitate Democratic congressmen's support of bipartisanship by satisfying the congressmen's needs for information and by involving them in policy-making.

Experimental and field studies have reported relationships between decision-makers' satisfaction with the process by which decisions are made and the content of the decisions.[1] It is not clear under what conditions satisfaction with process determines satisfaction with decisions or under what conditions there is a reverse relation. It is not improbable that a reciprocal relation exists between these two factors. The purpose of this essay is not to establish which is the dependent and which is the independent variable, but simply to determine whether a correlation between them may be found among a sample of members of Congress and among particular subsamples. This is part of a larger study of the effects of the legislative process on the attitudes and behavior of members of Congress with respect to foreign-policy decisions.

This article reports data from interviews with re-elected members of the Eighty-fifth Congress (1957 58). The 434 returning members were divided into those who occupied foreign-policy roles in the Eighty-fifth Congress and those who did not. A "foreign-policy role" was defined as membership in House committees: the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the subcommittees on foreign economic policy and the Department of State budget within the Committee on Appropriations, the subcommittee on international government operations within the Committee on Government Operations, the House leadership (speaker, floor leaders, and whips); and membership in Senate committees: the Committee on Foreign Relations, Committee on Appropriations, and the Senate leadership (each of whom was on one of these committees). There were eighty who occupied such roles. We drew a random sample of fifty of these and a random sample of fifty from the 354 who did not have foreign-policy assignments.

During interviews, which were obtained with ninety-five of the hundred (in nine cases we were forced to gather data from administrative assistants rather than the members),[2] we asked four questions concerning the satisfaction the respondent's office has with the information process between Congress and the Department of State. The four questions were:

> Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your evaluation of Congressional State Department relations.

[1] The experimental literature is reviewed critically in Mauk Mulder, "Power and Satisfaction in Task-oriented Groups," *Acta Psychologica*, XVI (1959), 178–225 (also see D. G. Marquis, H. Guetzkow, and R W Heyns, "A Social Psychological Study of the Decision-making Conference," in Harold Guetzkow [ed], *Groups, Leadership, and Men* [Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951], pp. 55–67; and Uno Remitz, *Professional Satisfaction among Swedish Bank Employees* [Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd , 1960]).

[2] For a discussion of our field problems, see James A. Robinson, "Survey Interviewing among Members of Congress," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 127 38

First, take the handling of constituents' problems which you refer to the Department. Are you well satisfied, moderately satisfied, or dissatisfied with the way these are handled?

How about the way the Department responds to your requests for information about foreign policy? Are you well satisfied, moderately satisfied, or dissatisfied?

What about the Department's record for voluntarily keeping Congress informed about foreign policy? Are you well satisfied, moderately satisfied, or dissatisfied?

When the Department is formulating foreign policy decisions, do you think Congressional opinion carries considerable weight, some weight, or no weight?

At the end of the interview each respondent was asked:

I would like your general evaluation of American foreign policy during the last two years. Do you, in general, strongly approve, moderately approve, or disapprove our foreign policy in the past couple of years?

We have examined the responses to these questions to see whether there is a correlation between satisfaction with information process and approval of policies.

Satisfaction with handling constituents' requests and satisfaction with policy. For a majority of members of Congress the most frequent occasion for contact with the Department of State is a request from a constituent. This may be an inquiry about some departmental action, a plea for help in acquiring a passport or obtaining a visa, or about any of a wide range of matters within the jurisdiction of the Department. Among respondents in our sample 78 per cent said they have more frequent contacts of this kind than contacts about foreign-policy legislation. While approximately 70 per cent of the members reported weekly contacts with the Department of State on behalf of constituents, approximately 30 per cent have such frequent communications about policy matters. The services which the Department's Office of Congressional Relations (headed by a political appointee with the rank of assistant secretary) provides to representatives and senators usually are not directly related to policy. This is almost as true for members of the principal foreign-policy committees as for other members.

The Department operates on the assumption that the more satisfactorily it handles requests initiated by constituents, the more likely it is to obtain the support of members on policy matters. The Department assumes that non-policy good will is transferred to and reinforces policy relations and, regardless of the content of a member's request, the Department is anxious to oblige. As one veteran liaison officer said when asked how the Department can most effectively promote agreement with Congress: "The most favorable way of getting results is to do something for a member."[3]

That the Department has performed these non-policy or "service" functions in a way to win congressional approbation seems clear from interviews with members from whom we heard few criticisms and many favorable comments about the liaison activities. For example, a Senate Republican supporter of the administration said: "The liaison office under Assistant Secretary William B. Macomber is available at all times. They do a good job of this function (handling constituents' matters)." A Senate Democratic critic said "As to constituents' matters, I am very well satisfied. They have a wonderful office and furnish wonderful service to us." A sometimes critical House Republican said. "The most effective office in the executive branch is the Passport Office in the State Department. The others in the Department seem to handle your problems as well as they can." And a House Democratic supporter of administration foreign policies said, "The Department of State is a fine agency to do business with There is none better. They're co-operative and attentive"

The high regard which congressmen have

[3] The Department's liaison with Congress is discussed more thoroughly in my forthcoming book, *Congress and Foreign Policy making* (Homewood, Ill Dorsey Press, 1962)

for the manner in which the Department handles their constituent matters extends to Democrats and Republicans alike, senators as well as representatives, and to those who do not occupy foreign-policy committee assignments as much as to those who do. But is there any relation between satisfaction with this aspect of the liaison function and support of policy? Regardless of the state of a member's approval of the Department's foreign policy during the previous two years, he was very likely to be highly pleased with departmental treatment of his constituents' problems. One who disapproved recent United States foreign policy was about as likely to give a favorable evaluation of the Department's performance on this count as one who approved. For example, although eighteen disapproved recent American foreign policy, fifteen of them nevertheless were well satisfied with the Department's liaison activities in behalf of their constituents. Although seventy-seven were moderately or well satisfied with the handling of constituents' requests, seventeen disapproved of the Department's recent policies. Thus, if one is given a member's evaluation of the Department's concern for his constituents, one cannot predict whether that member will approve a departmental policy.

That there is no statistical relation between these two variables is not the same as saying that the Department's attention to congressional "service" requests does not affect the Department's position with Congress. Our data certainly will not allow us to say that, all other things being equal, the Department's policies would receive the same support if it discontinued this function. Indeed, one would expect quite the opposite. If the Department were inefficient, unresponsive, or tardy in meeting congressmen's requests for assistance, Congress would have another ground on which to criticize the Department. While satisfactory performance of "service" functions may facilitate agreement on policy questions, it will not assure policy approval. Perhaps this is a necessary, but clearly not a sufficient, condition for establishing congressional support for departmental policies.

Index of satisfaction with information process and policy approval.—We observe a different relationship between policy approval and satisfaction with other aspects of the information process than between policy approval and satisfaction with handling constituents' requests. The product moment correlation between satisfaction with responses to requests for foreign-policy information and policy approval is .37 (for $N = 75$, this is significant at the .01 level); between satisfaction with the Department's record for voluntarily furnishing foreign-affairs information and policy support is .33 (for $N = 77$, this is significant at the .01 level); between perception of weight given congressional opinion in departmental decision-making and policy approval is .31 (for $N = 77$, this is significant at the .01 level).

By combining responses to these three questions one can construct an index of satisfaction with the information process which has slightly more predictive power than any one of the items separately. The coefficient of correlation between this index and policy approval is .41 (for $N = 70$, this is significant at the .01 level).

Although the relationship is not one to one, members of the Eighty-fifth Congress who were satisfied with information parts of the process were also likely to be satisfied with the policy outcomes of the process. Members whose requests for foreign-policy information were satisfactorily answered, who were voluntarily supplied with information about international affairs, and who believed that congressional views were important to the Department of State were more likely to give their approval to departmental proposals than their colleagues who were not satisfied on any of these matters. Thus, speaking of the whole sample one may say that there is statistically significant correlation between satisfaction with the information process and policy approval. But does this relation

hold for various subsamples of the whole sample? The data are in such a form that we can see whether similar correlations obtain when one controls for role assignment and political party.

Differences between roles.—As we noted earlier, we drew samples of equal size from among those who occupied foreign-policy assignments and those who did not. We defined foreign-policy role quite broadly in order to include members who sit on committees considering appropriations for foreign aid and on "oversight" committees which follow the expenditure and the administration of programs. In the House the mutual security appropriation bill is assigned to a subcommittee; in the Senate the full committee considers the same bill. In the sample from the House we also included several members from the Government Operations Subcommittee on International Government Operations which investigates the administration of the program.

Members with foreign-policy roles ($N = 38$) had a correlation of .44 (significant at the .01 level) between satisfaction with information process and policy approval. For occupants of non-foreign-policy roles ($N = 32$) the correlation between the same two variables was .26 (not significant).

Differences between parties.—Political party affiliation is obviously an outstanding empirical characteristic of executive-legislative relations in the United States national government, but the consequences of party for public policy, including foreign policy, seem to vary from study to study. One stream of thought holds that Democrats and Republicans per se are as Tweedledum and Tweedledee and that what makes the difference in legislative output is whether a coalition of southern Democrats and midwestern Republicans prevails over an alliance of northern Democrats and eastern Republicans.[4] Another line of research indicates that party affiliation explains more congressional voting than any other single variable.[5] This dispute over the relative weight of party in accounting for congressional-executive relations is not likely to be settled with a clear-cut verdict in favor of, or opposed to, the proposition that party is crucial. Rather, what we might more likely expect is that under some conditions (say, on certain issues or on parliamentary questions) party will be crucial; while on others it will not be.

How are satisfaction with communication process, party affiliation, and policy preferences related with respect to attitudes on foreign affairs? When all responses are subdivided according to political party, one notes considerable differences between Democratic and Republican congressmen. Table 1 lists the correlations on each of the three information items and the index for all respondents and for Democrats and Republicans separately.[6] Except for the item on perception of weight given congressional opinion within the Department of State, evaluations by Democrats of the process are much more highly correlated with their evaluations of policies than are evaluations by Republicans. For Republican members of the Eighty-fifth Congress, satisfaction with the information process is not significantly related to policy approval; for Democratic representatives and senators, policy approval varies significantly with satisfaction with the information process.

What is the explanation for this difference? Why should satisfaction with information be relevant to Democrats but not to Republicans? Notice in Table 2 that

[4] The Brookings Institution, *The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy* (Study prepared at the request of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate [Washington: Government Printing Office, January 13, 1960]), p. 26.

[5] Julius Turner, *Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1951), and H. Bradford Westerfield, *Foreign Policy and Party Politics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1955).

[6] Hereinafter we shall use only data from the seventy respondents who replied to each of the three items.

congressional Republicans gave greater support to Department of State policies than Democrats. While approximately the same number and same percentage of Democrats as Republicans moderately approved of departmental policies, many more Democrats disapproved and many more Republicans approved. Whatever the explanation, party loyalty, as shown, for example, by Republican support for the Department, was high and satisfaction with the communications process did not seem to the Republican administration, may have reached policy conclusions irrespective of the information, or they received their facts and evaluations from other sources, such as the President's weekly conference with his party's congressional leaders. Democrats, on the other hand, who did not identify with the Department and who did not have similarly ready access to the President, may have depended more heavily on the communications channels to the Department.

TABLE 1

PROCESS SATISFACTION, POLICY APPROVAL, AND PARTY AFFILIATION

	All Respondents (N = 70)	Democrats (N = 40)	Republicans (N = 30)
Correlation between satisfaction with handling of requests for policy information and policy approval	.33**	.60**	.11
Correlation between satisfaction with the Department of State's record for volunteering information and policy approval...	.32**	.57**	.25
Correlation between perception of weight of congressional opinion in departmental decisions and policy approval	.30**	.33*	.44*
Correlation between index of satisfaction with information process and policy approval	.41**	.56**	.13

* Significant at .05 level.
** Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF CONGRESSIONAL PARTIES' SUPPORT FOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE POLICIES

	Democrats No.	Democrats Per Cent	Republicans No.	Republicans Per Cent
Disapprove .	21	52.5	2	6.6
Moderately approve .	16	40.0	14	46.6
Strongly approve	3	7.5	14	46.6
Total ...	40	100.0	30	99.8

be related to this support. Inasmuch as most Republicans (all but two) at least moderately approved, there may not be much that more satisfactory information could do to improve Republican support.

For Democrats, however, satisfaction with policy did vary with satisfaction with the information process. In other words, it appears that the information process may be more important for the "out of executive" party than for the "executive" party. Republican legislators, by identifying with

Generalizability of findings.—We have reported data on a special subset, the re-elected members of the Eighty-fifth Congress. One is entitled to inquire whether the relation between satisfaction with information process and policy approval may be generalized to other Congresses. An outstanding empirical characteristic of the Eighty-fifth Congress was that the majority party in Congress did not control the executive. Democrats organized both the House and Senate, re-elected Speaker Rayburn, and secured all committee chairmanships. However, the Department of State was headed by a Republican secretary, and the President's regular Tuesday morning "legislative conference" was attended by Republican congressional leaders only. This division of control of the two branches between parties was not peculiar to the Eighty-fifth Congress, but was also characteristic of the Eighty-fourth (1955–56) and the Eighty-sixth (1959–60). For six of the eight years of Dwight Eisenhower's

presidency, the Congress was organized by the opposite party. Although this condition had occurred before (most recently during Herbert Hoover's second term in 1931–32, and Harry Truman's first in 1947–48), it has been unusual for the division to persist for such a long period. Analysis of the Eighty-fifth Congress, in addition to helping explain that particular Congress, may be relevant to other instances of "divided government." We are confronted not merely with a "single case" but with a special case of a type of "checks and balance" government.

Might this analysis apply more generally? Why should not these relations between information and policy also hold for the opposition party when the congressional majority corresponds to the presidential majority? A government without programmatic parties, with little formal party discipline, and with a consensus in favor of bipartisan foreign policies, will have need for alliances across party lines, regardless of whether the same party controls both branches.[7] Thus, one might expect similar findings in any Congress: the policy preferences of the executive-oriented legislators will not vary according to satisfaction with the information process, while the policy choices of the "out of executive party" legislators will be significantly related to satisfaction with information. If this theory is correct, we have additional evidence that the mechanism for what Westerfield calls "extra-partisanship"[8] lies in the character of the information process linking the executive and congressmen of the non-Executive party

Summary.—Statistically significant relations do not exist between congressmen's satisfaction with the way the Department of State handles requests from constituents and satisfaction with foreign policy. However, significant relations are observed between satisfaction with other aspects of the communications network linking Congress and the Department and foreign policy. These include the Department's record for answering requests for policy information, volunteering information to Congress, and perception of the weight of congressional opinion in the Department's formulation of policy. These relations hold for congressmen who occupy foreign-policy roles but not for others. When members are divided according to their party affiliations, these relationships are found to hold for the "out of executive" party but not for the "executive" party Such findings suggest that information processes and satisfaction with them may be an important element in establishing and maintaining bipartisan foreign policies.

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[7] Westerfield, *op cit*, and Cecil V Crabb, Jr, *Bipartisan Foreign Policy, Myth or Reality* (Evanston, Ill: Row, Peterson Co, 1957)

[8] Westerfield, *op cit*, p 16 "Extra partisanship" refers to an administration's practice of "working outside party lines while maintaining a base of support in its own party

AGING IN ISRAEL, A PLANNED SOCIETY[1]

YONINA TALMON

ABSTRACT

In spite of the many safeguards and advantages, growing old is by no means a smooth process in the collectives of Israel. On the personal level it is experienced as a difficult, sad, and painful process of reorientation, with severe intergenerational tension, not to be overcome without carefully planned institutional reorganization.

This paper analyzes the influence of ideological and structural factors on the process of aging and elucidates the limitations and potentialities of planning in this sphere. It is based on an examination of the process of aging in collective settlements in Israel.[2] The collectives have solved many of the basic and most persistent problems of aging. Aging members enjoy full economic security. Communal services take care of them in case of ill health or infirmity. Retirement from work is gradual and does not entail an abrupt and complete break from work routines. Aging members are not cut off from community life. Social participation serves as an alternative avenue of activity and provides respected substitute functions. In many cases it compensates the aging member for his gradual loss of competence and status in the occupational sphere. What is most important, grown-up children are expected to live in the community founded by their parents. Parents are able to maintain close and constant relations with their children without losing their independence. Elderly and old people are thus spared much of the insecurity and isolation, the futile inactivity and dependence entailed in aging.

The focus of the analysis is on the main ideological and structural sources of strain and on an examination of the institutional mechanisms by which the collectives cope with problems of the aged.

Analysis in this paper is based on a research project conducted in one of the four federations of collectives.[3] The number of collectives in our sample is twelve, or one in six of all the collectives affiliated with the federation. The project has combined sociological and anthropological field methods. The data obtained from the questionnaires, from various types of interviews, and from the analysis of written materials were examined and carefully interpreted by direct observation. We did intensive and systematic field work in the collectives in the sample.

Our initial project dealt with aging primarily within the framework of the developmental cycle of the family and its effects on intergenerational continuity. We were able to deal with other aspects of aging by

[1] Enlarged version of a paper read at the International Gerontological Congress, San Francisco, 1960 This research was partly supported by a grant from the research council of the Federation of Labor.

[2] The main features of collective settlements (*Kvutzot* or *Kibbutzim*) are: common ownership of property except for a few personal belongings and communal organization of production and consumption on an equalitarian basis. All income goes into the common treasury, each member getting a very small annual allowance for personal expenses. The community is run as a single economic unit and as a single household.

[3] The project was conducted by the Research Seminar of the Sociology Department of the Hebrew University. Mrs. R. Bar-Joseph took an active part in the initial planning. A. Etzioni assisted me in direction of the project in its first stage. The other main research assistants were E. Ron, M Sarell, and J. Sheffer. M. Sarell and E Cohen took over from Mr. Etzioni in the second stage The main research assistants were U. Avner, B. Bonne, U. Hurwitz, and Z. Stup Special thanks are due to Mrs. R. Gutman-Shaku who assisted in collecting the data and preparing this paper for publication. I wish to thank E. Cohen, R. Baki, and R. Gabriel for their help.

doing additional research. Documentary material of various sorts, concerned with aging, which appeared in the last five years, was subjected to systematic content analysis. Some of the hypotheses derived from the initial project and from the additional analysis of publications were put to further test in a subsample of two collectives.[4]

SOURCES OF STRAIN

The ambivalent position of old age in a future-oriented and youth-centered society[5] is one of the main sources of strain of aging in the collectives. The founders had dissociated themselves from Jewish traditional life and had rebelled against the authority of their elders, most members having been trained in radical non-conformist youth movements whose values and patterns of behavior have had a decisive and indelible influence on communal life. The original revolutionary ideology was reinforced by the personal experience of rebellion. All this glorified youth as full of potentialities, free, and creative, and emphasized discontinuity.

The appearance of the second generation in time naturally brought to an end the disrupting of intergenerational ties. Children are expected now to settle in the collective founded by their parents and to continue their life work there; the family of orientation is no longer considered an external and alien influence. The continuity of the collective depends on intergenerational continuity, and the second generation is called upon to be responsible for maintaining and developing the heritage of the first.[6]

This new ideology of continuity is just beginning to take root. It is, as yet, of only secondary importance because the collective movement, constantly seeking reinforcement from the youth movements, relies on youth-centered appeal and continues to preach rebellion and discontinuity. Since this spirit predominates, aging is looked on as a process of steady decline, a gradual fall from grace.

The central position accorded to work and the exceptionally high evaluation of productivity lead to the same effect. The founders of the collectives have undergone a process of voluntary de-urbanization and proletarization which reversed the traditional Jewish hierarchy of occupational prestige. Retraining for hard physical labor and settlement on the land were imperative for survival in the difficult conditions of settlement. Strenuous work, a dire economic necessity, has become much more than that: it has been endowed with deep meaning and dignity and invested with a quasi-religious seriousness, as an important instrument for the realization of social and national ideals as well as an ultimate value in itself. The idealized figure of a farmer-pioneer tiller of the soil has become one of the main symbols of personal redemption and of national revival.

Work and productivity, in all collectives, has become a compelling drive.[7] Absence from work, even for a legitimate reason engenders feeling of discomfort and a sense of guilt: an individual who shirks his work responsibilities is severely criticized. The position of a lazy or incompetent worker is precarious, regardless of his other accomplishments and achievements. The position of any member in the collective is determined primarily by his devotion to his work and the excellence of his perform-

[4] Part of the qualitative data was presented elsewhere. See Y. Talmon-Garber, "Social Structure and Family Size," *Human Relations*, XII (1958), 121-46, and Y. Talmon-Garber, "Occupational Placement of the Second Generation," *Megamoth*, VIII (1957), 369-92 (in Hebrew).

[5] Cf. F. R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in *Personality*, ed. C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), pp. 342–57.

[6] A fuller analysis of this change may be found in Y. Talmon-Garber, "Social Structure and Family Size," *op. cit.* See also M. Sarell, "Continuity and Change the Second Generation in Collective Settlements," *Megamoth*, XI (1961), 32-123 (in Hebrew).

[7] See M. Spiro, *Venture in Utopia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 17.

ance, and those engaged in physical labor in agriculture enjoy highest prestige.

Retirement from work is gradual. Aging members are not suddenly relieved of their major social function but undergo a steady and cumulative decline in occupational status. Inevitably, as they lose their capacity for hard work and find it increasingly difficult to excel in their tasks, they gradually become part-time workers and are eventually transferred to lighter tasks, sometimes in a less arduous non-agricultural occupation. If an aging member happens to hold a managerial position he relinquishes it in due time, for most work branches require a full-time manager. Old people often wander from one work assignment to another, doing odd jobs here and there.

Aging members thus gradually cease to be self-supporting, and grow more dependent on communal institutions and require more services. Even though most have earned their keep in many years of hard and devoted work, they cannot face declining productivity without misgivings: the constant emphasis on productivity and self-maintenance discourages any too easy adjustment to growing dependence. Moreover, unlike dependence on a state pension or on an old-age insurance scheme, dependence on the collective is not neutral and anonymous. The aging member sometimes experiences it as a direct personal dependence on his fellow members. No wonder, then, that many of the elderly refuse to make use of their right to part-time work and continue to work full time as long as they possibly can.

The objective need for hard productive labor and the ideological emphasis on it in agriculture put elderly members at a considerable disadvantage. Moreover, the constantly changing rationalized and mechanized economy of the collectives puts a premium on up-to-date specialized training, with which long experience gained during many years of practical work often cannot compete. Inasmuch as long experience engenders rigid aherence to routine and hampers adjustment to new techniques, it is a liability. Elderly people are thus severely handicapped. Younger people, stronger and more flexible, are often better trained and more up to date.

Paradoxically, the emphasis on equality, another important value, further harasses elderly members. Social status in the collective is a function of ability, not of age: young people enjoy social equality with their elders, and there are few symbols of deference. Aging members have no claim to vested positions; their contributions in the past do not entitle them to special consideration, and they are judged on their merits.

The fear of losing one's position in the occupational sphere is a major source of insecurity of the aged and a cause of much anxiety and discontent. Analysis of self-images of aging members and of the stereotypes employed to describe old age indicate clearly that retirement is crucial in heightening the awareness of the onset of old age. Many members defined the reduction of their hours of work as the beginning of the end.[8]

Gradual retirement spares the workers the shock of an abrupt and total loss of their major social function and enables them to adjust to retirement stage by stage. Moreover it enables the community to utilize the productive capacities of all members fully and spares aging members the long period of involuntary idleness. It should be stressed, however, that full retirement at a fixed age has one important advantage over gradual retirement.[9] Com-

[8] Z. Smith Blau, "Changes in Status and Age Identification," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (1956), 198–203; B. S. Philips, "A Role Theory Approach to Adjustment in Old Age," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957), 212-17.

[9] On the influence of full retirement at a fixed age on morale see E. A. Freedman and R. J Havighurst, *The Meaning of Work and Retirement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); see also C. Tibbits, "Retirement Problems in American Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1953), 301. Most researches em-

plete retirement constitutes a clear-cut break; gradual retirement spares the worker a major crisis, but at the same time subjects him to difficult and recurrent changes, a long process of continuous reorientation and readjustment.

The rivalry between old and young can be fully analyzed only when viewed against the wider ramifications of the relationship between successive generations. The second generation is expected to stay in the collective founded by their parents. This pattern of familial continuity enables the parents to maintain close contacts with their children, but it engenders considerable strain in the occupational sphere. Occupational opportunities are rather limited in the collective. Members of the second generation have to compete directly with the first generation for the available jobs.[10] As members of the collective they are in free competition with the older generation, a competition in which the most suitable candidate usually wins and the better worker is more often than not the younger.

The fear of blocking the channels of advancement often leads to a policy of early replacement of older members by younger, even if the aging workers are more suitable and more qualified for the job. The anomalous age distribution and incomplete generational structure of the collectives are of utmost importance in this matter. The founders of a collective are usually young people, of the same or similar age and unattached. At this initial stage there are no aging parents and no young children in the collective. When additional groups and individuals join the founders at different stages of community development the age distribution becomes more varied. When the one-generation structure becomes two-generational, a number of old parents will be found in most established collectives. These parents live in the collective and enjoy the status of "member's parent" but do not as a rule become full members: they are marginal, and the generation structure remains for a considerable time truncated and incomplete. It is only when the original founders become grandfathers and grow old that the collective develops into a full-scale three-generational structure.

The uneven and discontinuous age distribution and the incomplete generational structure have many repercussions on the process of occupational allocation. Adolescents born in the collective begin to come of age when all members of the first generation are still in possession of their full working capacities and hold most jobs which require specialized skill and experience. The process of taking over is a prolonged one: in collectives which have ceased to expand and have not evolved special mechanisms to speed up the taking-over process, the restriction of occupational opportunities is felt very keenly. Any attempt of the aged to hold on to their positions limits the occupational choices open to the second generation. The young people resent being hemmed in and being unduly restricted. They become restless and in some cases leave their parents' collective in search of better openings. Thus severe and protracted blocking of avenues of occupational mobility endangers intergenerational family continuity.

Our material indicates the growing importance of parent-children relationship in the process of aging. The center of gravity often shifts to the familial role: in many cases it is more important than the substitute functions provided by participation in public affairs. At first this seemed surprising. The family in the collectives has delegated most of its functions to the commu-

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phasize the grave difficulties entailed in adjustment to total retirement. There is, however, some evidence that these difficulties are overstressed. See G. F. Streib, "Morale of the Retired," *Social Problems*, III (1955-56), 271-80.

[10] On a similar problem in primitive societies see M. Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), pp. 56-57.

nity,[11] and members' needs are provided by communal institutions. The main socializing agencies are the peer age-group and the specialized nurses, instructors, and teachers. Children are partly segregated from their families, mutual and direct dependence between parents and children being restricted. Since only very few primary familial roles have been left to the family, it seemed reasonable to expect the family to be of only secondary importance. Paradoxically, this limitation of functions seems to have a beneficial effect on family relations: insofar as the family has ceased to be the prime socializing agency it escapes, to some extent, the inevitable ambivalence felt toward agents of socializations, for parents do not have to perform the two-sided role of ministering to their children's needs, on the one hand, and thwarting their wishes, on the other. Parents do not carry the main responsibility for disciplining their children and can afford to be permissive, all of which limits the areas of potential conflict. Since occupational allocation is not familial, it does not affect the relationship between parents and children, and occupational rivalry between generations does not penetrate the family nor disrupt its unity. Moreover, it is mainly within the family that both parents and children have intimate relations, unpatterned by their position in the community and are free from routine duties; only in the family do they get love and care which they do not have to share with many others.

To the elderly, the gradual withdrawal from the occupational sphere enhances the importance of the family. Curtailment of outside activities brings about a concomitant decline in the number and intensity of outside contacts, but they may seek solace and emotional security in their relationship with their children. Grandchildren thus become a major preoccupation, especially with aging women.

Elderly people render their children many small but important services. Although children are looked after mainly by communal institutions the need for aid is not completely satisfied. Children come to their parents' flat after work hours, and the parents look after them during the afternoon and take them to the children houses at night and put them to bed. But if they are very tired after a day's work, the parents may find it difficult to cope with their children without some rest. Parents who have a number of young children will find the afternoon noisy and hectic, and now grandparents may be a great help. They take their grandchildren for walks. They help with older children after the birth of a new baby. They take over the care of children when their parents go on vacation. Whenever either parent is absent from the collective attending refresher courses for specialized training or seminars of advanced studies, the grandparents replace the parent and compensate the children for the temporary separation. They help regularly, but do so especially during emergencies.

Grandparents' needs are provided for by communal institutions. But they, too, often need help, especially when they are incapacitated or very old. But children visit their parents regularly and help with the nursing during illness. They bring in food from the communal kitchen to their parents' flat whenever the parents are unable or disinclined to eat in the communal dining hall, and they carry the parents' clothes to and from the communal laundry. These small domestic and personal services grow very important when the parents are old or infirm; they are indispensable when there is only one widowed and very old parent left.

It should be stressed that the services that children render to their parents are on the whole not very irksome or time-con-

[11] Cf. Y. Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Collective Settlements," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology* (Amsterdam: International Sociological Association, 1956), IV, 116-26.

suming, being auxiliary functions. The old parents' primary needs are provided for by the collective so that they retain to the very last a semi-independence. In the support and care of aged relatives the children only supplement collective institutions. Their limited liabilities and duties do not, in most cases, interfere with their normal life routines. The curtailment and limitation of obligations seem to reinforce rather than weaken family relationships. As a rule, it does not undermine the sense of responsibility toward old parents; quite the contrary; the children are able to help spontaneously and generously. The relationship is free of the feeling of resentment and of the sense of guilt engendered by too heavy responsibilities.[12]

The ties between aging parents and children are, thus, firmly based on reciprocal services, on a constant give-and-take of small but significant and continuous services. During the first and middle stages of aging services flow mainly from parents to children, who receive more help than they give. It is only during the last stages of aging that the asymmetrical exchange is reversed in favor of the parents, but it seldom becomes completely one-sided. Only in cases of long-term infirmity do aged parents impose severe strain on their families.

The importance of the interrelation between parents and children can be clearly demonstrated by examining the problems of aging of unmarried and childless members, on the one hand, and of parents whose children have left the collective on the other hand. Needless to say, we do not find here the extreme isolation and bitter loneliness found elsewhere.[13] Old people remain full members of a cohesive community and continue to participate in its life. Their diminishing participation in the occupational sphere may be partly counterbalanced by enhanced participation in communal affairs. They are surrounded by friends and neighbors. Yet in spite of all these benefits and substitute functions, most of those who have no children living nearby in the same collective feel very lonely and discouraged, especially so if they have no other relatives in the collective.

Increasing age enhances the importance of geographical proximity and daily face-to-face contact.[14] The aged find it increasingly difficult to get about and visit their relatives who live elsewhere; they need daily care and company. The social and health services and their friends and their neighbors take on some of the functions of children, but this substitute aid can not completely fill the gap. Old parents have no qualms about accepting personal services from their children since the relationship is based on reciprocity and deep affection, but they feel unhappy if they have to trouble a nurse more often than do other old people. Accepting aid from neighbors occasionally, they regard it as not quite right to depend on them for regular services, and they are not completely at ease even with very close and old friends.

Some of the childless old members attach themselves to the family of a friend or a neighbor, as additional or substitute grandparents. This creates a basis of common interest and co-operation and enables them to accept the help offered not as a favor but as part of a mutually satisfactory relationship. In some cases the prob-

[12] See P. Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), pp. 164–65, and L. Rosenmayer, "Der alte Mensch in der sozialen Umwelt von Heute," *Kolner Zeitschrift*, Heft IV (1958), pp. 642–57.

[13] Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–82.

[14] See E. Litwak, "Geographic Mobility and Family Cohesion," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (1960), 385–94. Litwak advances the hypothesis that close relations with kin can be maintained in spite of distance or of breaks in face to face contact. However, his sample did not include people over forty-five years of age and he himself noted that older people might vary significantly in this respect. His analysis of patterns of geographical mobility of extended families indicates a tendency to move closer together in the later stages.

lems are solved by bonds of enduring friendship and mutual aid between two old and childless people. These alternatives offset certain of the difficulties but they do not entirely replace the family.

Relations with children who live in the same collective are essential to the well-being and happiness of the aged. The services that they render to their children give them a hold on life, and the help extended to them by their children is not just a fulfilment of professional duty or a personal favor but a reciprocation of past services and a reaffirmation of a diffuse and comprehensive lifelong loyalty, a recurring symbolic expression of attachment and affection.

There is thus a marked contrast between the interests of old members in the occupational sphere and their interests as members of families. As workers they would like to slow up replacement of old workers by younger ones. But as parents they want their children to achieve their occupational aspirations without delay and press for their assignment to desirable and important jobs as soon as possible. Thus parents pay the price for family continuity by undergoing difficulties in the occupational sphere, for family continuity can be maintained only at the cost of early replacement.

A smooth process of aging entails both disengagement and re-engagement. It depends primarily on a smooth retirement from work, a successful reorientation to civic and domestic relationship, and, in addition, to leisure activities.[15] The elderly, having more free time, are often at loss how to use it and need advice. Life in the collectives is work-centered: work for many was an all-absorbing and often deeply satisfying activity. They had little time and perhaps no great need to develop hobbies. Retirement creates a void not easily filled, and their main problem is to find a new balance between work and social participation on the one hand, and study and recreation, on the other.

We must take into consideration the overemphasis on planning which is typical of recently founded revolutionary societies. Consciously or unconsciously, the members assume that all human problems can be solved by comprehensive social reorganization. Sooner or later they learn that social planning cannot cure all ills. It very often involves the sacrifice of certain ends in the interest of others, and in the course of solving a problem, new ones often are engendered. Schemes which favor one subgroup may cause serious difficulties to other subgroups. Emphasis on one institutional sphere may entail strains in adjoining spheres. Gains in one sphere may be offset by minor or major losses in others. Members of the collectives are surprised and deeply disappointed when it becomes obvious that total social planning leaves many problems unsolved and even causes new and unforeseen strains; they are easily discouraged and prone to be impatient. Even those who in the process of aging seem well ordered and well balanced very often feel defeated. In many cases we found a considerable discrepancy between our evaluation of the degree of adjustment achieved by an elderly member, on the one hand, and his own self-evaluation, on the other.[16] We found that many of the aged tended to underrate advantages and overrate disadvantages: many took the amenities provided by the community for granted and magnified their difficulties.

The overemphasis on planning has yet another important consequence: the aged tend to rely on organizational changes rather than on ideological reorientation and

[15] See L. C. Michel, "The New Leisure Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1954), 371; also R. J. Havighurst, "The Leisure Activities of the Middle Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (1957), 152–62.

[16] The investigator assessed the degree of adjustment by extent of participation in the main institutional spheres, basing his examination on a set of fixed indicators. His judgment in each case was compared with the self-assessment by the elderly person.

personal resocialization. They do not fully realize the need for a deliberate cultivation of flexibility in role,[17] hence a certain rigidity and failure to undertake long-range preparation for the inevitable change.

The importance of structural position is clearly expressed in the differences between aging men and aging women in the collectives.[18] We were led by our data to expect that women find it more difficult to adjust to aging than men. Climatic conditions, hard labor, and the negative attitude toward beauty care contribute to a comparatively early onset of aging. Most elderly women drift away from agriculture and child care to service institutions, such as the communal kitchen and laundry, where work is often hectic and full of tension or monotonous and boring and of low prestige. Women, we find, are less inclined than men to participate in communal affairs, and few manage to find a suitable substitute role in this sphere. Most seek comfort in their relationship with their kin and usually cling to their familial roles more than do the men. However, since activities in the family are limited they cannot in most cases fully compensate the women for withdrawal in other spheres. Women tend to engage in leisure pursuits more than men, but there is as yet little systematic cultivation of them in the collectives. Thus women in the collectives apparently have less chance to achieve a balanced and well-ordered old age than men,[19] and we therefore expected them to be more critical of the collective than were aging men.

This hypothesis was examined in our inquiry in the subsample of two long-established collectives. The sample included half of all the members above fifty years of age: the average age of the women was fifty-seven, while that of the men was fifty-eight. The respondents were asked to evaluate the position of aging members in the collective. Table 1 indicates the difference between the statements of men and women.

TABLE 1

ATTITUDES OF AGING MEMBERS AND AGING PARENTS OF MEMBERS TOWARD THEIR POSITIONS IN COLLECTIVE

Group	No.	[illegible] of Collective Per cent	[illegible] Per cent	Very [illegible] Per cent
Aging members				
Men	42	31	45	24
Women	39	18	44	38
Total	81	25	44	31
Parents of members	33	67	24	9

As shown here, fewer women than men have an unqualified favorable evaluation of the position of aging people in the collective and more women are very critical of the collective. When asked to compare the position of aging men and aging women about 70 per cent of the women and 62 per cent of the men felt that women have a more difficult time than men; only 6 per cent of the women and 10 per cent of the men stated the reverse.

The connection between the system of values and the strains entailed in aging is conclusively demonstrated by comparing members' parents who are only quasi-members with elderly people who are founders of the collective and full members in it. Members' parents do not serve on

[17] R. Havighurst, "Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1954), 309.

[18] For a more detailed analysis of the position of women in the collectives see Y. Talmon Garber, "*Sex Role Differentiation in an Equalitarian Society*," 1959. (Mimeographed.)

[19] Men have a more difficult adjustment to aging than women in working-class families (see P. Townsend, *op. cit.*, chap. vi). There is little comparative material on retirement of women and its effect on their adjustment to aging.

committees; they are partly isolated and do not participate as much as full members in the collective's social life. Moreover, many do not fully identify themselves with the collective and find it difficult to get used to its way of life. On the face of it, one would expect quasi-members to be less adjusted than full members who have more substitute functions and are better integrated in the collective. Analysis soon revealed, however, that members' parents are on the whole, much happier and more contented than the others. Many, indeed, describe their life in the collective in glowing terms.

By contrast, aging members are much more aware of the disadvantages. Their praise of the collective is guarded and qualified and they will always point out the need for further planning and reorganization. Table 1 also shows these differences. Members' parents in the sample are older than aging members: their average age is about sixty-four. They numbered fourteen men and nineteen women.

Members' parents, it is seen, who are in a less advantageous position in the collective, express a markedly more favorable evaluation of the position of aging people in the collective than the better situated and more privileged aging members. This seemingly paradoxical finding can be accounted for only if we take into consideration the ideological and structural position of the two groups. Members' parents are not imbued with the prevalent faith in youth, work, and productivity, and being marginal they are less susceptible to the pressure of public opinion. Having come to the collective after, or near, retirement they are grateful for the possibility to work part time and do not regard this as a comedown. As they do not set their hopes high, they are easily satisfied and enjoy many of the amenities of aging in the collective without suffering from the concomitant strains. But the aging members, who are an integral part of the system and adhere to the dominant values, find it much more difficult to avoid the inherent pressures and strains.

REDEFINITION OF POLICY

The collectives tended at first to disregard the spreading discontent among their aged and ignored the symptoms of strain. Those who voiced resentment and pressed for change were usually regarded as incorrigible malcontents. The increasing number of aging members in the long-established collectives and their persistent criticism have gradually brought about a growing awareness of their problems.

The fact that the collectives are not rigidly doctrinaire and that their structure has remained fairly flexible and dynamic is of crucial importance. The collective movement has recently started to develop supplementary institutional mechanisms which cope, to some extent, with the inherent difficulties of aging in it. Some of these mechanisms develop as spontaneous adaptations to a changing situation; others evolve as indirect and unintended consequences of planning in other fields. In addition, there crop up proposals and specific plans which deal directly with the rights and duties of the aging. All the federations of collectives are now engaged in a critical appraisal and reorganization of their schemes, and there is a constant and tireless groping for new solutions.

As indicated, tension mostly develops in the occupational sphere. Consequently, efforts of reorganization are directed mainly toward careful reassessment of the policy of gradual retirement. One of the main problems is the absence of generally accepted and explicit norms of retirement There is no clear definition of the age of retirement or of the right to progressive reduction of work hours; each collective deals with retirement in its own way and considerable individual variation is the rule even within one collective. Their rights and duties being undefined, the ag-

ing are hesitant to apply for partial retirement even when they need it very badly. The federation is now developing flexible standards to guide the collectives. The federation does not aim at uniformity: the individual collective is to be allowed some variation within the accepted framework and may adopt the common standards to its special conditions and to the special needs of its aging members.

The systematic increase of suitable employment opportunities[20] is yet another subject of the planned redefinition of policy. The federation has set about reorganizing the existing work branches and recently engaged a research institute to undertake a thorough job analysis of all work branches. This research sets out to identify the skills, knowledge, and abilities required in each job and to sort out those that, after certain modifications, can be successfully filled by the aging.

An increase of possibilities of employment and a considerable improvement of the position of aging members has been achieved by dividing some of the work branches into subunits and intrusting the elderly with responsibility in some of them. Older people resent being gradually deprived of initiative and authority and find it difficult to work under the supervision of a much younger worker. But the pattern of subdivision retains for them a measure of responsibility and independence, while the partial segregation of old and young workers limits potential conflict. Not all branches are amenable to such a subdivision but many efforts are made to give the aged as much independence as possible. Quite a number of old members work on their own. The bedridden and the house-bound get work which they can perform whenever they feel like it. Placement of them is slowly becoming more selective and personal.

The development of new work branches in the collective and the employment of the aged in jobs outside the community have widened considerably the opportunities of old people. Many collectives have developed light industries and crafts which mainly employ the aging members. Moreover, a considerable number of the aged find suitable employment in local and country-wide organizations. They work outside the communities and return home every day or every week-end. They keep part of their salary for their personal needs but most of it goes to the collective. There has lately developed a system whereby each established collective adopts a newly established one and sends a number of its members as social and agricultural instructors, and a certain number of elderly members volunteer for this job The young and inexperienced members of the newly established collectives profit from the experience and knowledge of the older persons and treat them with respect. The instructors, for their part, serve as a living link between the two communities and feel that they are making a real contribution toward the development of the movement; it gives them a new lease on life.

Continuation of employment and successful adaptation to a new job often depend on available possibilities of training The federation has a program of refresher courses and retraining seminars. Many aging members have discarded a non-manual occupation before joining the collective. If, when they are no longer able to continue their work in agriculture, they want to return to their former occupation, they are able to do so provided that they get systematic retraining A considerable number of aging members are sent for comparatively long periods of study. Quite a number of them retrain as teachers, librarians, and accountants.

The collectives realize that enhanced so-

[20] W Donahue (ed.), *Earning Opportunities for Older Workers* (Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press, 1955), pp. 159-245. Cf. also J T. Drake, *The Aged in American Society* (New York Ronald Press Co, 1958), pp 100-181

cial participation is a necessary antidote to the loss of status entailed in gradual retirement and may compensate the aging for the limitation of their occupational opportunities. They consequently conduct a constant fight against the not uncommon tendency to retreat and retire from public life. The collectives nominate aging members to all important committees and exert pressure on them to accept; they are, in fact, overrepresented on most committees. The collectives also nominate aging members to temporary terms of office in the federation and in many other central country-wide organizations. These are mostly elite positions which provide wide scope for activity and initiative. Most of the leaders of the federation and most of its representatives in outside bodies, such as the government, the parliament and the trade unions, are in fact elderly.

The collectives promote both systematic group leisure activities and personal hobbies. They organize study groups and art classes which attract the aging women, especially. The main emphasis is on cultural activities and not on light recreation. Gardening, photography, cultivation of arts and crafts, stamp-collecting, and reading are the most popular hobbies. Development in this sphere is on the whole slow and inadequate.

The reassessment of policy towards aging has brought about a certain redefinition of the division of tasks between the family and communal institutions. As noted above, combined care by communal institutions and by relatives works well except in cases of long infirmity and an early onset of senility. There is, besides, the problem of old people without children or near relatives in the collective. The collectives have tried to solve these problems in different but complementary ways: to develop additional communal services which will supplement the family and delay as far as possible the need for transfer to a hospital or nursing home, and to build up suitable institutions for cases of severe mental and physical deterioration. The collectives put the main emphasis on enlargement of communal services and resort to the institutional solution mainly in cases needing personal care which cannot be dealt with within the farmework of the community.

The collectives have started to provide domiciliary services such as special nursing and home care for their aged. Some collectives keep a special nurse or social worker who is in charge of old people in the community. Her main task is to help the families whenever the burden becomes too heavy and to provide substitute aid to old people who have no close relatives in the collective. Even some assistance from the nurse will very often relieve the strain and enable the relatives to carry on with their duties. Domiciliary services defer the necessity of maximum nursing care.

There is some experimentation with new types of dwelling for the aged as well. Some collectives set up old parents in an independent small flat directly adjoining that of their children. Other collectives favor an arrangement of segregation by age. Planners feel that they can provide various services more economically and more effectively when the aged are concentrated in one area, easily accessible to the center. In addition, these planners assert that concentration of people with similar life experiences and perspectives enhances their social interaction.[21]

The Collective Movement is now seriously considering the development of an inter-collective old-age insurance scheme which will pay each member a regular pension on retirement. The pensions are to go to the collective and contribute toward the maintenance of aging members. The scheme will enable retired workers to con-

[21] I. Rostow, "Retirement Housing and Social Integration" (Mimeographed)

tinue to be at least partially self-supporting and will enhance their feeling of security and independence.[22] It is hoped that the collectives will be able to put aside part of this money for the development of comprehensive old-age services.

Underlying the institutional reorganization is an ideological reorientation. There is a growing awareness that the basic difficulties inherent in aging in the collectives are directly related to the overemphasis on youth, on work, and on productivity. There are some signs of the emergence of a more balanced, more flexible, and developmental view of life as well as a more realistic conception of the potentialities and limitations of planning.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY

[22] D. Knani, *Batei Midoth Israel* (Sifriat Poalim, 1960), pp 165 67.

PARENTAL ROLE DIFFERENTIATION[1]

PHILIP E. SLATER

ABSTRACT

Parsons' theory of differentiation in the nuclear family is questioned with regard to the universality of parental role differentiation along an "instrumental expressive axis," and the effect of such differentiation upon the child's identification with the parent of the same sex and upon his personality development. Marked parental role differentiation in our own society is usually dysfunctional, because of absence of the stable extra-familial social context which is often found in other societies and which obviates the necessity of intensive internalization of parental values.

Some of the most confused segments of psychoanalytic theory are those which attempt to deal differentially with intra-familial relationships. The difficulties seem due largely to a failure to isolate the effects of formal, structural properties, based solely on variables such as the age and sex of family members. This defect has recently been remedied to a considerable extent by the work of Parsons, who attempts to integrate a formal analysis of this kind with classical psychoanalytic theory.[2] One of the more valuable products of this effort is a considerable clarification of the difficult concept of identification.[3]

At several points, however, the conceptual scheme advanced by Parsons encounters both theoretical and empirical difficulties. These involve the problem of role differentiation in the nuclear family. They may be stated as three hypotheses:

1. Role differentiation along an "instrumental-expressive axis" is a universal characteristic of the nuclear family.

2. Role differentiation between parents facilitates the child's identification with the same-sex parent.

3. Role differentiation between parents is essential to normal personality development in the child.

The position taken in this article is that parental differentiation along the "instrumental-expressive axis" is an optional feature of nuclear family structure and that under some conditions, notably those obtaining in large segments of our own society, it may actually impede identification with the same-sex parent and affect adversely the personality development of the child.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF DIFFERENTIATION

In the concluding chapter of *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Parsons and Bales refer to "the universal presence of two axes of differentiation, namely, an hierarchical axis of relative power and an instrumental-expressive axis."[4] The first difficulty we encounter in attempting to evaluate this statement is the lack of an adequate criterion for determining when differentiation is present and when it is not. If role differentiation is to be conceived as a quantitative variable—and it is difficult to see how it could be viewed otherwise—then the chance of finding a negative case is one divided by the square of the number of points on the scale used. If, of course, all that is meant by the statement of universality is that no two people exhibit a given type of behavior to exactly the same extent, then it cannot be questioned.

More than this is meant, however. Basic to the entire discussion of familial role differentiation is the notion that, in a family

[1] Revision of a paper read at the 1960 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association.

[2] See Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family: Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), chap. ii.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 91–94

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 355

characterized by sharp differentiation of roles, it should be grossly apparent that the majority of the instrumental functions are being performed by one parent—the father—and the majority of the expressive functions by the mother.[5]

But now a second difficulty arises, for this formulation ignores the problem of parental salience. In many cultures one parent, usually the mother, is both more expressive (nurturant) and more instrumental (demanding). Thus in Pukapuka, "the child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. . . . Authority over the infant is largely focused in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household."[6] This description, a negative instance not included in Zelditch's cross-cultural survey,[7] could be applied to a large number of societies, including (save for the final sentence) our own middle class. Considering each parent alone, one may see a marked emphasis on instrumental or expressive behavior, but this should not lead us to ignore the fact that one parent plays a distinctly secondary role in the performance of both functions.

This problem is not considered by either Parsons or Zelditch, perhaps because of the apparent assumption that instrumental and expressive behavior are negatively related, so that if one is stressed the other must be minimized. This idea is implicit in the use of the term "axis" with regard to the relationship between the two roles. But there is no way in which such an assumption of a negative relationship can be justified. In small-group studies, to which analogical appeals are often made in the Parsons and Bales volume, there is actually a positive correlation between the two roles.[8]

The argument for a negative relationship receives its ultimate expression in the following quotation from Zelditch: "Why after all, are *two* parents necessary? For one thing, to be a stable focus of integration, the integrative-expressive 'leader' can't be off on adaptive-instrumental errands all the time."[9]

We must be forgiven our pedantry for stressing, along with Briffault,[10] that the only time in a child's existence when two parents are "necessary" is when it is conceived. Passing over this issue, however, we note that the main weight of Zelditch's argument rests on the notion that role differentiation occurs because two discriminable types of behavior cannot be performed at the same time. One cannot, for example, work and play at once,[11] although the universality of work songs suggests that even this statement must be qualified. But it is not at all clear why differentiation should be limited to the instrumental-expressive "axis." If a special person is required to lead the laughing and playing, as Zelditch suggests, then it follows that still another person will be required to lead the weeping and mourning, since clearly a person cannot laugh and mourn at the same time. On the instrumental side, this role fragmentation becomes even more complicated. According to Zelditch's view, the farm family must at all times send two persons to the well, one to lower the bucket and one to raise it up since the bucket cannot be raised and lowered at the same time.

We must not, however, overlook the grain of truth in Zelditch's statement It

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 45, 80

[6] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, "Personality Development in Pukapukan Children," in W E Martin and Celia B. Stendler (eds), *Readings in Child Development* (New York Harcourt, Brace & Co , 1954), p. 161.

[7] Morris Zelditch, Jr, "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family," in Parsons and Bales, *op cit*, chap. vi.

[8] Parsons and Bales, *op cit*, p 286

[9] Zelditch, *op cit*, p 312

[10] Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York: Macmillan Co , 1931), *passim*

[11] Zelditch, *op. cit*, p 311

would undoubtedly be possible to find persons so incompetent as to be capable only of lowering or only of raising a bucket. Similarly, many persons are too rigid or limited in their interpersonal repertory to shift easily from the performance of instrumental to the performance of expressive functions, and vice versa.[12] This was originally suggested as the basis of role differentiation in experimental groups,[13] and there is no reason to assume a different foundation in the family. From this viewpoint, role differentiation could be characterized as a mechanism which takes nothing for granted with regard to the personalities of the incumbents.

It would be a rare society, however, which left such matters to chance, and we would expect societies characterized by sharp differentiation of parental roles to encourage role rigidity in individuals. In our own society the reverse is true, as the use of the word "role" and our fascination with Goffmanesque modes of analysis might suggest. The ability rapidly to alternate instrumental and expressive role performances is highly valued, and we have developed concepts such as "interpersonal flexibility" and "role-playing ability" to express this value. We must therefore be cautious in our inferences about personality, since societal pressures may have caused the ability to shift roles to have atrophied in the first instance and to have hypertrophied in the second, perhaps at the expense of other capacities.

UNIDIMENSIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

The "human-limitations" theory of role differentiation assumes bidimensionality, that is, it is based on the assumption that instrumental and expressive roles are roughly independent of each other. The theory could not be maintained, however, if in some way it could be demonstrated that instrumental and expressive behavior were in fact incompatible, that is, opposite poles of a single dimension, as Parsons and Zelditch seem at times to imply. While we expect an adequate individual to be capable of varying his behavior over time—to be able, in Zelditch's terms, both to call for a coffee break and eventually to terminate it without having to call in a back-to-work specialist—we do not ask of him that he behave in a truly self-contradictory manner. If a parent, for example, is alternately indulgent and depriving *in identical situations* we call him inconsistent rather than flexible. Knowing the situation, we expect to be able to predict his response with some accuracy on the basis of his previous behavior. If one parent is consistently depriving, it will be necessary, if we desire for the child a wide range of behavior on the depriving-indulgent axis, to have the other parent behave in an indulgent manner.

But if instrumental and expressive behavior were incompatible and differentiation were "built into" the family to avoid personal inconsistency, the incompatibility would simply have been externalized, so that in place of a whimsical individual we would now have quarreling parents, one saying "be lenient," the other saying "be strict."

It is usually argued, of course, that differentiation does not involve a conflict of aims but simply an agreement to specialize in different directions, with complementarity binding rather than separating the participants. But this distinction breaks down whenever there is the slightest contradiction between the two directions of specialization. Vogel and Bell, for example, present cases in which unidimensional pa-

[12] Philip E. Slater, "Psychological Factors in Role Specialization" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955), pp. 205–13. Particularly interesting in Zelditch's argument is the implicit assumption that whereas it is possible for persons in subordinate positions to make this transition, it is not possible for those in positions of leadership (Zelditch, *op. cit.*, pp. 311–12).

[13] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–96; Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XX (June, 1955), 308–10.

rental differentiation is utilized to institutionalize internal conflicts.[14]

Consider, for example, Parsons' statement that "the mother-figure is always the *more permissive* and supportive, the father the *more denying* and demanding."[15] In a family strongly differentiated along these lines, if the child wishes something which he fears might be denied him, he will probably go to the mother for it. If the mother grants the child what the father would have denied, does the father nonetheless support her in the performance of her differentiated function, since they are, after all, in a "coalition"? The notion of collaborative differentiation in socialization assumes, if the differentiation is unidimensional, that there is no relationship between personality and role behavior. Yet if the father is "denying," the chances are rather great that it is not simply because he feels it is something that *he* should do, but because he thinks it is something that should *in general* be done to the child, in which case he will not support the mother's indulgence at all, but will instead probably accuse her of subverting his authority or "spoiling" the child.[16] The maintenance of a "coalition" under conditions of sharp unidimensional differentiation assumes that the differentiated parents *will never interact with the child at the same time*, since it would obviously be impossible to do so and still support each other The idea of collaborative differentiation is therefore relevant primarily to the large and formal upper-class households of an earlier era, when mother, father, and child were rarely together at one time under circumstances which were disciplinarily problematic. It was easy under those conditions to "agree" that the child going from parent to parent and room to room should encounter different responses to the same behavior, and that when all were together the mother should place herself in a totally subordinate position. But in the less formal, more intimate middle-class household of today, any such arrangement would be an occasion for mirth. Major differences between parents in beliefs about what is "good" for the child can no longer be masked by drawing a kind of 38th parallel between the front and back of the house.

Often, as in the beautiful example given by Vogel and Bell,[17] unidimensional differentiation may serve to keep a conflict at a covert level, with the parents expressing their disagreement only through their orders and remarks to the child and never directly to each other. In such a case it might be correct to speak of "collaboration," since the parents are co-operating to avoid an open clash But as Vogel and Bell point out, while such a technique may serve to keep the family "intact" it effectively prevents any ultimate airing and resolution of the conflict, and "keeps the peace" only at the cost of impairing the emotional health of the child.[18]

In short, while bidimensional differentiation (i e., role differentiation in which the required performances are not incompatible) is obviously functional for all parties concerned under certain conditions specified below, unidimensional differentiation (i.e, in which the required performances are incompatible) seems to be primarily a mechanism for the ritual expression of intrapsychic and interpersonal conflicts in and between the marital part-

[14] Ezra F Vogel and Norman W Bell, "The Emotionally Disturbed Child as the Family Scapegoat," in Norman W Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (eds), *A Modern Introduction to the Family* (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1960), pp. 389 90 (cf also Ezra F Vogel, "The Marital Relationship of Parents and the Emotionally Disturbed Child" [unpublished Ph D dissertation, Harvard University, 1958]).

[15] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit* , p. 80 This statement also seems to imply that Parsons' model of differentiation is unidimensional, although the underlying theory would suggest a bidimensional model

[16] Cf A. R Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1952), p 20

[17] Vogel and Bell, *op cit* , pp 390 91

[18] *Ibid* pp [illegible]

ners and is usually dysfunctional for the child and for the society as a whole.

DIFFERENTIATION AND IDENTIFICATION[19]

Parsons' position on the relationship between differentiation and identification is clearly stated: "If the boy is to 'identify' with his father in the sense of sex-role categorization there must be a discrimination in role terms between the two parents."[20] For the sake of simplicity let us follow Parsons' example and concentrate on the identification of the male child with the father.

Since Parsons has defined the differentiated role of the father as being "more denying and demanding," we would expect identification to be a function of the father's strictness. That being "denying" is inherently paternal is problematic, in view of findings such as that of Payne and Mussen, 87 per cent of whose adolescent male subjects saw their fathers as more rewarding than their mothers,[21] but let us disregard this issue for the moment. That identification is a function of parental frustration is also a hoary psychoanalytic concept.[22] Empirically, however, the reverse seems to be the case. Chronic punitiveness seems actually to impede identification, while an underlying nurturant attitude toward the child seems to facilitate it.[23]

There is some evidence, moreover, which is in more direct contradiction to Parsons' statement. Beier and Ratzeburg found that males identified preferentially with whichever parent was least extreme in the performance of his or her sex role, while the author found that the more denying and strict the father and the more supportive and lenient the mother, the more the son identified preferentially with the latter.[24] These findings suggest that in our society at least, unidimensional parental role differentiation, and perhaps also an extreme degree of bidimensional differentiation, may actually inhibit the son's identification with the father, and Parsons' statement should therefore be qualified to that extent.

The reason for this is implicit in Parsons' discussion of the process of identification in the family. Parsons argues that the child forms several identifications, the first being with the mother.[25] Once this maternal

[19] "Identification" is here defined as any tendency for an individual to seek to maximize his similarity to another person in one or more respects. The studies I have cited in support of my position would not all serve as adequate evidence, were other definitions of identification to be used. I have elsewhere distinguished between "personal" and "positional" identification, the former based on a desire to assimilate the valued personal qualities of a loved object, the latter based on a desire to assume the position or role of an envied and hated object. See my "Toward a Dualistic Theory of Identification," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, VII (April, 1961). It is to "personal" identification that this section is devoted.

[20] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[21] D. E. Payne and P. H. Mussen, "Parent-Child Relations and Father Identification among Adolescent Boys," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LII (1956), 358–62

[22] Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of the Neuroses* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1945).

[23] Cf. I L. Child, "Socialization," in Gardner Lindzey (ed), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass : Addison-Wesley, 1954), Vol II; Susan W. Gray and R. Klaus, "The Assessment of Parental Identification," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, LIV (1956), 87–114; Payne and Mussen, *op. cit.*; Pauline Sears, "Child-rearing Factors Related to Playing of Sex-typed Roles," *American Psychologist*, VIII (1953), 431 (abstract); J W M. Whiting and I. L. Child, *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-cultural Study* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953)

[24] E. G. Beier and F. Ratzeburg, "The Parental Identifications of Male and Female College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVIII (1953), 569–72; Slater, "Psychological Factors in Role Specialization," p. 120.

[25] Parsons and Bales, *op cit*, pp. 91-94; cf. also J Kagan, "The Concept of Identification," *Psychological Review*, LXV (1958), 302; O. H. Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950), p. 608; R. R Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and H Levin, *Patterns of Child Rearing* (Evanston, Ill: Row, Peterson & Co, 1957).

identification is formed, the male child must at some point extend his identification to the father. If, however, the parents are highly differentiated with respect to their socialization behavior, and particularly if the father is primarily a source of frustration for the child, the transition will be a difficult one. There will be no inducement for the child to adopt this entirely new frame of reference. Parsons states that "before he has internalized the father as an object the child cannot be fully sensitive to his attitudes as sanctions. He can, however, be motivated to do things *which please both mother and father* and be rewarded by mother's love and nurturance. By some such process he comes to cathect the father—*because mother loves father and backs him up*— and from this generalized parental object then a qualitatively different object can be differentiated out."[26] This process will only take place, however, if the parents are not differentiated to such an extent that (*a*) it is impossible to please both at the same time, and (*b*) it is impossible, either emotionally or conceptually, to form a "generalized parental object." For it should be emphasized that a major aspect of identification is "taking the role of the other" in G. H. Mead's sense, that is, adopting the viewpoint of the other with respect to oneself. The importance of paternal identification is that it makes possible the development of a "generalized other" from the perceived viewpoints of the two parents. If the parents' attitudes toward the child are reasonably similar, such generalization is possible, but if they clash, the child is thrown back on a particularistic orientation toward them. He may be able momentarily to empathize with first one and then the other, but he cannot easily form a generalized self-concept from these conflicting perceptions.

DIFFERENTIATION AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Since Parsons argues that the human personality is a structure composed of internalized systems of social objects,[27] and that this structure develops through an internal differentiation which reflects a differentiation among the social objects,[28] it is clear that parental differentiation is not seen, on the whole, as pathogenic.

Empirical studies, however, show a consistently negative relationship between degrees of parental role differentiation and the emotional adjustment of the child. Lazowick found greater "semantic similarity" between the parents of his less anxious subjects than between those of his more anxious subjects."[29] Manis found that his adjusted subjects saw their parents as more alike than did the maladjusted subjects.[30] A study by the author showed significant positive correlations between degree of perceived parental role differentiation and most of the pathological scales in the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.[31] Wechsler found that subjects who perceived a high degree of role differentiation between father and mother also experienced conflict in their self-perceptions.[32] At the very least, one would be forced to conclude from these data that for the child parental role differentiation is not always an unmixed blessing.

One cannot, of course, generalize these findings beyond the specific context of the American middle class. In a society characterized by extended families, for example, the effects of sharp differentiation be-

[26] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 81. (Italics mostly mine.)

[27] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[29] L. M. Lazowick, "On the Nature of Identification," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LI (1955), 175–83.

[30] M. Manis, "Personal Adjustment, Assumed Similarity to Parents, and Inferred Parental Evaluations of the Self," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XXII (1958), 481–85.

[31] Slater, "Psychological Factors in Role Specialization," pp. 133–35.

[32] H. Wechsler, "Conflicts in Self-perceptions" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1957).

tween the parents may be diluted by the presence of substitute figures. Our own society is remarkable in the extent to which it concentrates the socialization process in the nuclear family. Furthermore, in a social system predicated upon parental role differentiation, the healthy offspring of undifferentiated parents might feel himself constricted while the less healthy child of differentiated parents might find himself fulfilled.

The studies cited above deal primarily with college students, a segment of the population in which parental differentiation is traditionally less marked,[33] so that the children of differentiated parents have developed in a family environment which was in some sense "deviant." The apparent adverse "effects" of differentiation may be entirely due to this deviant position of the family, or to its antecedents and correlates. But they are even more likely to be a simple function of the child himself being ill-suited to the society in which he later finds himself, a possibility suggested by a finding of the author's. In small experimental laboratory groups, subjects showing the greatest tendency toward role specialization, whether in a task or social-emotional direction, also tended to report that one parent (more often but not necessarily the father) was denying and demanding and the other permissive and rewarding.[34]

When we consider the high degree of specialization in occupations in our society, however, we might well wonder why the development of specialized children should be anything but functional for both individual and society. Is there, nevertheless, some sphere in which role differentiation is discordant with American society?

DIFFERENTIATION AND ISOLATION

While it is impossible to do justice to a question of this magnitude within the scope of this paper, a promising hypothesis is suggested by Bott's study of the relationship between the degree of differentiation and segregation of conjugal roles and the kind of social matrix in which the marital couple finds itself. Bott distinguishes between "loose-knit networks" in which friends, neighbors, and relatives of the couple tend not to know each other, and "close-knit networks," in which the people known by a couple tend more often to interact also with one another.[35] She finds:

> Couples in close-knit networks expected husbands and wives to have a rigid division of labor. There was little stress on the importance of shared interests and joint recreation. It was expected that wives would have many relationships with their relatives, and husbands with their friends. Both parents could get help from people outside the family, which made the rigid division of labor between husband and wife possible. Successful sexual relations were not considered essential to a happy marriage.
>
> In contrast, families in loose-knit networks had a less rigid division of labor, stressed the importance of shared interests and joint recreation, and placed a good deal of emphasis on the importance of successful sexual relations. They were more self-conscious about how to bring up their children than couples in close-knit networks. They were aware that the people they knew had a great variety of

[33] "Husbands who had the most segregated role-relationships with their wives had manual occupations, and the husbands who had the most joint role-relationships with their wives were professonal or semi-professional people" (Elisabeth Bott, "Conjugal Roles and Social Networks," in Bell and Vogel [eds.], *op. cit.*, p. 251). While Bott is primarily concerned with conjugal roles here, the type of differentiation, with its de-emphasis of shared activities, is one we would expect to be highly correlated with differentiation of socialization roles

It is the middle-class parents, moreover, who are the principal consumers of the child-training manuals, which often specifically oppose such practices as deferring punishments for the father to administer, and which argue, in general, for an undifferentiated pattern of parental behavior (cf, e.g., Benjamin Spock, *The Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care* [New York: Pocket Books, 1956], pp. 14-15, 242–43).

[34] Slater, "Psychological Factors in Role Specialization," pp 207–9

[35] See Bott, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

opinions on this subject and they were worried about which course they themselves should follow.[36]

Note that Bott associates this lack of differentiation with conjugal solidarity. She goes on further to suggest that the relationship is a causal one—that couples who cannot rely upon a stable and supportive external social context must develop a more intimate relationship with each other than a rigid division of labor permits. This is achieved through an increase in joint, shared activities.[37]

Bott also associates loose-knit networks with social and geographical mobility.[38] This suggests the hypothesis that couples will tend to decrease role differentiation whenever the welfare of the family is predicated upon a high degree of non-commitment to (or lack of dependence upon) external social relationships.[39] This degree of commitment, furthermore, may vary not only from couple to couple, but also within the same couple over time. De-differentiation typically occurs with a family whenever it is removed from its usual social context, such as during a vacation or a change in residence.[40]

Such a situation obtains in large segments of the American middle class and is particularly marked in families in which the husband works for an organization whose offices are widely distributed, so that advancement requires frequent changes of residence; or when such advancement necessitates the formation of new relationships at each status level.[41] But it seems clear that if a couple living in this kind of context does show a rigid division of labor it is much more likely to be associated with conflict and strain within the family than would be the case if both husband and wife could turn for support, friendship and

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 439.

[37] It would seem that the sharper the differentiation of conjugal roles in a society, the greater the reliance which will be placed upon sex segregation in the training of children for these roles. For while segregation of the sexes in the youth peer group may be universal, as Parsons suggests ("The Incest Taboo in Relation to Social Structure and the Socialization of the Child," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V [June, 1954]), the degree and duration of such segregation may have important consequences. In some societies (and in some segments of the American lower class) it becomes something of a Frankenstein monster, inasmuch as the individual who has spent most of his youth in one-sex groups only feels truly at ease in such groups as an adult. The stress that this creates for marital relationships, even in the mildly segregated American middle class, is the bread-and-butter of cartoonists and comedians across the nation (note the ubiquity of poker, golf, and bridge-club jokes). The consequences of the more severe forms of sex segregation are discussed by Bettelheim in his *Symbolic Wounds* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955).

In wartime sex segregation is sharply increased, and the resulting stresses overload the usual mechanisms. This perhaps accounts for the temporary rash, during World War II, of psychiatric papers dealing with penis envy and other forms of sex antagonism (cf., e.g., *Psychiatry*, 1940-46). While each sex experiences severe deprivation and suffering during wartime, neither is in a position fully to understand or appreciate the different nature of the sufferings of the other. The resulting resentment finds its ultimate expression in fantasies of single-sex societies (cf., e.g., Bernice S. Engle, "Lemnos, Island of Women," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XXXII [1945], 353-58).

[38] Bott, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

[39] Although animal sociology is not sufficiently advanced to enable us to generalize with much confidence, J. P. Scott implies that this relationship extends to the other primates, when he contrasts the relative lack of sex role differentiation among the gibbons, who live in isolated nuclear families, with the strong differentiation among baboons, who show more extended social groupings (*Animal Behavior* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958], p. 1[illegible]).

[40] Observation made to author by Theodore Mills.

[41] Riesman and Roseborough, e.g., refer to the "young married proto-executives" who "become very adept at pulling up stakes, and at being at home everywhere and nowhere" (David Riesman and Howard Roseborough, "Careers and Consumer Behavior," in Bell and Vogel [eds.], *op. cit.*, pp. 143-62, esp. pp. 15[illegible]-155, 158). The academic world is so characterized to an almost equal extent. One reason that the de-differentiation of parental roles is a useful preparation for this kind of transient adult life is that it teaches the child at an early age that his human sources of gratification are more or less interchangeable

tension release to stable lifelong relationships outside the nuclear family. Furthermore, if a pattern of behavior appropriate to close-knit networks is formed in the absence of such networks, it would seem reasonable to expect that some of the burden of filling this vacuum would be placed upon the child, thus generating the negative relationship found above between parental differentiation and the emotional adjustment of the child.[42]

But apart from any considerations of emotional health, is there any more universal effect of parental role differentiation upon the child—one which might be functional in some social contexts and dysfunctional in others? Does parental role differentiation help foster, for example, a personality trait or constellation which is maladaptive for children growing up in a fluid social environment but necessary for life in a stable one?

One possibility is suggested by a study of the Gusii by LeVine. Testing a prediction by Whiting that authoritarian sanctioning would develop with parental role differentiation, LeVine found that among the Gusii, who tend to violate cultural norms when authority figures are absent, the father is a non-nurturant and punitive disciplinarian, while the mother tends to specialize in the nurturing role, using the threat of paternal punishment as a principal means of control. "The child thus learns to fear the father's painful ministrations and to avoid them by being obedient and performing his tasks; but he does not internalize the father's evaluation of his behavior."[43]

It is not difficult to see why this is so. To the extent that the father is non-rewarding he will tend to appear as an alien ruler to the child. His demands will be acceded to when he is present, for the same reason that other forms of reality command obeisance, but when he is not present and cannot exert his authority, nothing is to be gained by obedience. To the extent that he is rewarding, however, much is to be gained by being a "good boy" even when the father is away. In other words, the internalization of parental values tends to occur to the degree that nurturance and discipline come from the same source. This point, which seems to be fairly well established today, is stressed by Eleanor Maccoby in an analysis of the effects upon children of the mothers working. She cites Solomon's work with dogs, noting that "punishment by a stranger, or a person who has been primarily cold and restrictive toward the animal in puppyhood, does not seem to last very well in its effects when the trainer's back is turned," and even goes so far as to recommend that "if nurturant caretaking is divided between two people . . . then discipline should be similarly divided."[44]

[42] Although loose-knit networks are, as noted before, less frequent among lower-class families, we might expect to find them in mobile or newly acculturated families Vogel and Bell's "scapegoated" children were largely from families undergoing one or both types of transition, and there may have been a particularly strong need in such cases for the parents to place emotional demands upon the child which had previously been directed outside the nuclear family (see Vogel and Bell, *op cit*, pp 384 85)

[43] R. A. LeVine, "Social Control and Socialization among the Gusii" (unpublished Ph D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1958), p. 358. The shallowness of internalization in the differentiated family is also shown in a study by Hazel Hitson ("Family Patterns and Paranoidal Personality Structure in Boston and Burma" [unpublished Ph D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1959]). See also Stanley H. King and Andrew F. Henry, "Aggression and Cardiovascular Reactions Related to Parental Control over Behavior," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, L (March, 1955), 206 10 Henry reported that "reluctance to blame the other person as well as willingness to blame the self both increase the likelihood that the mother will be viewed as principal disciplinarian" ("Family Role Structure and Self-blame," in Bell and Vogel [eds], *op cit*, p 542).

[44] Eleanor E Maccoby, "Effects upon Children of Their Mother's Outside Employment," in Bell and Vogel, *op cit*, pp. 528–29 (cf. also Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class through Time and Space," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, T. M Newcomb, and E L. Hartley [eds], *Readings in Social Psychology* [New York: Hen

But accustomed as we are to the serious consequences of a severe failure of internalization in our own society, it should perhaps be emphasized that in a society with a less fluid social structure a high degree of internalization is not only unnecessary to insure social control, but may in some instances be actually disruptive—if, for example, the society is heavily committed to a complex system of external controls with regulated violation, as in the case of chaperonage, or if such intensive internalization tends to erode other personality characteristics valued by the society, as Bronfenbrenner suggests.[45]

At the same time, an additional reason for the importance of internalization in our own society is suggested by this analysis. When large numbers of individuals spend their lives in shifting loose-knit networks, social control cannot be based on external sanctions to the extent that is possible with a stable and integrated social context; the need then is for a family structure that promotes the internalization of parental values.

The de-differentiation of parental roles also tends to palliate one of the major strains besetting the mobile nuclear family, that is, the potentially fragile relationship between child and father due to the latter's absence from the home during most of the child's waking hours. For as the burden of socialization has become increasingly concentrated in the nuclear family, the availability of the father to share this burden has remained unchanged and in many instances (e.g., the suburban commuter) actually decreased. Assuming that the importance of such sharing is non-problematic, it seems clear that in the mobile nuclear family a great deal of pressure exists to soften and familiarize the paternal role. The specialized disciplinarian of other times and places, in an immobile and "connected" nuclear family, was in a sense the immediate representative of a like-minded community of persons well known to the child; if the child did not fully internalize his values, he at least developed a sense of respect for them as a consequence of their apparent universality. If the father was too extreme in his role, furthermore, there were often substitute males with whom the child could form a more complete and adequate relationship.

In the isolated mobile nuclear family, however, the father does not represent a known community of adults, and there are no permanent substitutes. A specialized disciplinarian role loses any semblance of a universalistic response and takes on the appearance of malicious caprice. The father who attempts it becomes an alien intruder to his children, a state of affairs which, while tolerable in the "connected" family, is severely disruptive in the isolated mobile family.

Perhaps the most dramatic expression of the difference between the two systems is the fact that while in the de-differentiated family[46] a great deal of effort is devoted to bringing the father closer to the children

[illegible] Holt & Co., 1958], p. 119.

Maccoby is here assuming, of course, the desirability of internalization in American society, an assumption roundly rejected, along with the undifferentiated middle class marital relationship, by Arnold Green ("The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis" and "The 'Cult of Personality' and Sexual Relations," both reprinted in Bell and Vogel [eds.], *op. cit.*, pp. 563-72, 608-15, see esp. pp. 564 ff. and 614-15).

[45] Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Changing American Child: a Speculative Analysis," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, VII (April 1961), 73-84.

[46] The terms [illegible] and "de-differentiated" are not intended to imply a pair of discrete types, or even a bimodal distribution of families along the differentiation continuum. In talking of such modal changes, furthermore, it should not be forgotten that they are always exaggerated in popular belief, since individual variation is overwhelming in any era. That such a de-differentiation has taken place in comparatively recent times, however, and that it has been associated with an increase in internalization, is demonstrated by a number of recent studies (cf. Bronfenbrenner, "The Changing American Child," *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 79, and Wanda C. Bronson, Edith S. Katten, and N. Livson, "Patterns of Authority and Affection in Two Generations," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LVIII (1959), 143-52.

(often through his adoption of a tolerant, easy-going, occasional-playmate role), one of the principal mechanisms used to handle hostility in the differentiated family was distancing. This was effected not only by the general aloofness assumed by the father in the performance of his disciplinary function, but also by the mediator role played by the mother—a role which generally purports to be self-dissolving, but which in practice usually proves to be self-perpetuating.

In the most extreme case the father may play a kind of scapegoat role. If an individual is specialized in a non-rewarding direction, it is convenient to have him become the recipient of the hostile feelings occasionally aroused by more rewarding individuals. This is particularly likely to occur in a highly patriarchal family system, in which the mother may compensate for her inferior status and power in the society at large by using her strategic position as mediator to control family relationships. By a combination of public indorsement and private subversion of the father's authority she indicates to the child that the father is the source of all discomfort and she the source of all good. It should be clear that internalization of parental values under such circumstances is rather unlikely. The German *Hausfrau* who supports the father's disciplinary measures in his presence with verbal exhortations to the child to obey him, and then hustles the child off to the kitchen for candy and sympathy, is making a rather sharp distinction between what is necessary in the way of public behavior in the presence of authorities and what one may do and feel privately in their absence.

This point is sometimes misunderstood. It is assumed that because a mediator attempts to prevent conflict by establishing distance, he will ultimately be able to establish solidarity, and thus eliminate the need for his existence. But just as insulation keeps out heat as well as cold, so distance forestalls affection as well as hostility. As Simmel once pointed out, "although a bridge connects two banks, it also makes the distance between them measurable."[47] When the mother teaches her son how to please and placate the father, how to "deal with" and occasionally "get around" him, she is creating a gap between father and son which will operate effectively even in her absence, since the two will always feel a little strange with each other. This perhaps accounts for the brittleness of paternal identification in the German family—a brittleness brilliantly manipulated by Hitler. For the mother's teaching, while it establishes the superior power and status of the father and sets him up as a person worthy of imitation, does not really permit the son enough closeness to the father, or the father enough affectionate behavior toward the son, for a full internalization of paternal values to take place. Instead, she teaches the son her own role of submission, placation, and deception, thus inculcating an identification with herself. To an extent the yearning for a powerful authority which gave rise to the Nazi era may be seen as an attempt to complete the semi-identification with the father while at the same time maintaining identification with the submissive mother.

The mechanism of the maternal mediator, reasonably adequate to the task of moderating strains in a family system which had liberal access to paternal substitutes, is out of the question in a system desperately bent on intensifying the intimacy of the child-father relationship as a way of lessening the otherwise unwieldy burden on the mother produced by the relative absence in the mobile family of alternative socializing agents.

A PROBLEM IN THE COMPARISON OF MECHANISMS

In an analysis of marital interaction, James March has argued that "specialization, by reducing the area of joint activity, would appear to reduce at the same time the possibility of conflict within the

[47] Kurt H. Wolff, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), p. 129.

group."[18] It seems surprising that an otherwise perceptive author could ignore the fact that "reducing the area of joint activity" will reduce solidarity as well as conflict. It reveals the bias, common to sociologists, in favor of distancing mechanisms and raises a serious problem in the comparative analysis of social institutions.

Ambivalence is a profoundly difficult emotional state for human beings to handle. Often they are able to cope with contradictory feelings only through rigid and awkward intrapsychic and interpersonal mechanisms. When this is the case the raw material is provided for a social institution which "builds in" those components which are neglected or distorted by the individual. In other words, if the individual cannot find direct ways of expressing, in his most significant interpersonal relationships, the ambivalence of his feelings, this ambivalence is likely to reappear in social structural form.

Parental role differentiation, while it may serve many different functions in many different societies, is at one level this kind of externalizing mechanism. It tends to focus one kind of feeling toward one parent and a contrasting feeling toward the other. It facilitates displacement and dilutes the emotional intensity of the family situation by "reducing the area of joint activity" and thus increasing the psychological distance between members. In this way it displays a certain formal elegance which is lacking in the de-differentiated system; but we should bear in mind that the apparent structural simplicity of a family pattern in which both parents are equally loving and constraining serves to mask the complexity and subtlety of the interpersonal responses of the participants.

As sociologists, it is natural for us to see more clearly the function of institutions which neutralize human emotions with distancing mechanisms, as opposed to those which permit more idiosyncratic solutions to ambivalent feelings. But there is a danger in this preference—the danger that we will underestimate both the importance and the complexity of structural patterns such as we find in the de-differentiated family. In using the phrase "apparent structural simplicity" with reference to this institution, I have the uneasy feeling that this apparent simplicity may be simply a function of the inadequacy of our traditional modes of analysis. Is it not possible that we are fascinated with institutional forms such as parental role differentiation, joking relationships, and puberty rites precisely because they are simple and crude enough for us to understand? Are we not continually exposed to the risk of overrating the functional efficacy of the institutions of primitive societies because they are more transparent than our own?[19]

It may be that the more highly differentiated family, despite its prevalence, is simply too unsophisticated a structure for a technologically advanced industrial society such as ours. Its apparent dependence on a stable social context imparts to it a

[18] "Political Issues and Husband-Wife Interaction," in Bell and Vogel (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[19] A good example of this tendency to disregard more complex and subtle methods of articulating personality and social system may be found in the remarks often made by xenocentric anthropologists regarding the lack, in our society, of institutions designed to bridge the gap between childhood and adulthood. The role of the school system in this regard is generally ignored, yet one may ask if this institution—with its increasing separation of child from mother, its finely tuned system of age grading, its increasing acquaintance of the child with the adult world and adult roles, its provision of a long series of tasks and tests of gradually increasing difficulty and complexity, its careful training of internal controls through a gradual shift from minute-by-minute supervision of work to a system in which work-planning and work habits are left almost entirely in the hands of students, and its machinery for the actual training of students in adult roles—does not go a little way toward filling the appalling void posited by Benedictine observers of the contemporary scene, who seem at times to imply that a primitive adolescent, having been, in a single pubertal ceremony, tortured, isolated, and generally frightened to death, is in some magical fashion better prepared for adult life in his society than is an American graduate of high school or college.

rigidity analogous, in its effects on the family system, to the greater rigidity of inherited as opposed to learned responses in the individual organism. It is in part this very rigidity which aids us in studying its structure and function, while the mechanics of the more undifferentiated family remain somewhat obscure.

That greater attention has been devoted to the older pattern[50] is therefore natural and appropriate, but one cannot help hoping that an analysis such as Parsons' might now be extended to the de-differentiated family. The rapidity of social change, both subtle and violent, in our own era raises the fascinating possibility that a clear understanding of the functions of emergent as well as decadent institutions might enable us to anticipate the institutional arrangements of tomorrow.

[50] This is not meant to imply, of course, that de-differentiation is "new," but only that at the present time there seems to be a trend toward the particular form discussed here.

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COMMENT

BERNARD J. BERGEN

There are, generally speaking, two principal vantage points from which a problem of the analysis of roles can be approached. That predominant in sociology takes as its initial point of departure the designation of a specific type or category of social role. The analysis itself is usually concerned with the problem of some aspect of the relations of that class of persons who "fit" into the designated role category with one or more alters in a given social system. A number of concrete problems in such analysis have been derived from this orientation: for example, the effect of conflict on the performance of those in specified categories of role; the relation between psychological variables and performance and so on.

While this constitutes a mode of analysis which can achieve what Weber has earlier referred to as "the sociological understanding of the actions of typically differentiated human . . . individuals"[1] there is also a necessity, as he insisted, "to know what a 'king' and 'official' and 'entrepreneur,' a 'procurer' or a 'magician' does; that is, what kind of typical action, which justifies classifying an individual in one of these categories, is important and relevant for an analysis before it is possible to undertake the analysis itself."[2]

The second vantage point takes this as its point of departure and is concerned with the basis of the classification or typology of roles. Relatively little sociological effort has been expended on moving beyond the *ad hoc* labels affixed to people which designate their role, toward the formulating of a systematic classification and exploring its significance in elucidating other sociological problems.

This is, however, the vantage point from which Parsons has taken up the problem of parental differentiation of role. Slater, on the contrary, has approached the issues which Parsons' analysis has raised from the more familiar point of view. Their divergence becomes more distinct when we consider the differences in their use of the term "role."

It is abundantly clear from the content of his arguments and evidence that Slater uses the term "role" to refer to the relationships which characterize dyadic units in the family: father-child, mother-child, mother-father. The general principle underlying his use of the term is that of a referent for what Linton has called the "re-

[1] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. Henderson and Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 107.

[2] *Ibid.*

ciprocal behavior between individuals."[3] The problem with which Slater is concerned is thus that of accounting for role differentiation conceived as a dimension along which to measure the variable relationships between incumbents of different types of familial roles. He offers a theory centering on the psychological competence of those in parental role categories.

On the other hand, Parsons, by stating that the role of the father is concerned with instrumental functions and that of the mother with expressive functions, is not describing the relationship of mother and father to each other or to any other member of the family. He has formulated his definitions in these terms:

> The instrumental-expressive distinction we interpret as essentially the differentiation of function, and hence of relative influence, in terms of "external" vs "internal" functions of the system. The area of instrumental function concerns relations of the system to its situation outside the system, to meeting the adaptive conditions of its maintenance of equilibrium and "instrumentally" establishing the desired relations to *external* goal-objects The expressive area concerns the "internal" affairs of the system, the maintenance of integrative relations between the members, and regulation of the patterns and tension levels of its component units.[4]

The term "role" then, at least as Parsons uses it in this case, does not stand for a concept based on the uniformities of behavior between two specified actors in a social system but rather for a concept relating an actor to the solution of those problems which he has described in an earlier work as "inherent in or arising from social interaction of a plurality of actors."[5] It is this conceptualization which serves as the basic set of criteria for a classification of role types or categories. The problem with which Parsons is initially concerned is that of defining parental role types; more accurately, of defining the sociological character of biologically differentiated parents. His procedure is to apply to the family his functionally based classification scheme and to present evidence concerning the universal differentiation of these role types by sex. This is presented as having important implications for the process of socialization.

It is thus apparent that the issues which Slater raises in opposition to Parsons are created by his confusion over the vantage points from which the two analyses of parental roles are undertaken. The two authors, in a strict sense, do not talk about the same thing at all.

The source of confusion would seem to lie in two conditions The first is the apparently implicit assumption by Slater that problems of importance in sociology must be conceived in strictly interpersonal terms. He has failed to realize that social relationships, to which the term "role" refers, can be conceived of at different levels of abstraction. No concept can exhaust all the information empirically obtainable on the kind of experience it organizes The information that one uses or disregards depends upon the particular problem for which the concept has been formulated Parsons' concept of role is formulated by abstracting from the specific dyadic relationships of an actor the kind of emergent system functions or problems for which they have relevance. This is not the level of abstraction at which Slater uses the term or, apparently, understands Parsons' use of it

The second source of confusion is the lack of discriminating terms to refer to the two levels of conceptualization Although it is impossible to say that there is in sociology today universal consensus over the use of "role," it seems to us that the trend is to restrict its meaning as Slater uses it. The term which seems to us to be most consistently used to refer to social relation-

[3] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936), p 113.

[4] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family: Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1955), p. 47.

[5] Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (eds), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 7.

ships on the level at which Parsons conceptualizes them, is that of "status" in its non-hierarchical sense, or its more recent synonym, "position." It is possible to attribute Parsons' failure to use this term to the relative obscurity and lack of specificity still surrounding it.[6]

To indicate the lines along which the major issue of contention between the two can be clarified and resolved: Parsons states that "the mother figure is always the more permissive and supportive, the father, the more denying and demanding."[7] Considering only the father-son relationship, Slater has reformulated this using such terms as "strict," "non-rewarding," to characterize the father's role. However, Parsons also goes on to say that "the basic problem concerns the roles of the two parents in the family as a system. If the boy is to 'identify' with his father in the sense of sex role categorization there must be a discrimination in role terms between the two parents. *This is essentially a different question from that of agency in administering specific disciplines*."[8] This latter sentence, admittedly confusing in Parsons' context, becomes clearer when we keep in mind both his theoretical approach to socialization and the particular kind of conceptualization the term "role" stands for.

Parsons' concern with the socialization process, dealing at present only with the male child, is with the progressive formation of a personality stable enough to assume his appropriate sex-linked role. Being that of an adult male, his role will be primarily focused on the occupational sphere at large. This, Parsons suggests, is accomplished by the progressive internalization of familial roles at successive psycho-sexual phases of development. Substituting, as we have suggested, the term "position" where Parsons uses "role," we can say that the father, by occupying an instrumental position, will be perceived by the male child, as a function of his identification with him, as denying and demanding: "denying," in the sense that identifying himself with the position of the father suppresses whatever regressive tendencies the male child may have to avoid orienting himself to the universalistic standards of the extra-familial world and to remain oriented to the particularistic standards of the family; "demanding," in the sense that identification with the position of father demands that the male child reject identification with his mother, in part of course, and reject his previously exclusive orientation to particularistic family standards.

The terms "denying" and "demanding" do not, then, refer to particular qualities of the relationship between father and son as a dyadic system. Parsons' use of the term is indeed "a different question from that of agency in administering specific

[6] "Position," as distinct from "role," is usually conceived of as referring to a general or abstract concept (as opposed to a "specific concrete or real" one) and having "static" qualities (as opposed to "dynamic" qualities).

The attempt to discriminate two distinct concepts "covered" by the terms "position" and "role" has apparently inhibited the use of the former as a term to stand for relationships in a social system at any level of abstraction. This has, however, never really been accepted without serious reservations, even by those who made the most prodigious efforts in rationalizing the distinction. Linton himself has said that "role and status are quite inseparable, and the distinction between them is of only academic interest" (Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

Gross more recently has all but directly stated that the two concepts are tautologous. "The meaning of location in a system of social relationships is not, however, entirely self evident. It is difficult to separate the idea of location from the *relationships which define it*" (Neal Gross *et al*, *Explorations in Role Analysis* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958], p. 48). Usually no attempt is made toward resolving the implicit conflict over its continued use.

Describing "position" as a "collection of rights and duties" or a "location" in social space contributes, of course, very little with respect to its meaning. Further attempts to go beyond these definitions have usually resulted in metaphor, resembling Linton's well-known analogy of a driver in an automobile.

[7] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p 80 n.

[8] *Ibid.* (Italics mine.)

disciplines." The specific relations between fathers and sons are not, of course, unrelated to the problem of role identification as Parsons deals with it. The evidence that Slater cites quite convincingly suggests that unless a father is warm and loving his function as denying and demanding by virtue of his particular position in the family will not be effective.

Slater's paper is thus not in contention with Parsons' formulations about differentiation in roles. He has, rather, made a different kind of contribution. His paper has sharply underscored the need for clarifying and establishing rules of terminology in the analysis of role suitable to the complexities of conceptualization.

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REJOINDER

PHILIP E. SLATER

Bergen's thoughtful comment provides considerable clarification of some of the issues I have raised. I can only argue in defense of the objections I have made to Parsons' theory of differentiation in parental role that I am not convinced that Parsons has entirely succeeded in avoiding lapses into a usage of "role" identical with mine. Certainly, other authors often quote him in contexts which make it clear that they are not thinking in terms of position.

Such lapses are not surprising in view of the temptations. For if a role is defined independent of behavior toward specified alters, one can hardly make predictions concerning its impact on them. Yet most persons interested in socialization and identification are rather anxious to make just such predictions, and I confess to a like weakness. If we adhere to a strict "position" interpretation of role, we must realize that parental differentiation can tell us nothing whatever about *why* the child identifies himself with the father or the mother, but merely explains how he can tell the difference between them

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE FAMILY IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY[1]

SIDNEY M. GREENFIELD

ABSTRACT

When the hypothesis that the small nuclear family of western Europe and the United States is a functional consequence of the urban-industrial revolution is examined cross-culturally, it is established that urbanization and industrialization may exist without the small nuclear family and fragmented kindred, and that the small nuclear family exists without industrialization and urbanization. An alternative hypothesis, hence, is that the specific social system that grew up around machine technology in Western civilization may result from the fact that the small nuclear family existed in Europe and the United States before the industrial revolution

I

The small nuclear family found in western Europe and the United States is generally viewed in sociological theory as a consequence of the urban-industrial revolution. The present paper questions the hypothesis and suggests alternative lines of thinking.

As Western society continues to disseminate its distinctive technology to the remainder of the world, both theoretical and practical consideration must be given to the changes in social organization that accompany the introduction of the machine and the market-exchange economic system. The specific task of the sociologist and cultural anthropologist here is to seek empirically founded generalizations about cultural process, causality, and functional interdependence. For policy-makers and administrators in foreign affairs and international relations have been applying ill-founded generalizations uncritically: they reason that, if certain types of social organization and urban-industrial technology and the market-exchange economic system are interrelated, they must inevitably accompany Western technology, and as a consequence, they support action programs designed to establish and foster these forms.

The dominant sociological hypothesis relating technology and social organization postulates a functional interdependence between industrialization and urbanization, the techno-economic system, with the small nuclear family as the unit of social organization. Hypotheses of functional interdependence, however, take several forms, each with different implications. As Nagel has pointed out, statements phrased in functional terms are the equivalent of those phrased in non-functional terms and any statement in one terminology can be translated into the other: "The difference between a functional and a nonfunctional formulation," he states, "is one of selective emphasis; it is quite comparable to the difference between saying that B is the effect of A, and saying that A is the condition (or cause) of B."[2]

There are, however, two contrasting ways of conceptualizing sociocultural phenomena that result in significantly different meanings for statements of functional relationships. In one formulation the functional statements have approximately the same meaning as conventional causal statements while, in the other, a special type of causal implication is rendered. The most widely adopted formulation of functionalism found in social science is based upon the organic analogy. Sociocultural systems

[1] A portion of this paper was presented under another title at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, November, 1960.

[2] Ernest Nagel, "A Formulation of Functionalism," in *Logic without Metaphysics* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), p. 251.

are likened to living organisms in being goal-directed, self-righting systems in which all of the parts "function" to maintain the whole in a state of equilibrium. As phrased by Radcliffe-Brown:

> The concept of function involves the notion of a *structure* consisting of a *set of relations* amongst *unit entities*, the continuity of the structure being maintained by a *life process* made up of the *activities* of the constituent units.
>
> Such a view implies that a social system (the total structure of a society together with the totality of social usages in which the structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence) has a certain kind of unity, which we may speak of as functional unity. We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated.[3]

Maintenance of the state of equilibrium, then, is likened to the continuance of life in the organism; the destruction of the equilibrium is analogous to death. The system is closed, and change in the total configuration is ruled out by the basic assumptions. The state of equilibrium is based upon the efficient integration of all of the parts, each of which functions to maintain the continuing existence of the whole. As long as the system continues, then, each part is necessarily functional and its relationship vis-à-vis any other part is one of functional interdependence—all of the parts operating to achieve the goal or purpose of the whole: maintenance of the state of equilibrium. Given this self-maintaining system, we can say that both parts and whole are functionally interrelated and interdependent. By varying our perspective, however, we may view each as a functional consequence of the other, that is, any part is a functional consequence of the operation of the total system, or the whole is a functional consequence of the operation of all the parts.

In the terminology of cause and effect there may also be two perspectives: Starting from the parts, we may say that they are the cause of the whole, which is the effect of their activity, since they maintain the totality in a given state. On the other hand, however, the whole is also the cause of the parts, since the latter operate in accord with the pattern of the former, thereby becoming its effect. In this formulation, however, no causal statements can be made about relations among the parts themselves; that is, one part cannot be the cause of any other since all, taken cumulatively, are either the cause of, or are caused by, the whole. The only relationship that can exist among the parts of a self-regulating, functionally integrated, equilibrium system is that of functional interdependence.[4]

The alternative formulation of functional theory in social science modifies the assumption of equilibrium and discards the organic analogy. To those who hold this position, the empirical evidence suggests the conclusion that sociocultural systems are never in a state of complete equilibrium. They are always changing and, consequently, equilibrium is a state relative to a given period of time and, at best, only approximated. In the long run, all sociocultural systems appear to be in continuous flux and both the parts and the whole can and do change. Adherents of this opinion then, do not generally conceptualize sociocultural systems as self-regulating and goal-directed; consequently, the specialized set of functional statements used to analyze self-regulating systems are not necessary. Functional statements in this formulation are thus the direct equivalent of causal statements, and a causal relation-

[3] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), pp. 180, 181.

[4] Associated with the notion of functional interdependence of parts is that of functional alternatives. This refers to a limited range of parts that can perform the same function as the given part in the total system and consequently may be considered as substitutes for the given part since the equilibrium will still be maintained after the exchange.

ship is implied whether the terms "functional consequence" or "functional interdependence" are used. The term "functional consequence," however, may be read as necessary and sufficient cause while "functional interdependence" is the equivalent of sufficient cause alone.

In accord with this view the possible relationships between part and whole and part and part differ from those possible in the prior formulation. Since equilibrium is not assumed, the cause of the total system being maintained in its given state is not the functioning of the parts, nor is the cause of the operations of the units taken to be the achievement of the goal of the whole. Here the total system tends to be viewed as resulting from a process of change and adjustment among the parts. Thus, one part can and does, as the interpretation is made, exert a causal effect on the other parts and by implication on the whole. It is only after the parts have had their effect on the other units that the parts may be thought of as being functionally interrelated—the term being taken to mean operating in a state of harmony with each other for a given time. So conceptualized, the locus of the causal nexus is the part-part relationship rather than the part-whole relationship, as is the case in the alternative formulation.

II

Many students in both Europe and the United States have studied the historical conditions that have produced the distinctive modern form of the family. We select Ogburn and Nimkoff because they present the generally accepted point of view. They distinguish three basic types—the consanguineous, the stem, and the conjugal family in that temporal order. "The consanguine family and the clan," they state, "tended to break up in the course of time. . . . The family [then] took on the pattern found in historical Europe and colonial America. The consanguine family tended to disappear, especially in the western world, and the conjugal family became the predominant type." The stem family is seen as a transitional form. "With increasing industrialization," however, it "tends to be superseded by the conjugal family."[5]

For the United States, the base line used in the study of the family is the nineteenth century and the focal type is the rural farm family.

> The American family is not a European institution transplanted to a new environment and slightly changed by this transferring. Instead it represents an original development which so reconstructed the contributions of European culture as to bring forth a family type in its characteristics clearly distinctive from the original European institution.[6]

The industrial revolution, starting in the nineteenth and going into the twentieth century, is seen as the force that changed the farm family and is basically responsible for the "modern American family." Industrialization had several immediate consequences:

> Industrial organization eventually outgrew the family. The trend was in this direction as the inventions used in handicrafts manufacture multiplied and the use of windmills increased But with cheaper iron and steel, and the use of streams as a source of power applied to tools, more space was needed and more workers were required than were to be found in the household. The steam boiler was too big for the home and the power generator required more space for the machine. The factory instead of the homestead became the unit of production. The factory was too large to be manned by even a very large family.[7]

Thus, the adoption of the machine resulted in sweeping changes in social organization: factories needed laborers who could be more readily obtained in cities than on farms; urbanism and industrialization worked hand in hand to change the

[5] William Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co , 1950), p 469.

[6] Ernest Groves and Gladys Groves, *The Contemporary Family* (Philadelphia: J B Lippincott Co., 1947), p. 140.

[7] Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p 473.

structure of American society; industry needed laborers and the cities grew to provide them.

In addition to ecological and demographic changes, there were significant structural-functional changes in the social system, primary among them being the expansion of the industrial factory system to assume most of the tasks formerly handled by the isolated farm family. At first, industry was only a new techno-economic system transforming methods of production. But along with the new technology there developed a set of social relations with its own specific principles of organization and stratification, and its own way of patterning interaction between individuals, into which rural people were assimilated as they moved into the cities to work.[8] One aspect of all this was the small nuclear family with its distinctive form and means of social articulation.

The argument here is concerned with social and cultural change, and a state of equilibrium is therefore not assumed. In fact, it precludes the existence of a self-regulating system since the family is being analyzed in terms of change occurring in it, in the total system, and in the other parts of the system. In formal terms the argument is that the small nuclear family found in the United States takes its present form because of the national industrialization and urbanization. Within a system in a state of change then, one part is the cause of the new form taken by another part.

Once the change is completed, however, and all of the causal factors achieve their effects, a new equilibrium in the total system is commonly assumed. For the present scholars tend to view the small nuclear family as being in a state of functional interdependence with industry and the other parts of what may be loosely called the American form of Western civilization. The family now is functional in that it operates to maintain the new equilibrium.

In Europe, the best example of this line of thinking is presented by Max Weber who, in his *General Economic History,* for example, states the reasons for viewing the changes in the family as a function of its changing economic position that, in turn, is a function of the changes in the total society that stemmed from the industrial revolution. The concluding paragraph of Part I of the book summarizes a part of the argument:

> With the dissolution of the manors and of the remains of the earlier agrarian communism through consolidation, separation etc., private property in land has been completely established. In the meantime, in the course of the centuries, the organization of society has changed in the direction described above, the household community shrinking, until now the father with his wife and children functions as the unit in property relations. Formerly, this was simply impossible for physical reasons. The household has at the same time undergone an extensive internal transformation, and this in two ways, its function has become restricted to the fields of consumption, and its management placed on an accounting basis. To an increasing extent, the development of inheritance law in place of the original complete communism has led to a separation between the property of the men and the women, with a separate accounting. This two-fold transformation was bound up with the development of industry and trade.[9]

A fuller reading of this and his other works completes the presentation which, though more scholarly and sophisticated, is the same in theory as is argued in the United States. Though Weber seems to imply functional interdependence of the small family and industrialization, the conceptual formulation he uses in explaining the changes in the family is the one in which parts in a dynamic system may be construed to have a causal impact on other parts. It is only after industrialization is accomplished and the new whole is cre-

[8] Wirth, in his "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (July, 1938), 1 24, argues that the modern small nuclear family is a function of city living.

[9] Trans Frank H Knight (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1950), p. 111.

ated that he postulates an equilibrium in which the causal nexus is between part and whole and the parts are only interdependent.

III

In a recent paper Erwin H. Johnson questioned the hypothesis that the small nuclear family is caused by industrialization and urbanization. After examining the data from modern Japan, he concludes that the stable stem family, which is at least four hundred years old there, "is sufficiently generalized in its nature to conform to the needs of the changing technology of Japan." He then goes on to say that the traditional family, in fact, had not and "does not have to give way under . . . urban or industrial influences."[10]

Modern Japan, then, provides us with a case of both urbanization and industrialization with a family other than the small nuclear form. Garigue reports extensive kinship networks among urbanized, industrialized French-Canadians in Montreal. These extended networks of "urban French Canadian kinship," he writes, "are no new development, but seem to have been in existence since the period of New France." He concludes:

> The collected evidence indicates no trend toward transformation of the present French-Canadian urban kinship system into the more restricted system reported for the United States. While difficulties were reported in maintaining a united domestic family or an integral kin group, there is no reason to suppose that these difficulties were caused primarily by urban living. Moreover, many cases were reported where the kin group re-formed after a period of disunity. There are many reasons for believing that the present system will continue. Far from being incompatible, kinship and urbanism among French-Canadians seem to have become functionally related.[11]

In a recent paper on Luso-Brazilian kinship patterns, Wagley, after examining data on the *parentela*—a bilateral kindred—from seven Brazilian communities, writes: "It is evident from the data provided . . . that kinship plays an important role in social, economic and even political affairs."[12] The *parentela*, he adds, operates in both rural and urban areas. In the cities, kinsmen tend to purchase apartments in the same building to facilitate the working out of kinship obligations. The studies by Firth, Young, Shaw, and Townsend in London show further evidence of the extension of kinship in urbanized, industrialized areas.[13]

Additional evidence is presented here to question the hypothesis of functional interdependence and implied causality between urban-industrial technology and the small nuclear family, challenging that part of the generally accepted hypothesis in which the diachronic formulation of sociocultural events is used. The position which assumes a static equilibrium in which functional interdependence within a closed, stable system is assumed a priori will not be argued other than to stress that even here there may be a range of family forms that can serve as functional alternatives to the small nuclear family in urbanized, industrialized systems. The additional evidence is found in an analysis of the family on the island of Barbados where the small nuclear family and fragmented kindred are present in the same form and functionally articulated with the larger society in the same way as in industrialized Western society, but without industry and machines

[10] "The Stem Family and Its Extensions in Modern Japan" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1960), p. 13.

[11] Philip Garigue, "French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII (December, 1956), 1098–99.

[12] Charles Wagley, "Luso-Brazilian Kinship Patterns" (unpublished manuscript, 1960).

[13] Raymond Firth, *Two Studies of Kinship in London* (London: Athlone Press, 1957); Michael Young, "Kinship and Family in East London," *Man*, LIV, No. 210 (September, 1954), 137–39. L. A. Shaw, "Impression of Family Life in a London Suburb," *Sociological Review*, III (December, 1955), 175–95.

We shall, then, have examples from the ethnographic record in which urbanization and industrialization are present without the small nuclear family and fragmented kindred, and the nuclear family is found in the same form and with the same functions as in industrialized Western society but without industrialization and urbanization. Taken together, these combinations seriously question a hypothesis that has received general acceptance in sociological theory before being tested by the comparative evidence.

IV

Barbados is a small, densely populated island, twenty-one miles long and fourteen miles wide, located in the Caribbean Sea at the eastern rim of the Lesser Antilles. It was first colonized by Great Britain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, in contrast with her other Caribbean possessions, has remained a British colony from the time of its settlement until 1956, when, with nine other English Caribbean dependencies, it became part of the Federation of the West Indies.

Today, Barbados is not a folk or peasant society. On the other hand, it is not highly mechanized and industrialized. Its economy, which is based upon agriculture, is best not considered underdeveloped since the application of additional capital has not, and, at present, cannot lead to a profitable expansion of productivity and employment opportunities for its very large population.

At present, Barbados—only 166.3 square miles in area—is one of the most densely populated areas in the world: its inhabitants numbered approximately 230,000 at the end of 1956—a density of almost 1,380 persons per square mile—and were increasing at a rate of about 2 per cent per year. Overpopulation has long been recognized as a major problem on the island.

How is this myriad of human beings supported? While its economy is based upon agriculture, in contrast with most of the world's densely populated rural areas where subsistence as well as cash crops are raised, Barbados is almost exclusively dependent upon a single cash crop—sugar. As emphasized in a recent national accounts study of the economy of Barbados,[14] agriculture, in which the growing of sugar cane predominates over all other forms of agricultural activity, is the most important contributor to the island's gross domestic product in which the processing of sugar and molasses accounts for more than half the total contribution of manufacturing. Sugar, to quote the authors of Barbados' ten-year development plan, is truly "the blood of the island."[15]

Barbadians, then, are not subsistence farmers. The island's agricultural activities are organized around the production of sugar, which is cultivated because it provides more revenue per acre than any other crop which could be grown on the island and for which a world market exists.[16] Individuals earn their livelihood in the form of wages; they produce very little for their own consumption.

Barbados, as has already been mentioned, is not an industrialized society in the general sense of the term. The concept of industrialization, however, as it is used in sociological discussions is ambiguous. The specific referent is technological—machines and factories. In general, however, it refers also to the system of social relations that organize human populations in the management of the machines. The use of one term to refer to both the technology and the social structure is regrettable since it leads to thinking of the two as inseparable: that is, the student finds it difficult to think of machine technology without the specific social patterns that have developed

[14] Jeannette Bethel, "A National Accounts Study of the Economy of Barbados," *Social and Economic Studies*, IX, Special No. (June, 1960), 127–28.

[15] *A Ten Year Development Plan for Barbados, 1946–56* (Bridgetown, Barbados: Advocate Press, n.d.), p. 11.

[16] Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, *Population and Resources of Barbados* (Bloomcroft: Disbury, 1954), pp. 1–2.

in Western civilization. This double referent, however, reveals more of the causal assumptions made by the early students of industrialization: the causal impact of machine technology was considered to be so great that the social relations governing the use of the machines was conceptualized as a necessary consequence of it. Both referents of industrialization must be considered independently, at least until some evidence is presented to demonstrate that there is only one way to organize a population in the use of machines.

This inadequate conceptualization is crucial, however, in the analysis of the data from Barbados since many of its social structural forms are those generally associated with machine technology in North America and Europe, although there are few factories and machines are little used except for a handful of instances in the sugar industry. This situation, itself, however, provides an additional challenge to the hypothesis which claims that industrialization—which at the beginning, at least, was purely technological—is the cause of social organization, since the consequence is present without the cause.

V

The elementary family in Barbados, as in most of the islands of the West Indies, takes two basic forms—one conjugal or nuclear, the other subnuclear and generally matrifocal. As used here, matrifocality refers to the form of the family in which the mother-child relationship is stronger and more durable than the conjugal (husband-wife) bond. It is characterized by (1) a marginal role for the husband-father; (2) high percentages of female heads of households; (3) easy adoption and high ratios of children per household; (4) high rates of illegitimacy (by European and American standards); and (5) low rates of "legal" marriages. The conjugal or nuclear family, on the other hand, is based upon the husband-wife relationship and is characterized by the converse of the features of the matrifocal family.

The household, which generally contains at least one of the elementary kinship units, is variable. Ideally, it is composed of an isolated nuclear family which lives in a separate shelter, usually provided by the adult male. This, however, is rarely achieved by most of the population. When not composed of an isolated nuclear family, the household may consist of a number of alternative forms. The first is a nuclear family in which a mature child, invariably a daughter, has begun to have a family—often she is unmarried—before establishing a firm conjugal relationship in a separate dwelling. This extended family group, or "multi-family" household, is of three generations and is composed of one nuclear family plus one or more matrifocal units of unwed mother and children, all sharing the same house. An alternative appears when a woman and her children become established in an independent dwelling unit without an adult male. This occurs either when the members of the conjugal group separate—the male leaving—or when a woman obtains a dwelling, usually through inheritance, and occupies it with her children but without a mate. An infrequent variant of this denuded family occurs when a man is left alone with his children in a household without an adult female. These denuded family households can become extended when the children mature and begin to have offspring while they are still living at home. Here we find a three-generation unit which, generally, is composed of a woman and her children, including mature daughters and their offspring. This form, which is found throughout the Caribbean, is usually referred to as the "grandmother family." A household then, can consist of one of four alternative forms which are found distributed in the same frequencies in both the rural and urban areas: (1) a nuclear family, (2) a nuclear extended family, (3) a denuded or subnuclear extended family (male or female, but usually female-centered), and (4) a denuded or subnuclear extended family (male or female but again usually female-centered).

in form and functional integration with the total society—an at least temporary state of equilibrium is assumed for the purpose of analysis—the ideal nuclear group found in Barbados is very similar to the nuclear family found in the United States and described by Parsons.[17] The tendency toward structural and spatial isolation appears in both places; the importance of the mother in the process of the child's socialization and in the development of his personality are similar; the role of the adult male within the family as "breadwinner," responsible for supporting the entire group, is likewise analogous. More significantly, even the relationship between the individual and the larger society is the same. Individuals are all members of families linked to the larger society through the adult male who occupies a place in the local occupational system, and in both cases, the position of the latter member in the occupational system is a primary determinant of the position of the others in the social hierarchy.

Other similarities can be found in patterns of descent: Both systems are bilateral. In Barbados, where illegitimacy is common, it is usual for parents to leave wills bequeathing their property to all of their children.[18] Relations with ascending and descending generations show no tendency toward structural bias in favor of any one line of descent. Both Barbados and the United States, therefore, can be described as symetrically multilineal.

In both cases, the tendency toward structural isolation is reinforced by the relationship between the family and the occupational system, particularly with reference to social mobility. Each nuclear family is ascribed a place in the system of stratification which is based upon the social class of the family of orientation of its adult male subject to the mobility he may achieve in his occupational pursuits. Mobility is a driving force in both societies. Kinship relationships are generally divorced from the occupational system, thus permitting conjugal units to be socially mobile, independent of kinship ties. Nuclear families striving for mobility are often best able to do so by almost total denial of kinship claims, which, of course, leads to the isolation of the conjugal family. In Parsons' terms, then, both the Barbadian and American nuclear families can be characterized as "bilateral, structurally isolated, open, multilineal, conjugal systems."[19] The alternative forms of the household discussed above are all variants of the isolated nuclear unit produced by factors relating directly to the integration of family and society.

The primary functions of Barbadian society are performed through a highly stratified system of occupational statuses; the hierarchically ranked positions, however, provide their occupants with wages that vary considerably. The insular system of social stratification is tied directly to these ranked occupational positions since they are the primary determinant of an individual's social class. Families are articulated with the larger society through adult males who are members of both a family and the occupational system simultaneously: the male role is defined in terms of supporting women and children; he is also expected to hold a position in the occupational system. In the latter system he holds one of a series of ranked positions from which he receives money and prestige; in the family he holds a position that calls for the contribution of income obtained in the occu-

[17] Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System in the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, XLV (January, 1943), 22–38. See also Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955).

[18] Sidney M. Greenfield, "Land Tenure and Transmission in Rural Barbados," *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (October, 1960), 165–76.

[19] The most significant difference between the Barbadian and the American nuclear family is size. This difference, however, most critically effects the socialization and personality development of the children and not the form of the family or its articulation with the larger society (Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 18). It is, therefore, excluded from the present comparison.

pational world. Women and children, who, in the ideal, are outside the dominant institutional complex, are linked to it through reciprocal role obligations to a male within the family. Satisfactory performance of the adult male role within the family requires an individual to hold a position in the occupational system that provides him with income sufficient to support a family.

The occupational system in Barbados, however, is so constituted that many, if not most, of the positions at the lower end of the hierarchy provide neither the prestige nor the income necessary for the support of a family. The occupants of these low-ranked positions are not able to fulfil the role expectations of adult male within the family, and if they cannot improve their occupational status after a period of time they tend to leave the household, thereby creating a denuded, subnuclear, matrifocal or mother-oriented group. The extended family households, both nuclear and denuded, appear when the fathers of the children born to girls living in parental households have not been able to attain an occupational position with rewards sufficient to purchase a house and to establish the new family as an isolated nuclear group.

The importance of a man to his family and his relationship to the others, therefore, will vary directly with the income and status he earns in the occupational world. Consequently, we may expect both the family and the household to take different forms at varying socioeconomic levels. Whether the unit is nuclear or matrifocal is, therefore, a function of the system of social stratification and the way in which adult males link the family to society. Where adult males hold positions that provide rewards sufficient for the support of a nuclear family, the nuclear group is isolated in a separate household; where not, a subnuclear, matrifocal group appears, causing the household to take one of the forms outlined above.

On the tiny sugar-growing island of Barbados, then, we find the same small nuclear family, articulated with the larger society in precisely the same way as we find in industrialized Western society, but without urbanization and industrialization. The industrial revolution, in fact, has not yet come to the island.

The existence of an industrialized and urbanized society in Brazil, French Canada, England, and Japan with an extended family, and the small nuclear family—identical in form and function to the nuclear family of industrialized Western society—in Barbados without industrialization or urbanization provides evidence to question the hypothesized causal relationship between urban-industrial technology and the family. The explanation for the similarity in family form and function in Barbados and in industrialized Western society, however, may provide us with a new perspective with which to re-analyze the historical data used to support the old hypothesis.

VI

Barbados was settled by colonists who came in family groups from Great Britain. Though African slaves were later introduced to work on the sugar plantations, significant numbers of English and Irish families remained and their descendents are still there today. The institutionalized form of family now found in Barbados was brought to the island by the first settlers and later, adopted by the Negroes when integrated into the larger society through the occupational system immediately following Emancipation.[20]

The small nuclear family, the *famille particulariste* of Le Play, which is native to North Europe,[21] is known to have ex-

[20] It is significant to note that the family form has remained the same even though it has been transferred from one ethnic group to another.

[21] Frederic Le Play, Focillon, and DeLaire, *l'Organisation de la famille* (Tours, 1884) (see also Edmond Demolins, *Comment la Route Crée le type social* [Paris: F. Didot, n.d., 1890?], 2 vols.; and Carle C. Zimmermann and Merle Frampton, *Family and Society* [New York: D. Van Nostrand & Co., 1937], pp. 97 ff.).

isted in England in the seventeenth century, prior to the colonization of the New World. Specialists in the culture of the Old World (Europe, Mediterranean, Middle East), in fact, believe it to be much older, "as old as the Vikings or older" according to Arensberg.[22] If this is the case, it antedates both urbanism and machine technology in England and the United States. Perhaps its contemporary place in modern, urban, industrialized society is related to its temporal priority to machine technology.

If, at the very beginning of the urban-industrial revolution, the inventors of machine technology already lived in small nuclear families, it is no small wonder that this form became functionally integrated with industrial technology as a new equilibrium was achieved. As North European man developed the social forms to go with the machine, it is quite probable that he reworked the social institutions with which he was already familiar. If so, the relationship between the small nuclear family and industrialization is better interpreted as one of the temporal priority of the former and not a necessary functional consequence or cause and effect in which the latter is the determinant. Further investigation of the historical material then may indicate [illegible]

[illegible]

[22] Conrad M. Arensberg, "Discussion of Method of Community Analysis in the Caribbean [illegible] Robert Manners," *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium* (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Studies, 1957), p. 57. An example of what might have happened in the total society [illegible] at the upper end of the occupational [illegible] a given individual can earn enough to [illegible] than one family.

[illegible]

ual division of labor in North Europe—they are expected to provide money for the kinship unit. The degree of possible extension of the kin group is thus related to the income earned by men. Since each nuclear unit also is expected to have its own wage-earner, it is economically independent, which brings about a weakening of reciprocal relations between members and kinsmen outside the group. Within the nuclear family, however, there is relative equality, each member having a right to a share of the income of the adult male or the goods or services it can buy.

Were the occupational system so organized as to pay one individual enough to support a larger group or to enable him to provide employment for such a unit, extended families might arise to engulf or submerge the nuclear group. Perhaps, if extended families had existed in England when the complex took its present form, the remuneration scale of modern industrial society would be very different.

In the United States, industrialization started in the Northeast, a section appropriately called New England. With reference to the family in New England, Arensberg writes, "The brittle, easily split 'nuclear' or 'democratic' ('Eskimoan') family, . . . came with [the] Yankees from England and fitted well with their egalitarian, unstratified farmer-artisan towns."[23] The small nuclear family, then, was brought to the United States from Great Britain by its earliest settlers. Therefore, it was present before the industrial revolution began in the United States. We suggest that it was reworked, as it had been several centuries earlier, in England, to provide the foundation for the new system of social organization that developed and spread with the industrial revolution. Here again, it was not the industrial revolution that produced the small nuclear family; in fact, the opposite may be true. The prior existence of the small nuclear family as the basic kinship unit of the people who industrialized both Great Britain and the United States may have been responsible for the very forms of social organization that developed along with the machines.

Furthermore, the data from Barbados demonstrates that the small nuclear family can diffuse without urbanization and industrialization just as the latter seems to be able to diffuse without the small nuclear family.

In conclusion, then, an examination of both the comparative and historical evidence indicates that, developmentally, there is no necessary and sufficient causal relationship, whether expressed in terms of necessary functional interdependence or consequence, between the small nuclear family and urbanization and industrialization. Any relationship that exists most probably results from the presence of the small family in North Europe prior to the industrial revolution.

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[23] Conrad M Arensberg, "American Communities," *American Anthropologist*, LVII (December, 1955), 1149

OCCUPATIONAL RANK AND GRADE OF RESIDENCE IN A METROPOLIS

CHARLES TILLY

ABSTRACT

Of two common explanations of the general correspondence between occupational rank and grade of residence appearing in studies of American cities, one is in terms of the resources that occupations provide, the other of the implied styles of life. Analysis of survey data from one metropolitan county on the effects of these two groups of factors, as represented by income and education, on occupational differences in grade of housing shows that both affect grade of residence, that income is somewhat less influential than education, and that blue collar and white collar occupations differ significantly in these respects.

Even a casual observer can often learn a good deal about a family's status from the character of its dwelling. Lloyd Warner has given that fact great weight in his community studies, and writers of popular sociology have pointed to it with wonder and chagrin. A host of investigations in the tradition of human ecology have traced its effects on the shape of American cities. But we do not yet understand very well the correlation between rank and residence.

That correlation includes three elements: (1) a set of graded residences, (2) a rank system that comprehends individuals, households, or categories of people, (3) regularities in behavior that bring about some sort of correspondence between them. This paper will deal mainly with the form of the relationship between occupational rank and grade of residence but it will also present some observations on the behavior that lies behind the correlation.[1]

A great variety of studies show a general correspondence in American urban areas between occupational rank and grade of residence.[2] But even fixing on occupation alone does not eliminate the problem of identifying the crucial aspects of a household's rank, since occupation carries with it workplace, income, previous training, family background, friendships, and tastes, each of which is quite likely to affect housing.

In studies of American cities, one type of answer to this problem has been in terms of economic competition, identifying differences in resources among households as the principal determinants of their differences in residence. In one of the clearest statements of the idea, Philip Hauser has stated that "the higher economic strata, in accordance with their ability to pay, are located in increasingly better residential facilities as the periphery of the area is approached."[3]

The other view has been in terms of [illegible]

[1] This paper reports an extension of the lines of thought and research described in Arnold S. Feldman and Charles Tilly, "The Interaction of Social and Physical Space," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (December, 1960), 877-84. I am grateful to the Faculty Research Committee of the University of Delaware for financial aid, and to the following for advice and information: Roland Behringer, Ralph Exline, Arnold Feldman, Irwin Goffman, Jane Kronick, Sherman [illegible]

[2] [illegible] the differential association [illegible] (4), the [illegible] to work, (5) occupational differences in housing expenditure. Examples [illegible] are (1) August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, [illegible]); (2) J. Douglas Carroll, Jr., "The Relation of Homes to Work Places and the Spatial Pattern of Cities," *Social Forces*, XXX (March, 1952), 271-82; (3) Jane C. Kronick, "Some [illegible] Factors Affecting the Choice of a New Residence in Wilmington, Delaware" (unpublished [illegible] dissertation, Yale University, [illegible]); (4) Kate Liepmann, *The Journey to Work* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1944); (5) Alfred Politz Research, *Life Study of Consumer Expenditures* (New York: Time, Inc., 1957), Vol. I.

[3] Philip M. Hauser, "The Changing Population Pattern of the Modern City," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Cities and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 170.

cial choice, with attempts to maintain certain styles of life the principal determinants. Wendell Bell, for example, has argued that those who move to the suburbs have "chosen familism as an important element of their life styles, as over against career or consumership."[4] When applied to occupation, the first conception leads us to expect income differences among occupational groups to account for the major part of their variation in grade of residence. The second implies that occupational prestige will have important effects independent of income and that, among the social characteristics associated with occupation, education—which represents shared socialization—will be crucial.

It is possible, even likely, that each view has a share of the truth. We propose the following formulation: income sets a maximum grade of residence for each household, but there is considerable variation in how closely each approaches its maximum; households use part of their incomes to acquire housing of a sufficient grade to distinguish them from others lower in occupational prestige. The education ordinarily associated with a given occupation plays a larger part in its prestige than does the income it implies (although, of course, occupational prestige, education, and income are all related). The incomes of households at each occupational level of prestige vary considerably, but despite variation in income the household at a given level of prestige tend to acquire housing similar in grade.

This formulation suggests the hypothesis that education will account for a larger part of the variation in grade of residence among occupations than will income.[5] However, the considerations that American blue-collar workers emphasize resources more and style of life less in evaluating occupations and that high-ranking groups have greater means to impose their standards of evaluation on the distribution of residences leads to an important modification in the hypothesis.[6] While education will have a greater total effect than income, its influence will be concentrated in the white-collar occupations, whereas income will have a more powerful effect among the blue-collar workers. Grade of residence matches occupational rank, but the principle of ranking varies somewhat at the ends of the hierarchy.

The most evident difficulty in separating the contributions of income and education to differences in residence by occupation is that income and education are far from independent. This gives particular importance to the inconsistent category—one that has, for example, higher income, but less education, than a higher-ranking category. Skilled workers and lower white-collar employees are a pair of inconsistent categories: the skilled workers, who on the whole have considerably less education than the white-collar workers, frequently have higher incomes. In such cases, we

[4] Wendell Bell, "Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence," in William M Dobriner (ed.), *The Suburban Community* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), p 231 This analysis has a good deal in common with the one Talcott Parsons presents on more general grounds ("The Principal Structures of Community," in *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960], esp p 254)

[5] Cf Calvin F Schmid, "Generalizations concerning the Ecology of the American City," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), 264–81, Calvin F Schmid, Earle H MacCannell, and Maurice D Van Arsdol, Jr, "The Ecology of the American City Further Comparison and Validation of Generalizations," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (August, 1958), 392–401

[6] The hypothesis of a difference in the bases of differentiation among blue-collar and among white-collar occupations comes directly from Feldman and Tilly, *op cit*, but it also seems to fit the findings of a number of other studies of occupational differentiation and of variations in perspective by social class (cf, e g, Arthur H Wilkins, "The Residential Distribution of Occupation Groups in Eight Middle-sized Cities of the United States in 1950" [unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1956]; Herbert H Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset [eds.], *Class, Status and Power* [Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1953], pp 426–42)

should expect that education would predict residence more accurately than would income. More generally, we should expect education to explain more of the variation in residence, and particularly the variation among occupations, than does income.

The case of New Castle County, Delaware, appears to support this point of view.

THE STUDY

By means of variance and covariance analysis of survey data, grades of residence of major occupational groups have been identified in New Castle County, Delaware, and the effects of them on income and education have been distinguished. For this purpose, survey data permit more direct conclusions concerning the behavior of individual households than do the areal data commonly used.

In 1953–54, when the interviews used here were made, the population of New Castle County was approximately 250,000, of which roughly 105,000 was in Delaware's principal city, Wilmington. Considering its proximity to Philadelphia and its small proportion of rural-farm population (2.5 per cent in 1950), the county may safely be called metropolitan.[7] Wilmington and the surrounding territory are industrialized (chemicals, steel, automobile assembly). The county has an exceptionally high proportion of technical and professional workers, due largely to the presence of the headquarters and research facilities of several large chemical companies.[8]

The data were collected as part of an extensive study of mental retardation which required a 1 per cent sample of all dwelling units in the state, sampled by area.[9] The New Castle County portion included completed interviews with 646 households. After the elimination of 111 for various reasons, the present analysis dealt with 535 households.[10]

There are four variables for each household: occupation, income, education, and dwelling rating. "Occupation" consists of the standard Census categories, modified by the subdivision of "managers, officials, and proprietors" into (a) retail managers and proprietors and (b) all others. The variation in dwelling within the original undivided category was so great that it seemed reasonable to separate the two sets of occupations, particularly since other investigators have often emphasized their disparity. The rank order employed is that determined for the major Census categories in the well-known National Opinion Research Center study, with categories combined and ratios recomputed where necessary.[11]

[7] The census-defined metropolitan area also includes Salem County, New Jersey, which is mainly rural in territory but has a heavy concentration of population in a few industrial centers adjacent to Wilmington. This research excludes Salem County.

[8] In 1950 11 per cent of the [illegible] employed male labor force of the Wilmington urbanized area were in professional and technical occupations, whereas for urbanized areas over 250,000 in size for the United States [illegible] the figure was 8.5 per cent (U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 8, Delaware, Chapter B, [illegible] Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, [illegible]).

[9] Independent samples were drawn from tax assessors' lists for the city of Wilmington, the rest of New Castle County, and each of the other Delaware counties. The following analysis combines the subsamples for Wilmington and the rest of the county. The unpublished data are from a study of "The Incidence and Nature of Mental Retardation and Its Effect on the Pool of Available Manpower for National Service," whose principal investigators Joseph Jastak and Halsey MacPhee will report it [illegible] forthcoming book. I am grateful to Professor MacPhee for use of the data.

[10] The eliminations were the following: dwelling rating not recorded [illegible] education not recorded [illegible] servants living in, [illegible] farmers, [illegible]. The elimination biases the sample slightly [illegible] collar workers, households [illegible] the labor force, [illegible] with higher education and [illegible]

[11] "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., p. 414. Owner-operat[illegible]

"Income" is the total annual income reported for the household grouped in twelve categories, from "0" to "over $8,000." This is not a wholly satisfactory measure, for several reasons: there is the usual possibility of reporting errors (particularly among households declaring no income); it calls for the treatment of a limited number of categories as a continuous variable; 26 per cent of the cases fall in the highest income category; and it is a statement of current income, while income over a longer period may be more closely related to expenditures for housing. All of these could lead to masking of the effect of income.

"Education" is the years of school completed by the head of household. "Dwelling rating" is the sum of the interviewer's evaluations, according to a pre-established set of graded descriptions: (1) type of dwelling (including type and condition of lot); (2) condition of structure; (3) number of rooms; (4) dwelling area (condition and use of adjoining properties).[12] Since each rating was on a five-point scale, the possible range for the sum of all four was 4–20 points.

The object of the study was to explain the variation in dwelling rating among the households in terms of occupation, income, and education. An analysis of variance was made for the occupational mean dwelling ratings, with separate analyses of covariance for the joint effects of occupation and income, and for the joint effects of occupation and education.[13] The specific hypotheses were that there would be: (1) a rank order of mean dwelling rating corresponding to occupational rank; (2) independent effects on dwelling rating of occupation, income, and education; (3) a greater effect of education than income on variation in dwelling rating, both over-all and within occupations; (4) a stronger effect of income on dwelling rating among blue-collar workers than among white-collar workers. In general, the findings support these expectations.

FINDINGS

The data appear in three tables. Table 1 gives median income, median education, and mean dwelling rating by occupation as well as occupational mean dwelling ratings adjusted for (*a*) the regression of dwelling rating on education, (*b*) the regression of dwelling rating on income. Table 2 shows the correlation within each occupational group between income, education, and dwelling rating, the partial correlation of education and dwelling rating (income controlled), and the partial correlation of income and dwelling rating (education controlled). Table 3 summarizes the analyses of variance for mean differences and regression.

Table 1 shows that the dwelling ratings fall into the usual rank order, with the important exception of the two groups of managers and proprietors. The mean dwell-

ager of a small store in a city," and "owner-operator of a lunch stand" were the retail occupations taken from the NORC list. In this study, the "retail" category includes owners or managers of a liquor store, a beauty shop, a barber shop, a grocery store, a meat market, a cleaning establishment, or a "small store." Regrouped, the mean prestige scores are: professional and technical, 80.6; managers and proprietors, except retail, 77.4; retail managers and proprietors, 68.3; clerical and sales, 68.2; craftsmen and foremen, 68.0; operatives and kindred workers, 52.8, service and unskilled, 48.5. On the disparity between the two groups of managers and proprietors, see Jerome K. Myers, "Assimilation to the Ecological and Social Systems of a Community," *American Sociological Review,* XV (June, 1950), 370; Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957), p. 66.

[12] The Pearsonian product-moment correlation between (*a*) dwelling rating and (*b*) a crude index giving the 1954 assessed value of the property a weight of 3 and giving the 1950 mean rental value of dwelling units in the block (in the city) or in the enumeration district (outside the city) a weight of 1, for sixty randomly selected households, is .782. Although this is not an appropriate test of the validity of the dwelling rating, it does indicate a close relationship between the rating and conventional economic indexes.

[13] The data meet the conditions of homogeneity of variance among occupational categories (Bartlett's test, $P \sim .85$) and homogeneity of regression (F test, P for both dwelling-rating income and dwelling rating-education $> .05$).

TABLE 1

Family Income, Education of Head of Household, and Dwelling Rating by Occupation of Head of Household

Occupation	No.	Median Income*	Median School Years*	Mean Dwelling Rating	Mean Dwelling Rating Adjusted for Education	Mean Dwelling Rating Adjusted for Income
Professional and technical	83	$7,125	17.2	13.90	12.97	13.68
Managers and proprietors, except retail	52	More than 8,000	13.2	14.17	13.80	13.84
Retail managers and proprietors	19	5,325	9.0	10.47	10.76	10.56
Clerical and sales	61	5,375	12.6	12.31	12.16	12.31
Skilled	110	5,150	11.0	12.00	12.14	11.93
Semiskilled	68	5,050	9.8	11.12	11.59	11.14
Unskilled and service	58	3,375	8.1	9.74	10.39	9.13
Other†	84	4,075	9.8	11.71	12.04	11.93
Total	535	$5,400	12.5	12.09		

* Interpolated from grouped data.

† [illegible]

TABLE 2

[illegible] Order and Partial Correlations among Education, Income, and Dwelling Rating, by Occupation

Occupation	[illegible]	[illegible] Rating	[illegible]	[illegible] Rating [illegible]	[illegible] Dwelling Rating [illegible]
Professional and technical	767	135	180	250	090
Managers and proprietors, except retail	490	278	363	435	122
Retail managers and proprietors	672	323	504	636	196
Clerical and sales	188	082	065	184	072
Skilled	178	172	169	154	146
Semiskilled	400	384	372	340	274
Unskilled	120	210	144	092	206
Other	365	188	344	219	101
Total	452	336	401	368	190
Within occupations	358	194	248	305	121
Between occupations	908	904	840	402	493

TABLE 3

Analysis of Variance of Dwelling Rating

[illegible]	Degrees of Freedom		Level of Significance
Occupational differences in dwelling rating	527	24.06	.001
Total regression of dwelling rating on education	534	136.68	.001
Total regression of dwelling rating on income	534	57.88	.001
Within occupation regression of dwelling rating on education	526	56.57	.001
Within occupation regression of dwelling rating on income	526	20.57	.001
Occupational mean differences in dwelling rating adjusted for education	526	9.25	.001
Occupational mean differences in dwelling rating adjusted for income	526	16.25	.001

ing rating of the non-retail group is higher than that for professional and technical workers, while the procedure employed here places the professionals first in prestige. On the other hand, the retail group mean is much lower than the rank attributed to it would lead us to expect. These discrepancies may mean either that the relationship between occupational prestige and dwelling rating is not as simple and direct as anticipated, or that the assignment of prestige to the occupational categories is faulty. There is no way to resolve that question at present. In general, however, dwelling rating does rise with occupational rank. Table 1 also shows that the order remains the same with adjustment for the regressions of dwelling rating on education and income.

Table 2 provides an opportunity for a more precise examination of the effects of income, education, and occupation. Each is significantly and independently related to dwelling rating. In all occupational categories except those of unskilled and service workers, the correlation between dwelling rating and education is higher than that between dwelling rating and income. The relationship within occupations between education and income is far too low to nullify the relationship between dwelling rating and education when a partial correlation for income is performed. In short, the data fulfil expectations. It is only good sense to remark, however, that the difference between the correlations for income and education is not large, and that the data on income leave open the possibility that the figures hide some of the effect of income.

In any case, that qualification does not seriously affect the expectation of differential effects of income and education among white-collar and blue-collar workers. The correlations of income and education with dwelling rating separately for two categories (excluding "other" occupations) may be set up in a fourfold table:

	Income-Dwelling Rating	Education-Dwelling Rating
White collar	296	413
Blue collar	348	[illegible]

This table, too, comes out as expected: education appears to have a stronger effect among white-collar workers, while income has more effect among blue-collar workers. However, only the difference between the correlations for education-dwelling rating is statistically significant (one-tailed test, .05 criterion).

The inconsistent position of the skilled and the clerical-sales categories is worth considering. Skilled workers, on the average, have higher incomes, less education, and lower dwelling ratings than the clerical-sales group. This contradicts more directly than any other the common assumption that income is the principal determinant of grade of residence. Skilled workers use their superior incomes to acquire a higher grade of housing than other blue-collar groups occupy; the lower white-collar groups, however, maintain the distinction between themselves and the skilled workers by acquiring an even higher grade of housing, despite their slightly inferior incomes. In fact, while adjusting for education essentially eliminates the difference between the mean dwelling ratings of the two groups, adjusting for income widens the gap between them (Table 1); at each income level, clerical workers have higher mean dwelling ratings (Table 4).[14] We should therefore expect to find that clerical and sales workers in their attempt to maintain their status spend a larger proportion of their incomes for housing than do blue-collar workers of comparable income; this is, indeed, what studies of consumer expenditure have regularly shown.[15] The

[14] Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (March, 1955), 499.

[15] See, e.g., S. J. Prais and H. S. Houthakker, *The Analysis of Family Budgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 161; Sherman Maisel and Louis Winnick, "Family Housing Expenditures: Elusive Laws and Intrusive Vari-

case confirms the general theme of this paper.

Table 3, finally, demonstrates that occupation, income, and education all affect dwelling rating independently and significantly. Although all the F ratios are high, in each case the difference in F for income and for education is in the predicted direction. Education, that is, "explains" a larger share of the variation in dwelling rating than income does.

Returning to the specific hypotheses that have guided this investigation, we may summarize the findings: (1) Grade of residence as measured by dwelling rating, generally rises with occupational rank, in an order that stays constant with controls for income or for education. (2) Occupation, education, and income affect grade of residence independently, but the effects of education and occupation are more closely related to each other than are those of income to either of them. (3) Education affects variation in grade of residence both over all and within occupations, more strongly than does income. (4) However, education has a stronger effect among white-collar workers than it does among blue-collar workers.

The income variable, it is true, casts a shadow of doubt over these findings. Even if the questionnaire item used as a measure of the resources available to the household is adequate, it may miss the relevant aspect of income; that is, housing expenditure and grade may be more closely related to "permanent income" than to current income.[18] Perhaps the lower-income white-collar workers, for example, anticipate much greater increases in income than do the higher-paid blue-collar workers, and acquire housing accordingly. If this is the case, we require a much more complex statement of the relationship among occupation, income, and housing than sociologists have used in the past. However, since economists have yet to establish firmly the special connection between permanent income and housing expenditure or consumption, the present [illegible] seems more useful. It fits our current understanding of American stratification somewhat better. It also provides more room for the analysis of another interesting set of factors: the social controls which affect the acquisition of housing by members of various occupational groups.

The valid contention of Duncan and Duncan that "a systematic consideration of the spatial aspect of stratification phenomena . . . should be a primary focus of urban stratification studies,"[19] is two-edged. First, it declares the relevance of

TABLE 4

MEAN DWELLING RATING [illegible] CLERICAL [illegible] WORKERS [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] $?,999	[illegible]	12.[illegible]		[illegible]
$?,000–$?,999	1[illegible]	11.[illegible]	1	[illegible]
$4,000–$?,999	1[illegible]	1?.1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
$?,000–$?,999	10	12.[illegible]	1[illegible]	[illegible]
$8,000 [illegible]	15	1?.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]1	12.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] in Irwin Friend and Robert Jones (eds.), *Proceedings of the Conference on Consumption and Saving* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1960), I, 359–458.

[18] See Irwin Friend and Irving B. Kravis, "Consumption Patterns and Permanent Income," *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings*, XLVII (May, 1957), [illegible]; M. Friedman, *A Theory of the Consumption Function* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[19] Duncan and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 4[illegible].

investigations like theirs and this one for the understanding of stratification itself. But it also implies that sociologists concerned with patterns of residence ought to equip themselves with a detailed knowledge of social stratification and should complement the spatial studies already available with investigations of the means by which households acquire their housing and the controls which affect the acquisition. Students of patterns of Negro residence are coming to abandon the simple translation of prejudice and inferior income into segregation and substandard housing and beginning to picture the housing market as a complex system of social control, in which lending institutions, real estate agents, and property-owners play crucial roles in the enforcement of the norms. The processes that lead to the segregation of occupational groups and to systematic differences in residential grade among them have a good deal in common with the processes that lead to the same effect among racial groups.[18] It would be wise to devote more energy and more theoretical ingenuity to the analysis of the norms, the decisions, the agents—in short, to the system of social control that maintains the correspondence between occupational rank and grade of residence.

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[18] Cf. Rose Helper, "The Racial Practices of Real Estate Institutions in Selected Areas of Chicago" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1958); William H. Form, "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use," *Social Forces*, XXXII (May, 1954), 317–23; Stuart H. Palmer, "The Role of the Real Estate Agent in the Structuring of Residential Areas: A Study in Social Control" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1955).

NEWS AND NOTES

Academy of Psychoanalysis.—The theme of the midwinter meeting will be "Psychoanalytic Education." The meeting will be held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on December 9 and 10. Officers for 1961–62 are Roy R. Grinker, president; Sandor Rado, president-elect; Francis S. Arkin, past president; Joseph H. Merin, secretary; and John L. Schimel, treasurer. The following will serve as trustees during the same period: Nathan W. Ackerman, Irving Bieber, Ralph M. Crowley, Marianne H. Eckardt, Don D. Jackson, Janet MacK. Rioch, May E. Romm, and Leon Salzman.

Allegheny College.—Henry M. Muller, chairman of the Department of Sociology, spent a month in the Far East gathering material on Japan, the Philippines, and Hong Kong which he will incorporate in his course on cultural anthropology.

Cornell University.—Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Newly appointed are Robert McGinnis, Pertti J. Pelto (as assistant professor of anthropology), and Robert M. Marsh (as assistant professor of sociology). In addition to teaching, Marsh will participate in the China Program of the Department of Far Eastern Studies.

Gordon F. Streib will be acting chairman of the Department for the academic year 1961–62.

Department of Child Development and Family Relationships. Edward C. Devereux and Urie Bronfenbrenner received the 1960 E. W. Burgess Award from the National Council on Family Relationships for a research proposal entitled "Occupational Roles and Parent-Child Relationships."

Murray A. Straus has resigned to accept appointments as chairman of the Department of Home Management and Family Living and professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota.

The following members of the Department are currently on leave: Allan R. Holmberg, Morris Edward Opler, and Robin M. Williams, Jr. Opler is continuing his research on India with a grant from the National Science Foundation. Williams is spending the academic year as a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences; he has also received a Senior Post-doctoral Fellowship from the National Science Foundation. Charles C. Hughes is on leave to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Lauriston Sharp is visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, for the academic year.

During the academic year 1961–62 Professors Ward Goodenough of the University of Pennsylvania and Martin Martel of the State University of Iowa will be visiting professors at Cornell University.

Allan R. Holmberg is a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee and co-chairman of the State Department's Panel on Latin American Education. He also continues applied anthropological research in Andean areas of South America under a five-year grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

On July 1 Wayne E. Thompson assumed the directorship of the Cornell Social Science Research Center.

Latin American Studies Program. Cornell has initiated a Program of Latin American Studies to begin in 1961–62. J. M. Stycos has been named as director. Graduate students majoring in a social science or related disciplines may minor in the program, which involves study of the history, culture, language, and social structure of Latin American countries. National Defense Education Act fellowships and research assistantships are available.

Henry Landsberger is developing a research program in industrial and labor relations for the University of Chile, [illegible] with which he will spend one or two years with the Institute of Organization and Administration at the National University of Santiago.

Donald Sola has begun a linguistic research and training program centered on the relations between the Quechua and Spanish languages on a Rockefeller Foundation grant.

J. M. Stycos has initiated a research project on migration and human fertility in Peru. Supported by Population Council funds, the

project will be carried out in collaboration with the School of Social Work in Peru. He also continues projects in Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Barbados.

William F. Whyte has started a project on human problems of industrial development in Peru. Supported by Fulbright, National Institute of Mental Health, and Institute of International Education funds, the project will be located at the University of Engineering in Lima.

Department of Rural Sociology: Olaf F. Larson has been awarded a Fulbright research grant for 1961–62. He will be affiliated with the University of Naples, where he will co-operate in a study of the impact of industrialization in South Italy on rural communities. During his leave, Philip Taietz will be acting head of the Department of Rural Sociology.

William W. Reeder will be on sabbatical leave during the fall term.

C. E. Ramsey returns from a year's sabbatical during which he was research consultant to the Puerto Rico Agricultural Experiment Station.

Bert Ellenbogen served as consultant during May and June to the International Cooperation Administration in Brazil in the preparation of a university contract for training rural social scientists.

Nelson LeRay, Economic Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, is being stationed at Cornell to conduct a research project in rural development

Sloan Institute of Hospital Administration: The Institute has received a five-year grant from the Alfred P Sloan Foundation to continue research in the sociological aspects of health organization and care

Milton I. Roemer, M.D , has been promoted to research professor of administrative medicine and has received a grant from the National Institutes of Health for a study of medical staff organization and hospital performance

Ray Elling has been appointed assistant professor of hospital administration and has received a continuation grant from the National Institutes of Health to complete a study of community support of the general hospital He is also serving as field director of a two-year exploratory study of the educational and training needs in public health sponsored by the Joint Committee on Graduate Education in Public Health (a group formed out of the American Public Health Association, the Association of Schools of Public Health and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers).

Duke University.—An IBM 7070 computer has been installed in the Computational Center at Duke.

The first of the annual series of distinguished lectures was held in April, with Everett C. Hughes, now at Brandeis University, and René Konig, University of Cologne, as participants. Bernard Berelson, director of the Bureau of Applied Research, Columbia University, served as a special consultant and lecturer for a three-day conference on graduate education

Mexican Association of Sociology.—The Twelfth National Congress of Sociology was held in Toluca, Mexico, during October. The co-ordinating theme was "Sociology of Work and Leisure" in general and with special reference to underdeveloped countries

University of Michigan.—The Population Studies Center has been organized with Ronald Freedman as the first director Amos H Hawley and David Goldberg are associate directors. In addition to varied research and training activities, a program of research in population and public policy is jointly sponsored by the Center and the Institute of Public Administration. Stipends range from $600 to $2,700

Michigan State University.—Co-operation is under way with the newly formed University of Nigeria in the development of faculties curriculum, and staff of the African institution at Nsukka, in the eastern region of Nigeria

By combining the land-grant institution philosophy of higher education evidenced in the United States and certain aspects of British higher education now in practice throughout the Commonwealth, the University of Nigeria hopes to develop academic fields necessary to a high-quality university. Openings are available as professor, associate professor, assistant professor, and instructor in sociology, surveying and other fields, including anthropology Benefits are provided in addition to salary.

University of Nigeria.—The newly formed University of Nigeria, in co-operation with

Michigan State University, is developing its staff and curriculum (see Michigan State University).

University of North Carolina. Katharine Jocher has retired as Editor of *Social Forces*. Miss Jocher, who has been associated with *Social Forces* for thirty-seven years, will remain as Book Review Editor. The editors of *Social Forces* are now Guy B. Johnson, who replaces Miss Jocher, and Rupert B. Vance.

E. William Noland has been appointed Kenan Professor of Sociology. Other holders of these endowed professorships have been Howard W. Odum, Gordon W. Blackwell, and Rupert B. Vance. Professor Noland is currently Ford Foundation Visiting Professor of Behavioral Science in the School of Business, Indiana University. Beginning in January he will spend nine months in Europe and the British Isles on a University grant, visiting sociologists and schools of business administration in connection with a proposed cross-cultural study of the behavior of business executives.

Ruth E. Searles has been promoted to assistant professor and Ernest Q. Campbell and Richard L. Simpson to associate professor.

Sociologists recently appointed are John Kosa as research associate professor of Biostatistics, and Norman Miller as associate professor of epidemiology. Miller is also visiting associate professor of sociology at Duke University.

The Institute for Research in Social Science has the following newly appointed research associates: M. Richard Cramer, Albert C. Higgins, Hallowell Pope, Jean H. Thrasher, M. Elaine Burgess, and Donald P. Irish. Cramer and Pope are also instructors in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Thrasher is also research associate in the Social Research Section, Division of Health Affairs.

The Institute has received a grant from the Social Security Administration for a study of the background and social consequences of unwed motherhood. The project will be directed by Charles E. Bowerman, assisted by Donald P. Irish and Hallowell Pope.

Daniel O. Price has received a grant from the American Public Welfare Association for a replication and expansion of the study of the Aid to Dependent Children program which was conducted several years ago by Gordon W. Blackwell and Raymond F. Gould. M. Elaine Burgess will work with Professor Price on this study. Price is also preparing a 1960 census monograph on Negro demography.

Charles E. Bowerman and Ernest Q. Campbell have received a grant from the United States Office of Education for a four-year study of social factors in educational achievement and aspirations among Negro adolescents. Richard Cramer will assist on the project.

Guy B. Johnson was in Africa in the fall visiting educational institutions in Sierra Leone, Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria. He attended a meeting of the board of trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund held in Monrovia, Liberia.

Ten undergraduate sociology students worked with Department members as research participants during the summer of 1961 in a program sponsored by the National Science Foundation. The students were from the Universities of Florida and Kansas, Emory University and Bowdoin, Emmanuel, Long Beach State, MacMurray, Oberlin, and Wooster Colleges.

Ohio State University. Mason G. Smith, chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, is editor of the book *Adjustments in Agriculture: A National Basebook*, published by Iowa State University Press.

Everett M. Rogers has been promoted to associate professor of rural sociology. He recently visited rural sociological research organizations in Europe gathering material for his book on the diffusion of innovations.

Joseph Cravres has been promoted to assistant professor and will continue his research on farm cardiacs and educational decisions of rural youth. A. Eugene Havens has been appointed instructor bringing the total faculty in rural sociology to ten members. Havens will conduct research on the adoption and diffusion of farm innovations.

The Pacific Sociological Association.—Newly elected officers for 1961-62 are: president—Robert A. Nisbet, University of California, Riverside; vice-presidents: Southern, Orrin E. Klapp, San Diego State College; Central, Santo F. Camilleri, Stanford University; Northern, Robert L. James, University of Alberta; secretary-treasurer, Maurice D. Van

Arsdol, Jr., University of California; advisory council—Kingsley Davis, University of California, Berkeley; Aubrey Wendling, San Diego State College, Wilson Record, Sacramento State College; John M. Foskett, University of Oregon; Clarence Schrag and Otto N. Larsen, University of Washington; representative to the Council of the American Sociological Association—Walter T. Martin, University of Oregon.

The 1962 meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association will be held at the Sacramento Inn, Sacramento, California, on April 5–7, 1962. C. Wilson Record, of Sacramento State College, is in charge of local arrangements.

University of Pittsburgh.—Jiri Nehnevajsa, formerly of Columbia University, has joined the Department of Sociology as professor.

Nehnevajsa and his associate, Albert Francis, are engaged in Project "Outcomes," a substantive and methodological study of the comparative impact of actual versus anticipated events. This research is supported by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

Peter New and Herbert Maccoby, both newly appointed in the Graduate School of Public Health, have additional appointments and responsibilities in the Department of Sociology.

Professor James Thompson is acting chairman for 1961–62, and Verne Wright, associate professor, is administrative officer.

C. K. Yang has returned from research leave, spent in Japan and England studying preindustrial urbanization, under a National Science Foundation grant. The third of Yang's volumes on Chinese society, this one on the religions of China, is being published by the University of California Press.

David Rogers was on sabbatical leave during the winter trimester last year He surveyed twenty-four prisons in nineteen states and currently is analyzing the data

Völkerpsychologie: Leitfaden mit Bibliographie, by Burhart Holzner, has been published in Germany by Verlag Wurzburg 1961.

Robert Avery, in co-operation with the Graduate School of Public Health, has begun a study of the role of the director of professional services in Veterans Administration hospitals.

Robert W. Hawkes is investigating executive roles in manufacturing firms, banks and mental hospitals. He spent the summer in England and France, where he compared hospital executive roles with those in the United States.

Joseph W. Eaton is completing an analysis of the correctional reform movement, with developments in California used to illustrate how the patterning of a scientific social movement differs from that of political and religious movements *Measuring Delinquency* by Eaton and Kenneth Polk, has been published by the University of Pittsburgh Press

With the assistance of National Defense Education Act Fellowships, the Department has initiated a new doctoral program in sociology of the professions. Students completing this program will be qualified to specialize in occupations and professions as a field of sociological inquiry, or to perform as sociologists in one of the professional schools.

Population Council.—About 25 fellowships for study in population at the predoctoral or postdoctoral levels are available to qualified students from all countries; particular consideration is given to students from the economically underdeveloped areas Applicants should have completed at least one year of graduate study beyond college, and have sufficient training in the social sciences to do graduate work in demography The plan of study is chosen by the applicant and may include sociology economics, biostatistics, and other relevant fields The basic stipend is $2,700 which may be supplemented The deadline is February 1 1962

Rutgers University.—An Urban Studies Center has been established to develop a teaching, extension, and research program designed to help New Jersey communities and the metropolitan regions of New York and Philadelphia solve urban problems Supported by grants from the Ford Foundation, the Center brings community leaders to the campus for a year's training through the Rutgers Urban Fellowship Program.

Robert Gutman has been appointed professor of sociology and director of research at the Urban Studies Center

San Fernando Valley State College.—A Department of Anthropology has been created with Edmund S Carpenter, associate professor of anthropology, as chairman Other members

of the staff are Raoul Naroll, associate professor; Joan Rayfield, assistant professor; M Gibson, instructor; and Dorothy Lee, professor of anthropology (effective February, 1962)

New appointments in the Department of Sociology include John Kelley as assistant professor and John Crowther as instructor. Kelley has degrees from Harvard, Minnesota, and Louisiana State (Ph D., 1961) and will teach demography and social stratification. Crowther, who is completing his Ph D at the University of Southern California, is interested in industrial and occupational sociology

Peter Geiser has been promoted to associate professor and is on leave to serve as visiting professor for one year at the American University in Cairo

Joseph B. Ford has been appointed city planning commissioner for Los Angeles for a five-year term. He will spend spring semester on a Fulbright Grant in Madrid, where he will continue his comparative studies of city planning and related sociological topics and will give a research-methods seminar at the University of Madrid

Society for the Scientific Study of Sex

The fourth annual meeting is scheduled to be held on November 4 in the Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York City. The topics for the morning and afternoon sessions are, respectively, "Sex and Aging," Hugo G. Beigel, chairman, and "Sex Factors in Schizophrenia," Franz J. Kallmann, chairman.

BOOK REVIEWS

Individual Choice Behavior: A Theoretical Analysis. By R. DUNCAN LUCE. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959 Pp. xii+153. $5.95.

For social scientists who wish to convince skeptical colleagues in the natural sciences that social science has come of age, this work should do the job. It contains most features of the mature scientific theory. It has a deductive part which is pyramidal even to the point of being based on one axiom, the famous "choice axiom." And even more important than the pointed apex: the pyramid has a very broad base in that its consequences can touch on data in fields as far apart as psychophysics, utility theory, and learning theory. Further, the deductive part is formalized, the mathematics being fairly simple algebra and calculus of probabilities, although the use made of it is ingenious enough. And most important, this mathematized theory is testable, the consequences are falsifiable, and data are reported that, by and large, confirm the theory. At the very end of the book, Professor Luce has even included a very suggestive list of "open problems"—conceptual, empirical, and mathematical—which proves a commendable way of showing, by simple negation, what the theory does cover in the mind of the author.

The basic idea is to present a considerable part of human behavior as choice behavior governed in all its mixture of rationality and irrationality by an axiom that can be presented as follows: the probability of selecting a certain alternative from a set of alternatives in two steps (by subdividing the original set, picking a subset, and then picking an alternative) is independent of how the set of alternatives is subdivided. The probability of selecting roast beef from a menu is independent of whether the menu is organized according to the meat-fish division or the division between fried and cooked entrees, under certain specified conditions. A consequence of this is a probabilistic version of Arrow's "independence of irrelevant alternatives," namely, that the ratio between preferring one of two alternatives to preferring the other (measured in probabilities) is independent of how many and what other alternatives are present. If the probability of preferring roast beef to salmon is twice that of preferring salmon to roast beef, then this should hold true when this is the complete menu as well as when the menu has a number of other alternatives

Intuition may lead us to protest, and Luce is quite willing to serve as an excellent guide along the road of protest. We might feel, for instance, that alternatives are somehow cognitively interdependent in the sense that awareness of a third alternative will change the perception of the first two, for instance, in the precise sense of serving as an intermediate so that the preference distance between the two becomes more pronounced A counterargument to this, however, is that the alternatives are no longer identical which means we shall have to redefine them and apply the axiom to redefined alternatives and thus to save the axiom. Luce hints at this possibility in the conclusion (pp 133 ff) As Quine has pointed out, a theory will always be in need of readjustment to equilibrate theory and data, but exactly where in the theoretical framework the readjustments shall be made is largely a question of strategy It may be at the edge (by means of reconceptualization, for instance), in the middle (by reconsidering the formal deductions), or at the top (by changing the axiom) In the present case it may well be that the most fruitful attack lies where Luce seems to believe—in the definition of the alternatives and a thorough experimental study of how an organism constructs and reconstructs its alternative space But it may also be in the formalism itself that the algebra which is well-suited for dice and other well-defined phenomena stands in the same relation to the choice phenomena discussed by Luce as did Euclidean geometry to the phenomena discussed in the theory of relativity. However this may be, it may well prove right to preserve the axiom and add it to the increasingly more subtle list of concepts of rationality—"maximization of utility" is one, "minimax rationality" is another, and this kind of

"choice rationality" may perhaps become a [illegible].

One of the main virtues of the axiom lies in its connection with measurement theory. Luce shows that under the condition of imperfect discrimination, a utility function with the properties of a ratio scale can be defined on a set of alternatives for which the axiom is valid. For the reader it is almost incredible how much current thinking in the three fields he discusses is not only touched upon but even deduced by means of the axiom. This makes the application of various kinds of mathematics considerably easier, but it may also lead to the suspicion that the axiom may guide researchers into a dead alley, precisely because there is too much similarity with mathematical physics. But this remains to be seen. Right now the work is outstanding in its [illegible] [illegible] and broad field of application.

JOHAN GALTUNG

University of Oslo

Symposium on Sociological Theory. Edited by LLEWELLYN GROSS. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1959. Pp. ix + 642. $7.25.

Symposia, of course, are intrinsically unreviewable. In this one, for instance, the only [illegible] theme of the essays is that almost [illegible] [illegible] methodology [illegible] [illegible] rather than substantive theory.

All the reviewer can hope to do is to [illegible] [illegible] potential reader what he will find [illegible] the nineteen articles included here.

1. C. Wright Mills describes his pattern of work. He keeps a filing cabinet of ideas and [illegible] writing by rearranging the materials [illegible] [illegible] there is no guarantee that if you get [illegible] cabinet you will become a C. Wright Mills [illegible] is a revealing portrait of a singular [illegible] figure.

2. Don Martindale wistfully reviews the history of ideal types from their birth in the nineteenth century to their death at the hands of Carl Hempel in 1952.

3. Reinhard Bendix and Bennett Berger develop the idea that the most fruitful use of the classical dichotomies of sociological thought (folk-urban, primary group-secondary, status-contract, etc.) is to consider them not as mutually exclusive empirically, but as in [illegible]: "If we know that all relations among men in society are both intimate and impersonal, then we are prompted to examine a predominately primary relationship for its frequently hidden, secondary attributes and vice versa."

4. Robert Bierstedt claims that the distinction between nominal and real definitions will clear up a number of debates and confusions about sociological theory. It turns out that this is a polite way of saying that most of what we call sociological theory is merely a set of concepts without substantive propositions, although whether the situation is improved by giving this a high-brow name is not clear.

5. [illegible] [illegible] describes [illegible] distinctions between order [illegible] the [illegible] of invariant relations [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of order and discusses [illegible] of social order.

6. Abraham Edel [illegible] to restore the idea of [illegible] [illegible] respectability by [illegible] [illegible] and legitimate [illegible].

7. Homer [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

8. [illegible]

[illegible]

In what [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] functionalism as a [illegible] with Nagel's [illegible] Nagel [illegible] *Logic without Metaphysics* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, [illegible]). [illegible] stresses the [illegible] [illegible] reasoning, rather than [illegible] concepts. His conclusion is that [illegible] somewhat less to functionalism [illegible] but that it plays a useful role in [illegible] empirical research on the problem of self-regulation.

10. F. H. George, when he is not showing off his erudition in methodology, appears to be claiming that psychological concepts (motivation, emotion, etc.) and sociological concepts (which he thinks are tantamount to treating psychological concepts in terms of two or more people at the same time) could be laboriously translated into a neurological switching circuit model.

11. Anatol Rapaport's essay, written for the non-specialist, is a simple and clear exposition of what formal theories can and cannot do and includes brief but lucid descriptions of some Rashevsky models and game theory.

12. May Brodbeck analyzes the meaning of "mathematical model," concludes that the term is so ambiguous as to be "worse than useless," but wryly predicts that sociologists will continue to use the term.

13. Herbert Hochberg explains what is meant by "axiomization" and "formalization" in an essay which is not quite as lucid as Cohen and Nagel's work of two decades ago but which compensates for this by being twice as patronizing to all scientific work which is not physics.

14. Joseph H. Greenberg presents an elaborate axiomization of descriptive phonology (including 119 definitions and more than 150 different logical symbols) which I am not competent to read, much less evaluate, although it appears to be a first-rate intellectual achievement.

15. W. H Werkmeister discusses some of the problems raised by the fact that social scientists are more entangled in values—their own and those of their subjects—than are natural scientists. His flogging of these dead horses is less provocative than some of his obiter dicta, for example, "If experimentation is regarded as essential to a science, then obviously our social studies will never become truly scientific."

16. Paul Hanley Furfey maintains, using examples from studies such as Kubie's and his own analysis of the implicit values of social pathologists, that values and value judgments are inevitable in sociology and should be made explicit rather than implicit.

17. Llewellyn Gross, the editor of the book after thrashing about in the murky waters of higher methodology, presents two theories which attempt to systematize Sutherland's work on white-collar crime.

18. Kurt Wolff reviews the relations between the European *Wissenssoziologie* tradition and American positivistic sociology, concluding that as a movement in American sociology the former is dead, but as a possible broadening influence on the course of the latter it has a great potential

19. Gideon Sjoberg discusses some of the social pressures toward or away from operationalism in sociology (e g., in Western bureaucracies universalism leads to testing, but in many non-Western bureaucracies particularism is associated to resistance toward testing) and concludes that sectarian devotion to operationalism can lead to neglect of many important problems (e g. cross-cultural studies).

With certain conspicuous exceptions, I felt the essays in this book were pretentious windy, and pseudo-scientific.

JAMES A. DAVIS

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory By DON MARTINDALE. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co, 1960 Pp 560 $6 50

Martindale's book is a singularly valuable contribution to sociological theory. It is the first attempt since Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (1928) to present a comprehensive summary and comparative analysis of major theoretical approaches since Comte's time. Serious attention is given to works of more than fifty leading theorists, including most persons found on standard lists for the period and several welcome additions. Coverage divides fairly evenly between works produced before and after World War I, with considerable attention paid to contemporary viewpoints.

The central aim is to point out main areas of comparability, agreement, continuity, and difference between major theoretical works in the sociological tradition. It is Martindale's contention that we can go a long way toward clarifying basic issues and affinities by distinguishing five dominant theoretical schools and several subschools The book is organized around the characterization of these schools.

with individual works discussed in relation to the schools and their development

The guiding interpretation is that sociology emerged as part of the broad secular movement in Western thought, with roots crucially in speculative philosophy While theoretical autonomy has increased through the years, different theoretical approaches were, until very recently, derived from different philosophical starting points that influenced definitions of problems and methods Accordingly, four of the five schools are defined by their philosophical leanings and traced from sources in philosophy The portrayal very briefly, runs as follows

The two earliest schools were positivistic in orientation and placed emphasis on sociocultural systems over individuals The original school (called "Positivistic Organicism") sought to combine an empirical methodology with an idealistic, organicist conception of social order Organized society vaguely conceived was taken as the focal point, with social change viewed as an orderly transition from one organized state to another First represented in the works of Comte, Spencer and Ward this school reached its zenith with Tönnies and Durkheim Afterward tensions between empiricism and organicism led to its breakup as indicated in the breach between Lundberg and Sorokin

During the same period a second school ("Conflict Theory") arose that accepted the empiricism of the first but held to a non-idealistic definition of social reality As advocated by Marx Gumplowicz Ratzenhofer and others group conflict became the critical focus Orderly social life was viewed as a problematic outcome within a broader continuing process of ferment

By the late nineteenth century, as sociology was gaining academic acceptance, pressures developed for more precise definitions of subject matter and method Partly in response two further schools appeared drawing upon different philosophical sources In Germany Simmel attempted to reconstruct sociology on rationalist, Kantian foundations ("Sociological Formalism") Organicist models were rejected and society was conceived as the ongoing relations between individuals Sociology's task was to analyze social events in terms of analytical "forms" of social interaction independent of historical contexts Park transported this approach to America combining it with conflict theory In Europe difficulties over methods of determining social forms led to a bifurcation of the school into an inductionist branch (Von Wiese) and an intuitionist, "phenomenological" branch (Vierkandt and Scheler)

The broadest school ("Social Behaviorism") also emerged at this time with idealistic and pragmatic antecedents Proponents adhered to idealistic definitions of subject matter but sought scientific rigor by [illegible] and meanings to observable behavior Three somewhat parallel subschools developed independently; all viewing social groupings "nominalistically" as composites of individual acts The first subschool Martindale calls "Pluralistic Behaviorism" In France Tarde approached social phenomena as the [illegible] distributions of individual behaviors reflecting personal beliefs and desires [illegible] through imitation This approach was expanded and modified by Giddings Chapin Ogburn and others Most influential in America was a second branch [illegible] James Cooley Thomas and Mead ("Symbolic Interactionism") Individual [illegible] was brought to the core of [illegible] interaction viewed as a [illegible] process of communication between [illegible] individuals Quite similar in certain respects was Weber's social-action approach ("Social Action Theory") essentials of which [illegible] by Veblen Mannheim and Znaniecki While this approach was more [illegible] institutions than personality the analysis of institutions pivoted on the [illegible] of individuals involved

The nominalist inclinations of Social Behaviorists limited their effectiveness in dealing with organized social systems The most recent school to arise ("Sociological Functionalism") is centrally concerned with social systems as such viewing individual actions in their implications for these systems The first school to grow primarily out of social science traditions, its ancestry belongs in the positivistic Organicist school social anthropology and Gestalt psychology One main branch ("Macro-functionalism") takes societies or other larger scale systems as its point of reference Parsons Homans Merton and Levy are principal exponents A second branch ("Micro-functionalism") [illegible] represented by

group-dynamics theorists and Bales, concentrates on smaller groups. Of late, Martindale suggests, the two branches show definite signs of convergence.

There is a great deal that is exceptional in Martindale's typological portrayal. It is based upon a painstaking, highly original reworking of the theoretical literature. In general, the five-school typology is used to excellent advantage, providing a far more coherent overview of our theoretical development than has been available before. The schools point to fundamental differences in intellectual orientations underlying many theoretical formulations. Applied to individual works, they highlight important continuities and clarify sources of many specific disagreements. At the same time, the typology is not pressed too far. Due attention is given to individual contributions of the main theorists considered, for the most part in lucid, highly rewarding summaries.

This, then, is a book to be read and studied carefully by all who care about sociological theory. It surpasses all previous works as a general, advanced, introductory theory textbook and is particularly distinguished for its broad coverage, linguistic clarity, over-all coherence, and Martindale's rare ability to make theory come alive. Yet precisely because of its general excellence and the influence it properly deserves, it seems important to mention several shortcomings and questionable interpretations. Inevitably, a simple typology must select certain issues over others. Martindale emphasizes "extra-scientific" commitments that have guided theoretical directions, to the neglect of specific explanatory problems and arguments having empirical import. Definitions of the schools are methodologically imprecise, relying too much on vague philosophical concepts ("empiricism," "idealism," etc.). Granted that many theorists discussed have thought in such vague terms, their use in the typology perpetuates past ambiguities. The formulation of the Social-Behaviorist school especially suffers from this imprecision. Tenuous affinities are indicated between, say, Mead, Weber, Giddings, and Ogburn while more salient methodological differences are minimized. Some marked biases are shown in selection and treatment of works. Ecological approaches are unjustifiably ignored, and serious efforts at theoretical formalization are too summarily dismissed (see p. 444). Also, while some résumés of individual works are exceptionally good (e.g., Weber, Simmel, Mead, Mannheim, Merton), others show surprising editorial lapses (especially Comte, Von Wiese, Lundberg, Parsons, and the group-dynamicists).

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming lies in Martindale's working model of sociological theory which, in his words, "has one function, to illuminate." Emphasis is given to exploratory phases of theoretization, where bold conceptual innovation is indispensable. Too little appreciation is shown for increasing attempts to improve verifiability, where logical and empirical explicitness become paramount. Thus, as Martindale seems to acknowledge, his account has a backward reference. His contribution is mainly one of substantially clarifying past sources of present theoretical viewpoints; leaving to others the related task of determining how differences can be constructively resolved within the framework of empirical science.

MARTIN U. MARTEL

State University of Iowa

The Eighth Generation: Cultures and Personalities of New Orleans Negroes. Edited by JOHN H. ROHRER and MUNRO S. EDMONSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. Pp. xii + 346. $6.00.

The study reported in this volume is a follow-up of the work of Allison Davis and John Dollard, published as *Children of Bondage* in 1940. The present investigation carried out during 1953–56 began with the search for 107 of the 277 former teen-agers studied in 1938 by Davis and Dollard. Ninety of the 107 were located, 47 were interviewed, and of this number a sample of 10 men and 10 women were selected for intensive interviewing and testing by a team of behavioral scientists who combined anthropology, psychology, and psychiatry in the study of the personalities and cultures of the New Orleans Negroes.

The authors conclude that there are no grounds for assuming the operation of general racial stereotypes in the training of Negro children (p. 76), and that the class cultures of the Negro society of New Orleans are not culturally discontinuous entities to which individuals orient themselves segmentally. The caste-and-class hypothesis, as used by Davis and Dollard, is considered too narrow to explain the variety of patterns in the personalities of their subjects.

For Rohrer and his associates, the culturally patterned primary role identifications are seen as significant in the personality development and behavior of their subjects. The reference group, viewed as a culture group, and the phenomenon of ethnocentrism are taken as clues to the nature of primary cultural identification. The twenty sample subjects tend to fall into five groups according to their patterns of primary role identification: the middle class, the matriarchy, the gang, the family, and a residual group of the culturally marginal. Five chapters are given to case histories tracing the influence of patterns of cultural identification institutionalized in family life upon primary role identifications and the lives of the subjects.

The sample is too small to permit an examination of central tendencies of primary role identification within groups and it could well be the presence of extreme cases that give the picture of five distinct groups. The findings seem to point to the dynamics of change: the absence of a stable homogeneous cultural tradition, the unevenness and inconsistencies of the caste restrictions, the variable social conditions and problems resulting from the caste restrictions, and the social mobility of the Negro in a rapidly changing urban society. Thus, it seems possible in time and space for the findings of this study to differ with the findings of Davis, Dollard and others without negating their study.

The general reader is likely to be misled by the paragraph (p. 10) regarding the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court and the findings of this and earlier studies. There seems to be an error in the statement: "The matriarchal family of the Negro lower class is only partly matrilineal because it provides almost no place for men at all" (p. 170).

This study of the *Eighth Generation* [illegible] for its approach, case history data and interdisciplinary team work.

JOHN MOLAND, JR.

[illegible] College

London's Newcomers: The West Indian Migrants. By RUTH GLASS, assisted by HAROLD POLLINS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. Pp. xii + 278. $4.00.

Seldom do social scientists have the opportunity to see a significant social movement develop before their eyes at a time and place where there are resources and interest to examine it. The migration of colored persons into Great Britain since the Second World War furnishes such an opportunity. Although it has not been as fully exploited as one might wish, the movement has received the attention of several scholars. Many of the studies of Britain's colored minorities have been concerned, quite properly, with careful description.

In *London's Newcomers,* one of the very best of the investigations in this area, Ruth Glass has combined a demographic and attitude study of the West Indian migrants with an analysis of the ways in which patterns of race relations are affected by the British social structure. The tensions and conflicts attending the growth of the colored population are [illegible] explained simply by a housing shortage, or the aggressions of [illegible] though each plays a part [illegible] ciety with established patterns of [illegible] relationships and cultural [illegible]. With reference to the riots in a few sections of London, Mrs. Glass argues [illegible] and white which is [illegible] and for which [illegible] current [illegible] streets. They are [illegible] British society (p. 156). [illegible] Britain supports [illegible] prejudice [illegible] Social [illegible] the nature of [illegible] will go in the direction [illegible]

One of the [illegible] of this kind is the degree [illegible] or national situation [illegible] which a comparative [illegible] At first glance the [illegible] and it would be [illegible] The colored [illegible] approximately 21 [illegible] gation is much less [illegible] non-existent. [illegible] one the peace [illegible] those of the United States [illegible] speech [illegible] stated in its pattern [illegible] [illegible] Civil War.

Despite all these differences, however, one is struck by remarkable parallels in the experience, for example, of Jamaicans in London

Puerto Ricans in New York, and Negroes in Chicago. The cycle in housing of restricted choice, high rents, "piling up," and deterioration—with all of its self-fulfilling qualities—is a vital fact in many metropolitan centers today, regardless of differences in tradition. The collective behavior—riots, white "defence" organizations (the KKK, with or without a British accent), and the groups seeking to promote harmony—shows an impressive similarity.

From such excellent studies as *London's Newcomers* we can enrich our understanding of the complexities of race relations in one setting and can find materials for the testing of generalizations of wider applicability.

J. MILTON YINGER

University of Hawaii

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Aging in Western Societies. Edited by ERNEST W. BURGESS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Pp. xvi+492. $7.50.

The Aging American: An Introduction to Social Gerontology and Geriatrics. By MILTON L. BARRON. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1961. Pp. xvii+269. $7.50.

The Burgess volume, third in a series of handbooks on social gerontology, surveys problems of the aged and social action to meet them in the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, West Germany, and Italy. Part One, in which leading American social scientists review the work being done in Western Europe, contains three chapters that will intrigue sociologists, whether or not they are interested in aging. In the first of these, Hauser and Vargas, in their chapter on population, lay a solid demographic foundation for the study of aging. It also contains certain provocative hypotheses about the consequences of a high proportion of old people in a society. The authors speculate that an "old" population adversely affects industrial productivity, produces ineptitude in government, and dampens the adventuresomeness and creativity of younger persons. In the second, "Family Structure and Relationships," Burgess discusses the persistence of close ties and mutual aid between young and old in English working-class families. The data suggest a need to re-examine concepts of isolation and anomie in urban areas. Finally, "Life beyond Family and Work" deals with the elderly person as citizen, student, informal group member, church member, and user of leisure time. Havighurst's use of the concept of "approved" and "disapproved" activities for the aged raises a question of the influence of social science in defining the roles open to older people in our society.

Two case studies in Part Two deserve special mention. One is Beavan's review of the activities of the Nuffield Foundation in England; the other is a group of photographs of strikingly handsome Swedish homes for the aged. Many of the other case studies are too fragmentary to be of much value. Part Three consists of statistical tables of comparative data for European and non-European countries, industrialized and underdeveloped.

The book touches upon, but does not thoroughly examine, the self-perceptions of the aged and social and cultural factors underlying differential views of old age in the countries surveyed. These omissions reflect the underdeveloped state of gerontological research. By ably analyzing what has been done, the authors have contributed to the future development of more sophisticated and more useful research and action programs.

Like the book described above, *The Aging American* discusses problems of, and programs for, older people. It also raises four important issues:

First, the comparative position of the aged in primitive, rural, and urban societies. Barron suggests (chap. ii) that old people occupy a relatively unfavorable position today because of the dissolution of the extended family and the loss of the elder's traditional prestige prerogatives, and functions. On the other hand, contemporary society offers the aged new opportunities for enjoyment, personal growth, and freedom from burdens and restrictions.

A second issue is the author's concept of the aged as a "quasi-minority group" (chap. iii). Barron feels that the old, like minorities, are discriminated against, stereotyped, and subordinated, and that they react by displaying hypersensitivity, self-hatred, and defensiveness. Unlike racial or religious minorities, they do not function as an organized subgroup.

Although the old are denied equal access to jobs, age does not seem to deprive one of first-class citizenship in other areas of life. Indeed, in such areas as politics the aged appear to be extremely influential. What about minority-

group feelings? One recent national survey—*Americans View Their Mental Health*—indicates that older people suffer less from self-doubt than younger people, worry less often, have a more positive self-image, and perceive fewer shortcomings in themselves. Use of the concept in accounting for the behavior of older people is also open to question.

Another critical issue is the imposition of middle-class norms on working-class older people (chap. iv). The gerontologist's class background helps shape the kind of advice given the middle-aged and the kind of behavior that is rewarded in the old. The author also raises important questions about the social-psychological meaning of work and the relationship of work to physical and mental health. A thoughtful discussion of the subject (chap. v) concludes with a list of working hypotheses that demand investigation.

The book has other virtues, such as an excellent history of gerontology and a review of religion and aging, and a few faults: poor placement and organization of some of the material and overdependence on the Cornell studies. On balance, however, it is a welcome addition to the literature on aging.

ANTHONY LENZER

University of Michigan

Families in the Church: A Protestant Survey. By ROY W. FAIRCHILD and JOHN CHARLES WYNN. New York: Association Press, 1961. Pp. [illegible]

This study, done for the United Presbyterian Church, sought to describe the contemporary Protestant family in America and their relationships at home and in the church, in order to understand the pastoral ministry to families, and how home-church relationships may be expected to change. Toward these goals the researchers (1) summarize much literature on the family and give a protrait of the "changing" family, (2) present a theological inquiry into family life through consultation with twenty ranking theologians and an exegesis of Bible and Reformation literature, (3) poll 1,000 Presbyterian parents with a 25-item questionnaire, (4) poll 2,645 Presbyterian ministers with a much longer questionnaire, (5) conduct group interviews with 845 parents in 63 churches, and (6) include in their volume "insights" from interviews with psychiatrists, teachers, writers, social workers, and government officials on the role of the church in family education.

Sociologists will find (1) better than comparable chapters in most texts, (2) new and interesting, (6) elusive, and (3, 4, and 5), the bulk of the book, disappointing. The task clearly was interpretive. To look into the relationship of family and church is to raise important questions, many of them with the parish rather than the parishioner as the unit of analysis. Yet the empirical answers presented are of the following sort: "Competition from too many activities that tend to separate the family" is the most frequently voiced problem of church families along with "economic and occupational problems"; the most important function of the church for parish family life, as reported by ministers, is pastoral counseling; curriculum materials designed for church and home are not highly regarded; pastors' perception of competing community affairs is positively related to size of the church's membership; mothers are more involved in the church than are fathers.

Such findings may be desired by those professionally involved in church-and-family matters. The authors, professors of Christian Education at seminaries, can better judge that point. To sociology, however, a contribution that could have been large is small. With all its enthusiastic use of techniques of social science the study lacks the conceptual tools for interpreting social phenomena. One repeatedly wants to ask the authors what they think the findings mean, but since few of the data are given except in prose, it is even difficult for the reader to try his own hand. With so much time and money invested in techniques, it is regrettable that more effort was not given to conceptualization and analysis.

PHILLIP E. HAMMOND

Yale University

Field Work: An Introduction to the Social Sciences. By BUFORD H. JUNKER. With an Introduction by EVERETT C. HUGHES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Pp. xii + 209. $5.00.

This book is the fruit of many years of investigation by Everett Hughes and associates

into the process of field work. It is considerably condensed from a privately circulated document *Case on Field Work* which was a discursive but provocative collection of excerpts from the literature and actual notes of field workers with comments by Hughes, Junker, Raymond Gold, and others who participated in the project. The somewhat puzzling title is explained by the fact that Hughes used a course in field work as a means of introducing undergraduates at Chicago to sociology, and particularly to the local facts of urban life.

The analytic framework of the book is a continuum of observer roles ranging from the complete participant to the complete observer. The two intermediate steps are the participant-as-observer, where the investigator is known primarily for his activities as a participant, the fact that he is observing being not wholly concealed, and the observer-as-participant where although participating, he is known generally to be an observer. This classification of roles is correlated with variables such as the kinds of information the investigator is able to obtain, problems of involvement and other strains on the role of the observer, and constraints on reporting. A chapter is devoted to adaptations of these roles to fit different contexts, such as research on the family, the school, the plant, the parish, etc. Another is devoted to the anxieties, problems, and mistakes of novices and how they learn to be observers.

The method of presentation is to quote so extensively that the book is essentially a set of excerpts connected by editor's commentary. The excerpts, except in the chapter on learning experiences, come largely from classic sources, for example, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Warner, William Foote Whyte and Webbs, and although a few are more substantial, most are 500–1,500 words long. Few, if any, major classics are not represented Hughes has contributed some of his raw field notes and the chapter on learning to do field work quotes extensively from interviews with novice field workers and their field-work notes.

There is an extensive and valuable bibliography, indexed and cross-referenced by topic, and occasionally annotated.

MORRIS ZELDITCH, JR

Columbia University

Methods of Regional Analysis: An Introduction to Regional Science. By WALTER ISARD ("Regional Science Studies," No. 4.) New York: John Wiley & Sons and Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1960. Pp. xxix + 784. $9 50

In the past decade, the author of this work, a man of enormous energy, has been vigorously promoting the development of "regional science," a new discipline concerned with spatial analysis that places great emphasis upon the development of rather highly abstract models. This volume complements his earlier *Location and Space—Economy* (1956), which presented "a general theory relating to industrial location, market areas, land use, trade, and urban structure." It is, in effect, a methodological handbook, setting out the principal tools at the disposal of the regional scientist and is an effort at synthesizing a number of diverse approaches

Following an introductory sketch (chapter i), ten chapters are devoted to particular techniques. Chapters ii and iii, on population projection and the estimation of migration, respectively, are brief and pedestrian and decidedly inferior to other treatments available in the literature; both, however, have useful bibliographies. Chapter iv is devoted to the embryonic field of the estimation of regional income and "social accounts," and it assumes considerable familiarity with national income accounts, while chapter v—on the analysis of interregional flow and balance-of-payment statements—deals with movements of commodities and money Ther is little here for the sociologist. *The chief i*terest of chapter vi on regional cycle and mul plier analysis, lies in the brief Appendix o theory of economic base and central place

The most useful material for sociologists in chapter vii, a long summary treatment analysis of industrial location and various related measures. The chief interest is the luci and systematic survey of various coefficient and indexes—localization, specialization, diversification, etc.—all of which have a spatial referent, and many of which seem to have usefu analogues for sociologists who are not especially concerned with areal distribution. An Appendix to the chapter contains elementary discussions of scaling, latent structure analysis and factor analysis, the last being regarded as especially helpful in the delineation of regions

The next three chapters have relatively little to offer the sociologist. Chapter viii reviews

regional applications of the input-output approach associated with W. W. Leontief. Industrial complex analysis, outlined in chapter ix, aims at studying activities of a given place and part of a (subsystem) which is influenced by production, marketing, or other interrelations. Chapter x takes up interregional linear programming, a highly abstract and mathematical optimizing technique. At least demographers and ecologists will feel more secure in returning to the familiar ground covered in chapter xi, devoted to the gravity, potential, and spatial interaction models identified with such writers as J. Q. Stewart, G. K. Zipf, and S. A. Stouffer.

The penultimate chapter, devoted to a lengthy dissertation on channels of synthesis, depends heavily upon diagrammatic representation of various synthetic combinations; it is optimistic in tone and ambitious in scope, but the author's reach clearly exceeds his grasp. Isard's tendency for the inclusive is reflected in his effort to develop a more general system ("Channel IV") oriented around values and social goals though he is ultimately obliged to confess the pressing need for "a deeper understanding of decision-making processes, of the role and behavior of the individual and group in a constantly changing social structure." What else, one may ask, are social scientists studying?

In abandoning the boundaries between the traditional disciplines, then, Isard confronts the herculean task of taking over their problems *in toto*, and, in chapter xiii, he promises another volume wherein he will provide for "the vast field of regional science" an inclusive *theory* which "emphasizes basic interactions of political, social, economic forces that have been traditionally neglected." It may be comforting to [illegible] that the age of grand system-builders is not over, but we shall see what we shall see.

LEO F. SCHNORE

University of Wisconsin

Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft ("Society and Forms of Knowledge"). By MAX SCHELER. ("Gesammelte Werke," Vol. VIII.) 2d ed. Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1960. Pp. 536. Swiss fr. 38.

This massive, beautifully edited and produced volume contains three of Max Scheler's major essays concerning the general area of the sociology of knowledge and epistemology: "Probleme einer Soziologie des Wissens," a treatise laying the foundations for, and developing in detail certain parts of, a general sociology of knowledge; "Erkenntnis und Arbeit," a critical study of pragmatism; "Universität und Volkshochschule," a paper advocating reforms in the German system of higher education. The three had been previously published in 1926 by Max Scheler. Maria Scheler, as editor, revised and corrected the texts on the basis of the original manuscripts; she further added a collection of posthumously published fragments relating to them.

Max Scheler, professor of philosophy in Cologne from 1919 until shortly before his death in 1928, was one of the leading German metaphysicians and phenomenological sociologists. For him, sociology provides the foundation for "philosophical anthropology," a term by which he means the philosophical synthesis and interpretation of all knowledge about man. Philosophically, Scheler's sociology rests on an epistemology which claims to be broader than the epistemology underlying empirical science. The basis for this broad epistemology is the phenomenological approach as formulated by Husserl. Phenomenological analysis, [illegible] the method of "ideational abstraction," [illegible] for Scheler a systematic understanding of all the different roads open to man. Empirical science is only one of them, and even it should be guided by an image of man and be a servant to wisdom.

Substantively, Scheler assumes the existence of a fundamental dualism in society, the dualism between *Geist* and *Leben*. *Geist* [illegible] for Scheler is the [illegible] for the [illegible] ings and rationality which has its own inherent laws. These are entirely inaccessible to empirical science; they can be understood only with the tools of philosophy and cultural science. Cultural sociology, which is concerned with the relations between *Geist* and society, then presupposes a philosophy of meaning and symbolism, which uncovers the inherent laws of *Geist*. "Life," on the other hand, is determined by the real motivating forces of the basic drives of procreation, hunger, and power; its workings in society are examined by *Realsoziologie*. Scheler says, "It is one of the main tasks of sociology to characterize typologically any socially conditioned phenomenon in relation to

these two poles [of cultural and *Realsoziologie*] and to determine in terms of scientific rules what in the phenomenon is due to an autonomous unfolding of *Geist*, for instance in the logical-rational development of law, in the imminent logic of the history of religion, etc., and what on the other hand is due to the determination of the phenomenon through sociological *Realfaktoren*, such as institutions and their momentum which are based on the underlying structure of drives" (pp. 19–20).

In the sociology of knowledge Scheler hopes to find an approach which would overcome the limitations of both Marxism and positivism. Both, he feels, are fallacious. For Scheler there are different types of knowledge, and therefore there are different criteria of truth, each existing in its own social context. His sociology of knowledge is based on the following axioms: first, the knowledge man has of his membership in society is not empirical but a priori, because awareness arises in and through society. Second, the empirical knowledge which a man has of his partners is gained by different processes, depending on the structure of the group. These processes can be placed on a scale of ideal types: emotional identification is at one pole and analogical inferences, based on rational reflection, is at the other. Third, there is an invariant law of order determining the relationships between the different types or spheres of knowledge and truth. These spheres of knowledge and their proper sequence, in the sense that the first provides the "basis" for the next and so on, are: the sphere of the holy, the sphere of interpersonal cognition, the sphere of external and internal experience relative to one's own body and its environment, the sphere of life, and the sphere of physical bodies

For the purposes of simplified sociological analysis, Scheler characterizes three main types of intentionally structured knowledge: *Heilswissen* ("saving knowledge"), *Bildungswissen* ("wisdom"), and *Herrschaftswissen* ("knowledge for control"). These three types can be easily recognized as a transformation of the Comtian stages freed from the evolutionist assumptions.

Scheler was keenly aware of the philosophical as well as the social conditions which make a sociology of knowledge possible. Much of his thought is therefore devoted to the analysis of the modern university. The last paper makes far-reaching recommendations for the reform of the German university which, he felt, did not live up to its social obligations. He raises the demand for a European university, a truly cosmopolitan institution, which will transcend the national boundaries and which he hopes will give new impulses to the social sciences and particularly to the sociology of knowledge

The paper on the epistemology of pragmatism, while in itself an important piece, is of less direct interest here. Scheler charges that Weber is a nominalist, that he is anti-philosophical, that he adheres to a scientistic rationalism, for Weber denied the possibility of scientific metaphysics. For him there was no such thing as an objective hierarchy of values or an objective order among the forms of human knowledge. Scheler's criticisms of Weber were widely echoed and repeated among German philosophers and some sociologists. This may have something to do with the fact that Max Weber is today much better known in the United States than in Germany.

Sociology has come a long way since Scheler and it has in fact by-passed most of the issues basic to his thinking. His phenomenological sociology is untenable; a number of beliefs which he held to be self-evident can be shown to be objectively false. But still he is one of the most perceptive minds of our century. While he failed to establish the superiority of his approach over that of empirical science, as far as sociology is concerned, he demonstrates again and again that he is gifted with a sociological imagination. It would be a very rewarding task to go through his work for suggestions and hypotheses which could be translated into the language of empirical social science.

BURKART HOLZNER

University of Pittsburgh

The Philosophy of Social Science By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1960. Pp ix + 187. *22s 6d*

At this moment in world history of the cold war, ideological confrontation, and neutralism, a book such as this is of interest because it is an indication of how the tide is running in the battle for men's minds and in the fundamental conflicts involving value systems and differing conceptions of social reality, and because it may influence the outcome of the slow and difficult

rocess of comunication between the contrasting philosophical systems of the East and West. Professor Mukerjee is the foremost social philosopher and social scientist in India and the East - or, at least, the best known among them. The present volume is one of a long list of his publications appearing over a number of years and covering an amazing variety of topics in the social sciences and humanities. In coverage, if not in a magnum opus Mukerjee has been attempting the role of a grand theorist. Now, with his most recent publication, he approaches the role of the system-builder. His works have run the gamut of pure theory and applied science but the philosopher usually has priority over the man of practical affairs. The present excursion into the realm of metaphysics and epistemology appears to be one which Professor Mukerjee most enjoys and on which he employs his many talents most effectively.

This volume is his attempt at reconciling the thought and belief systems of India and the East with those of the West. In fact he asserts that a merger of the two cultural traditions is possible with a distinct gain for world community resulting therefrom and furthermore, he attempts to construct the foundation for such a cultural hybrid. In this role he aspires to be more than an interpreter of the two cultures; certainly more than a mere interlocutor. He is writing for two audiences, and in so doing serves both as an exponent of the more pragmatic-empirical-quantitative viewpoint of Occidental social science and as an advocate of the [illegible]-speculative-qualitative or value-[illegible] viewpoint of the Orient. The work falls short. Whether or not such an ideological merger is impossible, or whether it is simply that Professor Mukerjee is not equal to the task, remains to be decided by his peers after considered reflection and critical discussion.

Perhaps a world-oriented but locally rooted social philosopher is sorely needed to show the way for social science theory construction and validation among the "underdeveloped" countries. Probably Western social scientists, principally American, are at present too inclined to emphasize systematic observation, operational definitions and quantification. We may be more ethnocentric about our methodological assumptions and research procedures than we realize. We may even be imperialistic in the way we shrug off the thought patterns of an Indian scholar and try to impose our own standards upon him. Nevertheless, I for one remain unconvinced that Mukerjee's work resolves the differences in our respective approaches—or that it provides an adequate basis for significant communication across the major cultural boundaries, let alone for truly fruitful co-operative social science research on an international scale. But the attempt is praiseworthy and similar enterprises should be encouraged.

The book is a compact, closely reasoned, serious and thoughtful attack on profound matters. Mukerjee displays wide ranging scholarship and an open-mindedness which is highly commendable; but his attempt to combine the transcendent value premises of Indian philosophy and religion with the more skeptical and rigorous experimental methods of Western science is an essay in futility.

HAROLD W. SAUNDERS

State University of Iowa

Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation. By E. H. GOMBRICH. New York: Pantheon Books, 1960. Pp. xxxi + 466. $10.00.

Much has been written in the sociology of art about the correspondence between subject matter in paintings and the values of the societies in which the paintings were produced. Some are so bold as to extend the presumed correspondence to the style of the painting. This extension is shaky because no specific account of the mechanisms by which style is preserved and adapted is proposed. Gombrich makes some stimulating suggestions about how to conceptualize these mechanisms. Although this book, an amplification of his A. W. Mellon Lectures in 1956, is concerned only with the psychology of art, by implication it has much to say about the framework necessary for a convincing sociological analysis of the evolution of style and even subject matter in painting.

No one of the basic ideas in the book is novel. Gombrich draws heavily on the work of Karl Popper in the sociology of knowledge, on several traditions in learning theory, and on the ideas of information theory and servomechanisms as popularized by men like Colin Cherry. Gombrich's combination of these ideas and vivid application of them to specific developments in painting is novel and convincing. The

illustrations are carefully chosen and placed and stunningly reproduced in color. The book is a joy to the eye of any bibliophile.

HARRISON C WHITE

University of Chicago

Group Dynamics: Research and Theory. Edited by DORWIN CARTWRIGHT and ALVIN ZANDER. 2d ed. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1960. Pp. xii+826.

The term "group dynamics" calls to mind a set of problems having to do with the influence of face-to-face groups on individual opinions and attitudes and of variations in the structure and climate of such groups on productivity and morale. It also calls to mind a particular style of approaching these problems in the experimental laboratory or in the field, and a style of social work with groups. And, of course, it calls to mind a group of scientists and practitioners, beginning with Kurt Lewin, who have influenced, and continue to influence, each other.

The second edition of *Group Dynamics*, like the first, is a "reader" in the best sense. It is not merely an assortment of vaguely related materials but a collection of papers that derive from, or are relevant to, the developing theoretical and methodological concerns of a genuine research tradition. Thus, in addition to their generally high quality and inherent interest the new papers (eighteen, or almost half, are replacements) appear to have been chosen with a variety of criteria in mind: some, for example, because they take their problem from earlier work (Deutsch and Gerard follow Asch; Guetzkow follows Bavelas, etc.); others reflect the sensitivity of the tradition to current work in related traditions; still others illustrate the continuing value of commuting between laboratory and field. Throughout, the editors' introductions skilfully interweave these threads.

Even more than the first, the second edition is attractive and all the more useful because of its self-respecting parochialism. Whereas the first edition gave equal time to a series of introductory statements representing alternative approaches (Freudian, sociometric, interactionist, etc.), the present volume tries, where appropriate, to subsume these and, where not, to ignore them. It is of interest, perhaps, that this journal's review of the first edition called for exactly this change. Instead of a parade of guest theorists, the new edition includes two introductory chapters on the origins and basic issues of group dynamics and points out in at least three of the new chapters the potential applicability of the (partly) home-grown theories of cognitive balance and dissonance; these and their attempted formalizations now have taken their place in the official canon. Mutual appreciation societies and inbreeding of all kinds can easily become dull and stultifying or, as in the present instance, can reach a high level of creativity. The conditions making for one kind of product or the other is itself an interesting problem in group dynamics.

ELIHU KATZ

University of Chicago

Montesquieu: Pioneer of the Sociology of Knowledge. By WERNER STARK. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. Pp. xii+214. $3.50

Montesquieu's *De L'Esprit des lois* (1748) is one of the recognized classics in the development of modern social thought, and others of his writings have not been entirely neglected by sociologists. These writings are, in considerable part, available in English translation, but there has not been a great deal of critical or appreciative literature on them in English, apart from relatively brief treatments in works on the history of social thought. This new book will be a service to serious students of sociology and the other social sciences.

Werner Stark, currently a member of the faculty of the University of Manchester, published a general work, *The Sociology of Knowledge*, in 1958. However, Stark has been persistently concerned with two philosophical dilemmas, "the attainability of absolute truth, despite the relativity of particular value systems, and belief in the freedom of the individual, despite the social determination of thought." The words are from Gisela Hinkle's review of *The Sociology of Knowledge* (this *Journal*, LXIV [May, 1959], 637–38), but they could be closely paralleled by quotations from the later chapters of the present work on Montesquieu. Stark attempts to show that Montesquieu was somewhat aware of these dilemmas but never resolved them. Like Dr. Hinkle, I doubt whether most American sociologists of today will be

very much interested in these questions, though their philosophical importance is considerable.

Apart from Stark's concern with Montesquieu's place in the early emergence of the sociology of knowledge, there is in this book a great deal of readable information about him and the development of his pre-sociological ideas during his lifetime. For those who feel that the serious student of social science ought to be somewhat acquainted with its history, this book should prove interesting. The matter is perhaps not a very important one, but American sociologists have been too much inclined to follow the teaching of Albion W. Small, in assuming that the history of their subject does not extend back before Comte and Spencer.

The book lacks a bibliography, which would have been helpful; and the Index does not seem to be adequate.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas. Edited by WILBERT E. MOORE and ARNOLD S. FELDMAN. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960. Pp. xv + 378. $3.75.

From a 1958 conference sponsored by the Committee on Economic Growth of the Social Science Research Council, the editors bring together a series of papers by eighteen social scientists. The editors had originally prepared a paper to stimulate discussion, then solicited a group of papers which were later sent to Melville Herskovits, Bert F. Hoselitz, Melvin Tumin and Clark Kerr for comment. All of these are presented here in revised form.

The original paper, by Feldman and Moore, is the longest (seventy-seven pages) and sets the tone of the volume. They direct attention to industrial labor's "commitment," by which they mean "performance and acceptance of the behaviors [*sic!*] appropriate to an industrial way of life." They suggest that commitment be examined in terms of the social contexts of the work place, the market system, and social structure and of agencies of exposure, predisposing agencies, agencies of adult socialization, and agencies that maintain commitment. This is a stimulating paper, not only because of the carefully worked out framework but because of the authors' individual ideas and comments. The general tone is one of debunking and paradox in which they deliberately play, and play well, the devil's advocate. For example, they state that participants in industrial organizations need not accept the goals of the organization, which is certainly true; but then they go further, to claim that there is actual danger to the organization if they do, for the participants may then overstep their own competence. The paper is full of teasers which are not, unfortunately, developed.

The rest of the papers may be thought of in terms of three major "tensions." First is the powerful tension between theory and fact. In their discussion Feldman and Moore are extremely general, making almost no reference to particular data, as, perhaps, they had to be in an introductory essay; but Stanley Udy manages to maintain the same degree of generality with data drawn from the Human Relations Area Files, as does Cyril Belshaw with Melanesian data. In contrast, Peter Hammond presents in detail the attempt to induce the Mossi of Africa to participate in the Niger Irrigation Project; Peter Gregory discusses the great degree of commitment achieved in Puerto Rico; Milton Singer focuses on the crafts of India; Morris D. Morris presents extensive data on the Bombay cotton textile industry and a steel works in Bihar. Equally detailed is Walter Elkan and Lloyd Fallers' discussion of the mobility of labor among the Baganda and Luo. In between these extremes are theories of the middle range as follows: William Knowles argues that much labor unrest in underdeveloped areas is not industrial at all but a consequence of, among other things, [illegible] tion and disease, inadequate credit systems. Manning Nash discusses the relation of industrialism to kinship, suggesting that the case for a one-to-one relation between any type of family and industrialism is far from proven. David Apter makes a strong case for the claim that the economic entrepreneur is not necessary for industrialization. In explaining the appeals of socialism to the new countries he writes: "Socialism is to political entrepreneurship what Protestantism was to economic entrepreneurship."

The second tension is between those who feel change is inevitable (Puerto Rico is a favorite example) and therefore might as well be effected as rapidly as possible (Knowles, Gregory, Morris, and Hammond; the last presents a neat case of "managerial" anthropology

and those who feel that change is painful and the original culture should be preserved as much as possible (Herskovits, and, to some extent, Belshaw)—an increasingly unpopular position.

The third, and perhaps most important tension is between unilinear and pluralistic approaches to the analysis of industrialization. Feldman and Moore argue that it is the logic of industrialism for definite forms to be taken by industrialism anywhere. Singer rejects this, quoting as example of it McClelland's claim that underdeveloped countries "*must* develop a strenuous, more achievement-oriented attitude toward life." For one thing, says Singer, the late arrivals at industrialism need not follow the same steps as the mature industrial countries: they do not have to start from scratch, new sources of energy are available, the state now plays a more active role in development, etc. Herskovits, Knowles, Belshaw, Richard Holton, and Hoselitz take related positions. The issue is squarely faced but the data are far from decisive. Clark Kerr sums it up best when he writes that industrial societies may well be diverse, but "they will be much more nearly alike than preindustrial societies."

The book has, inevitably, had to skirt certain questions. The term "developing areas" is not explicitly defined, though Belshaw and Hoselitz refer to the problem of definition. For a book on "commitment," surprisingly little attention is given to problems of identity, Tumin being the only one to discuss them. The role of the state—clearly of such major significance in the new countries—is explicitly discussed only by Apter.

The volume is highly integrated, the contributors talk to each other, and since they are such a mixed crew, this is an achievement indeed. The style of writing is, on the whole, good. The specialist in underdeveloped areas, the industrial sociologist, and the student of social and cultural change will find this an important book.

EDWARD GROSS

University of Minnesota

Caste and Kinship in Central India: A Village and Its Region. By ADRIAN C MAYER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960 Pp. xvi+295. $6.00.

Adrian C. Mayer carries on a dialogue on two levels in this book. He is interested in theoretical problems of the nature of the caste system in India, as well as in methods of studying the Indian peasantry, and also in reporting the life of a Central Indian village and its surrounding region.

In Ramkheri, as elsewhere in rural India, there is scarcity of land (912 people on 3,155 acres), the population has been constantly increasing, the dominant castes own most of the land, most people are not primarily engaged in their traditional caste occupations, and the number of landless people is perhaps increasing Mayer's data is unclear on this last point. He presents a table which merely shows that members of every caste own some land and there is a high correlation between the status of a caste and ownership.

Ramkheri, like most Indian villages, has been directly affected by happenings in the wider region and the nation. Tenancy rights in the land are being stabilized in favor of the tiller, a ceiling has been put on the acreage one person may own (only one family had 70 acres in Ramkheri; the average holding varied between 10 and 20 acres), people are switching to ritually neutral occupations such as trade, business, white-collar work, and there is a greater exchange of goods and services for cash. The village officials and servants are now being paid in cash and some traditional *jajmani* (patron-client) payments are also being paid in cash The private money-lender is on the decline although the majority of people in the village remain in debt.

The traditional power structure of the village has been weakened by the supersession of many prerogatives of the hereditary headman by the newly elected *panchayat*, or village committee, which, however, has not functioned effectively because of the entrenched local power relations A comprehensive committee composed of forty-three of the 250 adult males took over the general work of the *panchayat* (the *panchayat* had at various times from four to eight members) which meant that the village wanted to work through unanimity rather than by delegation of powers. The several fissiparous organizations (like the caste associations of the major divisions of caste in the village) which came into being were all united in finding a consensus through unanimity rather than by working through the *panchayat*. New lines of authority

and decision-making are emerging.

Mayer feels that caste is "the most important focus" for an anthropological study of India, and as such its dimensions have to be clarified. On examining the variables of endogamy, commensality, ritual rank, corporate control of property, occupational specialization, dress, name, habits, and many others, he found that collectively they provide a clue to the important political and economic aspects of village life as well as to the kinship structure. However, the difference between caste and subcaste, admittedly vague and fuzzy so far, is what challenged his imagination most. He claims that castes are "a rather shadowy category outside the village" (p. 271), and subcastes gain their full meaning (become "effective") on the intervillage plane. He further states that the limits of a subcaste should be defined in terms of a hierarchy starting from the kindred of co-operation ("varying for each individual any time") to the kindred of recognition ("a population within which marriages are made and/or kin links can be traced"). And beyond these is an ineffective group, recognized as an endogamous subcaste, [illegible]ed and separate from other subcastes.

Caste, however, is not the only significant grouping in rural India, and other roles besides those of caste are "effective"; to view the social process in rural India strictly in terms of the caste system is myopic indeed. Mayer's preoccupation with caste and subcaste roles limits his field data. Even when one views groups in terms of face-to-face interaction alone (as Mayer generally does), not only the actual but also the potential interaction should determine the theoretical model. Thus Mayer's models of [illegible] (village-level roles) and subcaste (intervillage roles of the kindred) seem circumscribed when compared, for instance, with David Mandelbaum's terminology of *jati* (caste or subcaste), *jati*-cluster, *jati* set and *jati*-category. The latter's model has greater power to [illegible]minate such problems as fusion and fission in the caste structure.

It seems that Mayer has missed the whole point of change in village India by riveting his attention on caste interaction alone. His picture of Ramkheri is oversimplified, because there is no discussion of the role of the people who have ties beyond those of kinship outside the village nor of urban influences. His point that Ramkheri is one mile beyond the six-mile pull of Dewas Town is gratuitous indeed, especially in view of the fact that the ex ruler of the village lives there. There is very little information on the educated people; statistics on other items are poorly handled. Finally, there is no justification for the claim that this is a study of caste in the regional setting when all his data come from one village except for minor statistics on surrounding villages. As community studies go this is a fairly good survey but it has hardly clarified any theoretical issues in the study of Indian society.

BAIDYA NATH VARMA

City College of New York

Gendai Kazoku no Kenkyu [illegible] of the Contemporary [Japanese] Family. By TAKASHI KOYAMA. [illegible] 1960. Pp. 57[illegible]. Y[illegible]

This work by a distinguished Japanese sociologist, Professor Koyama, and [illegible] associates from various universities [illegible] and the family court in the Tokyo area [illegible] of recent Japanese sociological [illegible].

The first half consists of [illegible] comparing families in a modern middle-class Tokyo apartment building [illegible] village within commuting distance of Tokyo and [illegible] isolated mountain village [illegible] Tokyo. The results are presented [illegible] with a clarity that would please [illegible]. [illegible] While [illegible] the authors [illegible] is to shed light on [illegible] aspects of the [illegible] urban continuum.

Perhaps the [illegible] emerges is that [illegible] patterns has more to do with [illegible] ganization than [illegible] family patterns from [illegible]. This is particularly striking [illegible] the contrast [illegible] farm and non-farm families [illegible] within commuting distance of Tokyo.

In some respects the [illegible] mountain village resemble Tokyo [illegible] than do those of the village within commuting distance. For example, the [illegible] village household is smaller than that in the rural village nearer Tokyo; a rural family near a large city is able to keep relatives not essential to the rural economy since they can continue to commute to Tokyo while [illegible] in the [illegible]

household. In contrast, workers in the isolated village must move to the city to obtain work, and the household is reduced accordingly. Similarly, primogeniture persists more strongly in the rural than in the mountain village, showing that primogeniture is also tied more closely to land-holding and inheritance patterns, and is not simply a question of diffusion from the city.

Yet it appears that the changes in ideology have in many cases been faster than the changes in actual practice; theirc is not a lag in cultural values. For example, while there are still significant differences in the size of families between the isolated and urban areas, differences about desired size have greatly narrowed This suggests, perhaps, that mass communication has been very effective in diffusing a common value system, but that various social conditions make it difficult to internalize them.

The rural families prefer that a first son continue the family line while urban residents are much more flexible in choice of heir In case there is no son, rural families are also much more willing to adopt a son than are urban families. Yet in urban families the preference for boys is nearly as strong as in rural families The strong preference for boys seems to last longer than other attitudes connected with inheritance and continuation of family line.

While the second half of the book, presenting cases from family courts and guidance centers, is of less general interest to the Western reader than the many tables of factual and attitudinal data in the first part, several problems also emerge in the second. For one, the Japanese social security system is not well developed, and the government enforces the responsibility of a family for its various members' welfare In one of the very common type of cases to come before government offices or courts, government mediators try to require certain members of the family to support others. While counseling is relatively new in Japan, the cases reflect the very progressive attempts to introduce techniques of modern counseling and mediation in the domestic courts

Because of the high quality of this work and an increasingly large number of works by Japanese sociologists, we must begin to make them available to the English reader without dehydration and consequent loss of life.

EZRA F. VOGEL

Harvard University

The Birth of the Gods. By GUY E. SWANSON Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960. Pp. ix+260. $4.95.

"From what experiences do the ideas of the supernatural and its myriad forms arise" (p 1)? To answer this question religious ideas, as epiphenomena, are related to social phenomena in fifty primitive and ancient societies Explicitly, Swanson conceives of gods as "symbolic representations" of "clusters of purposes" of social organizations. The idea of mana is evoked by "primordial features," potentialities, of social life. The hidden argument is more complex. Following Merton's paradigm of the sociology of knowledge, we may analyze Swanson's implicit thesis with reference to: (1) the types of religious ideas (2) the social datum or experience from which each is built, and (3) the nature of the relation between the idea and the datum. We shall discover that the "clusters of purposes" of a "corporate personality" is but one experiential substratum, and "symbolic representation" but one relation between idea and datum appearing in the work Swanson's contribution exceeds his claim

Following are some beliefs and their experiential bases as actually presented. Monotheism evolves in societies with "three or more types of sovereign groups ranked in hierarchical order" (pp. 64 65). The datum is the structure of institutional authority. Polytheism appears when "different activities become clearly distinguished as the occupations of some, but not all, adults" (p 84). Still on the institutional level the division of labor is the datum. The relation of occupational specialties to a multiplicity of superior gods is less clear where the ultimately sovereign group is a kinship organization. Swanson explains that "governance of human affairs by the ancestral dead is contrary to the principle of having those affairs controlled by deities associated with a particular activity of all persons, regardless of their kin relationships" (p. 100) since the former have purposes which continue through generations. The duration of social structure is the relevant criterion. In each of these cases, the relation of idea to datum is "symbolic." They are isomorphic for certain properties. Swanson seeks "social relations corresponding to supernatural beings" (p. 19) "Structures in which human life is immersed have properties which are also those that de-

fine the supernatural" (p. 27). Idea and experience are united by their corresponding attributes.

Swanson shifts from institution to role and interpersonal relations in accounting for the immanence of the soul. "The greater the number of organized groups to which a society's members belong, the more likely it will be that their spirits will not be considered immanent in their bodies" (p. 125). The soul is also immanent when "there is intimate interaction in the absence of public and legitimate devices for settling grievances" (p. 126). Reincarnation, implying that the individual's powers are his own rather than those of some group is correlated with group membership criteria such as the number of sovereign groups and unlegitimated relations among people" (p. 147). The datum is interpersonal relations. Belief in a supernatural with moral concerns appears when moral relations between individuals become unstable. Supernatural moral sanctions become explicit "when desired interpersonal relations become difficult to maintain" (p. 161). Indicators for these difficult interpersonal relations include "debt relations" which involve fear of not being repaid and borrower's feeling inferior; social classes as a potential source of "discord and distrust"; and primogeniture which produces "jealousy and dislike." The substratum is a socially structured psychological strain. In each of these cases, ideas emerge as compensatory for some problem in the datum. Loosely speaking, the less one has a role, the more one has a soul. Witchcraft and moral sanctions compensate for strains due to a disjunction between goals and goals or means and goals. Supernatural moral sanctions "buttress" (p. 159) fragile associations or compensate for psychological strain. The origin of the idea is given in its function.

This explication makes it seem paradoxical that Swanson rejects the theories that "Beliefs in supernature are fantasies which arise to compensate for deprivations" (p. 177) and "Gods, especially monotheistic gods, are projections from men's experience with their fathers" (p. 178). He interprets deprivation in terms of lack of food, whereas it should include the consequences of the social and personal strains he specified in his own analysis where he implicitly uses the concept of compensation. "Father" is interpreted literally rather than prototypically. Consequently, Swanson fails to see that the projective relation overlaps with his "symbolic" relation between ideas and their substrata.

This explanation of the implicit argument was aided by its clarity and conciseness. Hardly an unnecessary sentence appears. Another author might have written three times as many pages to convey the same information. Each chapter states hypotheses and findings and then carefully considers negative evidence and alternative explanations. Indicators for concepts, coding instructions, and coefficients of intercoder reliability are all tabulated. One could quibble with Table 5 with its two percentaged marginals of the case or with the combination of cells in this table for chi-square analysis in a way which eliminates some subcategories upon which the argument rests. When we see that Swanson deals with not one but a multiplicity of substrata and refers to at least two mechanisms to relate them to ideas, the book is revealed as a more valuable contribution to the sociology of knowledge than the author claimed or [illegible]

S[illegible] Z. K[illegible]

[illegible]

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Organization of Work: A Comparative Analysis of Production among Nonindustrial Peoples. By STANLEY H. UDY, JR. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF (Human Relations Area Files) Press, [illegible]

Using materials on 150 non-industrial societies drawn mainly from the Human Relations Area Files, Udy seeks generalizations on the relationships among technology, production organizations, systems of reward and social setting. He reports sixty-four generalizations, each statistically treated by chi-square and t-tests. The book is a model of compression: a scant [illegible] pages are devoted to the analysis and presentation of conclusions, the remaining 44 pages being given over to tabular descriptions of the societies and the bibliographies of 259 sources of empirical data, plus about 100 general works. With such a vast amount of data, and the goal of unifying it for purposes

of generalization, Udy takes on a large task indeed.

In order to achieve wide generality, Udy is forced to work out very general definitions and categories, and these constitute one of the contributions of the book. For example, all technological processes are divided into seven types (tillage, hunting, construction, etc.) which are, in turn, analyzed in terms of the dimensions of complexity, work load, outlay, and uncertainty. "Complexity" is examined in terms of the *task* ("all work performed during one period of organizational assembly") and the operation ("any physical action which leaves raw material in such a condition that it can remain untended without further changes taking place during the time required by the task at hand.") The price of generality is, inevitably, a certain arbitrariness and smoothing out of differences. For example, "work" is defined as "physical activities performed in connection with production" without explaining why mental activities do not qualify. "Reward" includes only material rewards, a restriction which is hardly justified by Udy's concession that enhanced status (as a type of reward) had to be omitted because of "lack of cross-cultural data." If the latter is true, something is wrong with those data.

But in spite of these problems, Udy presents a large number of generalizations, such as "Organizations carrying on complex processes tend to be bureaucratic whereas organizations carrying on simple processes tend to be associational"; "Rewards based on achievement tend to consist of money; rewards based on other criteria tend to consist of produce or goods in kind." The reader who skims this book (and it is easy to do so because of the numbering and italicization of the generalizations) is in danger of being misled by the way the generalizations are stated. For example, Udy offers an explanation of why bureaucracy does not necessarily imply rational administration. To the student of social organization, such a discussion connotes the discussions by the critics of Weber's ideal type such as Blau, Selznick, and Lipset. It turns out, however, that Udy is only discussing what *he* calls "bureaucracy"—"a production organization having three or more levels of authority." The relevance to the Weber controversy is hence in doubt. Much of this trouble could have been avoided by the frequent use of quotation marks around his terms.

In a pioneering study of this type, one is looking for leads and ideas. The fact that a chi square is this or that seems only marginally relevant. Low chi-square values—given the necessarily imprecise character of the instruments—may be quite as important as high values. One ends up, with suggestive hunches; trying to "prove" anything, at this stage, seems, paradoxically, impractical. The tests themselves raise the question of independence. The cases in the cells of the contingency tables are whole organizations drawn from societies which are obviously subject to diffusion, in the anthropological sense. Udy concedes this possibility but does not attempt to assess its effect on his results.

The focus on generalization, laudable as it is, at times is carried too far. For example, when Udy writes that "any process involving four specialized operations ordinarily requires at least seven roles: one corresponding to each operation plus three more which differentiate levels of authority" one wonders whether this is a universal empirical generalization, or a purely formal claim, unrelated to available data. On the other hand, in a major sense, Udy is not general enough: he has omitted industrial organization. Since he concludes with inferences on what his data mean for countries planning industrialization, one is worried indeed. Can one even speak of a universal generalization about work organization which deliberately excludes industrial organization?

Other questions may be raised. Magic and religion are rather tangentially dealt with as "ancillary," and "social" seems to be a residual category to explain what technology does not explain.

Udy has clearly written a path-breaking work. His errors are by-products of his enthusiasm and ambitiousness. The book will provide research leads for others to follow, and will form a frequent subject of discussion by students of social organization. One hopes he will revise the book as new data come in and will attempt to include industrial organizations in a future study.

EDWARD GROSS

University of Minnesota

Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader. Edited by AMITAI ETZIONI. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961. Pp. xiv + 497. $6.75.

While this volume shares the limitations inherent in all readers, it is probably the best single collection of articles on formal organizations which has yet appeared. Its thirty-nine selections are organized into seven major areas: approaches to theory, applied theory, goals, structures, organizations and society, change, and methodology. A brief statement by the editor provides an overview of the articles included in each of the sections. The editor states that he has omitted some of the "classics" to make room for new contributions and that emphasis has been placed on including previously unpublished articles and reprinting those which appeared originally in journals not regularly perused by students of organizations. Nevertheless, room has been found for such oft-reprinted titles as Merton's "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality" and Dalton's "Conflict between Staff and Line Managerial Officers."

In general, selections have been well chosen to give a cross-section of the theoretical approaches, empirical studies, and methodological problems characterizing current work in this field. While omissions were no doubt necessitated by space limitations, in view of the editor's continual plea for comparative research the absence of selections from Udy's cross-cultural work and Bendix's comparative study of managerial ideology is surprising.

Twelve of the selections are excerpts from books. Isolating a reasonably complete segment of a larger work is a difficult task and one which unfortunately has not always been carefully attended to in this volume. For example, one selection contains a summary of the findings from the survey on public attitudes toward government conducted by Janowitz, Wright, and Delany, but no information is included on the nature of the sample or the types of organizations about which information was solicited. Several excerpts are marred by incomplete footnotes, for examples, references that depend for completeness on earlier notes which are not included in the selection. And the excerpt from Wilensky's study of intellectuals in trade unions reports findings on "Party Missionaries," "Rank and File Careerists," etc., without including definitions of these types. Clearly, the editor has not fulfilled all of his obligations to the reader.

Finally, six articles are included which were heretofore unpublished. Without reflecting on the over-all quality of these selections, the papers by Zelditch and Hopkins on laboratory studies of organizations and by Barton and Anderson on formalization of the propositions in McCleery's qualitative study are excellent—it is interesting to note that all the authors represented are now or have been closely associated with the editor's home institution. It would appear that the choice of these papers reflects more truly the editor's sociometric circle than it does a cross section of the recent and best work carried out in the field of complex organizations.

W. RICHARD SCOTT

Stanford University

Leadership and Organization: A Behavioral Science Approach. By ROBERT TANNENBAUM, IRVING R. WESCHLER, and FRED MASSARIK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961. Pp. xiv + 456. $7.50.

This book can be considered as an intellectual history of an interdisciplinary group, as an appeal to businessmen to accept the precepts of students of "human relations," or as a contribution to theory and research. The eclectic result consists of twenty-four papers, three published for the first time, by the authors and their collaborators in the Human Relations Research Group at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The topical arrangement of the papers reverses the intellectual chronology. Several organizational studies constitute Part III, though these preceded in time the papers on leadership in Part I and those on training in sensitivity in Part II. Beyond the statement that their research interests shifted, the authors do not say why they turned away from these studies. The articles written for business managers are interspersed among those intended for social scientists, creating in both a stuttering effect. In Part I the authors present a conception of leadership which might have foreshadowed reports of actual or prospective research demonstrating its utility, but instead is followed by six papers, rather speculative and largely innocent of theory, elaborating the argument that effective leaders are sensitive and flexible. Part II documents their experience in training in sensitivity, similar to that sponsored by the National Training Laboratories in Group Development. Their advice will protect many from the perils of this method while helping

them to realize its promise. Part II also illuminates what is lacking in Part I: the price the authors have paid for their immersion in the currents and eddies of interpersonal flow has been a dilution of their theory. They have themselves been so sensitized to diverse clues, cues, and subtleties that they have developed broad concepts. This is particularly true of the concept of leadership, which they virtually equate with interpersonal influence. They regard generality of definition as a virtue, and so it is, when the concern is to extend others' awareness of the innumerable guises which influence assumes. But while a virtue for the clinician, the inclusive concept offers little help to the scientist who shapes his definitions to the objectives of his theory and the specifics of his research.

The authors invited three critics—George Bach, Robert Dubin, and Lyndall Urwick—to contribute commentaries and were rewarded with constructive criticism. Dubin's critique deserves to be read for its own sake; it is a model of sociological analysis.

ROBERT W. AVERY

University of Pittsburgh

The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry. By LOREN BARITZ. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1960. Pp. xii+273. $4 50.

This history of American industry's association with social science is intended by the author to serve as an instance of a total society's use of knowledge. It has two major narratives. One is the chronological report of the development and use of social science techniques in specific industries. The other is an interpretation of why industrial managers made use of these techniques as well as why social scientists supplied them

To this reader, the comprehensiveness of the chronological report makes the book worth reading. Drawing on social science monographs, government surveys, histories, informant reports, and trade and scholarly journals, Baritz pieces together a story which begins with social science in advertising and goes on to such topics as scientific management, personnel testing, the Hawthorne experiments, and human relations techniques including personnel counseling, training programs, and attitude surveys. This part of the story is made lively and coherent by an exposition which attempts to relate each development in industrial social science to others as well as to changes in both American industry and the total society.

The interpretation of the history in terms of the motivation of both industrial managers and social scientists is somewhat disappointing. Baritz has used an antiquated notion of the manager. Equating him with the individual owner whose only purpose is maximizing profits, Baritz sees such a manager as concerned solely with keeping production high and labor militancy low. Certain hypotheses about management's use of social science follow from this notion. Social science is simply a resource to be used if it can help the manager attain his single-minded goals. The social scientist, if he is to sell his product, must be expected to hawk his wares on a competitive market as would any salesman of labor-saving machinery. Baritz' major theme emerges from these expectations: social scientists have given up their autonomy and their integrity to the extent that they have allowed managers to use their knowledge at labor's expense.

Statements by spokesmen of both management and social science clearly indicate that many in both groups were motivated to act in accord with the author's model Indeed, this helps to explain why social scientists studied certain subjects as well as why their results had the well-known managerial slant. However, a broader view of the manager, one which sees him as having multiple and often conflicting motivations stemming from his position in a complex structure, would have led Baritz to notice inconsistencies in his own data. First of all, Baritz shows that selection tests were sought frantically by managers (and were often accepted from quacks) to increase production and to keep hiring prerogatives out of union hands. However, he also shows that only low correlations between these tests and productivity were ever found. How is it to be explained that managers were as satisfied with testing as they were? As for disrupting union control, Baritz indicates that these tests have been developed as often for occupations which were not likely to unionize as for unionized ones. Finally, in a long discussion of the Hawthorne experiments (for which, incidentally, Baritz has interviewed

some of the original personnel), it becomes clear that managers and social scientists spent money and effort on "basic" research all out of proportion to any possible immediate benefits in application. According to Baritz, personnel counseling was the only solid result of the experiments for management, and it was a completely unanticipated by-product.

Perhaps such anomalies as these point to the existence of pockets of freedom within the firm formed by complex role obligations of the manager. This freedom allows for such things as broader scope in research topics. Had Baritz recognized the structural conditions of flexibility within the firm he would have been able to explain the social scientists' contribution to knowledge as well as he explained their contributions to business.

J. RONALD MILAVSKY

Bureau of Applied Social Research

The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda. By JACQUES J. MAQUET. New York: Oxford University Press (for the International African Institute), 1961. Pp. ix + 199. $5.60.

This model ethnographic monograph is a study of the traditional social structure of the Kingdom of Ruanda, an African "nation" comprising three separate "tribes" (or castes). Professor Maquet, a Belgian social anthropologist, begins with an analysis of the system of kinship and affinity, closely following Murdock's system. He considers next the conjugal basis of the family and analyzes its various functions in Ruanda society. He then briefly describes the system of economic production.

All this is preface to what interests Maquet most: the indigenous system of government. The Ruanda evolved a very complex and subtle system, with three separate but interlocked structures: an administrative structure, which the Belgians were later to "recognize" as chieftaincy; a military structure; and a clientage structure, *buhake*, which bears interesting similarities to European feudalism. Maquet examines the "sociological problem of domination," that is, how a minority maintains its privilege over time, by exploring the mechanisms by which Ruanda society resolves three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. The resulting structure was one of paternalistic exploitation based on a difficult equilibrium. Maquet believes that in Ruanda "the equilibrium problem had been so efficiently solved that it seems an optimum point had been reached," and this equilibrium was only destroyed by the intrusion of an external element—European conquest.

Maquet ends with a tantalizing discussion of the relation of norms and social structure. He suggests that an ideology of [illegible] is a necessary superstructure (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. He then poses the question: Which came first? For Ruanda he has no answer. The answer is important, however, not because of mere historical curiosity but to help answer the question: "To what extent does an interior egalitarian ideology deter the conquerors from establishing a caste system?"

One cannot help but see that through his discussion of the relation of Tutsi to Hutu in Ruanda, Maquet is also [illegible] discussing the relation of the European to the African in a colonial system. Perhaps Maquet felt that a more explicit discussion or comparison of the two systems of domination demanded at least the full treatment of another monograph rather than merely a few paragraphs in passing. Still, it would have been interesting. Another source of regret is that Maquet scarcely discusses the impact of colonial rule on the traditional system except to suggest that the equilibrium has been destroyed.

Finally, Maquet deserves kudos for the following: his clarity of style, his careful definition of terms, his systematization of the use of informants by means of a questionnaire administered to 300 selected and knowledgeable persons. Furthermore, Maquet makes excellent use of social theory, pointing up in passing where his evidence contradicts some theoretical assertions and where his research has gaps which make it impossible to answer certain theoretical questions.

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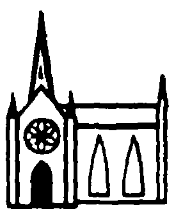
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APPRENTICESHIP AND ATTITUDE CHANGE[1]

MELVIN SEEMAN AND JOHN W. EVANS

ABSTRACT

The effect of the medical internship upon status attitudes is examined, and the observed changes in attitude are compared with the status commitments of the interns' superiors and subordinates. The intern's attitude change is seen to involve elements both of increased [illegible] and increased status commitment. These changes are interpreted in their significance for [illegible] concerns: (1) the understanding of reference group processes in professional socialization; (2) the effect of status attitudes upon professional performance; and (3) the [illegible] and the military) from status-centered to team-oriented organizational [illegible].

This paper deals with the process of socialization into the professions. It examines the changes that took place in the status attitudes of a group of medical interns during the year of their internship. A substantial body of recent literature in medical sociology has a similar interest and has used the medical student as a favored object of investigation to explore the socialization process. These studies typically have compared students in various phases of training, determining, for example, the fate of the student's early idealism about medicine, or attempting to show how the student's view of various specialties develops and how his attitudes on matters extrinsic to medical skill alter during the training period.[2] Obviously, however, the socialization process continues beyond the student phase, and we have focused our attention on the important year of the internship—the year in which the student has become a physician but remains an apprentice, a physician-in-training.

[1] This paper reports on one phase of the hospital study conducted by the Ohio State University Systems Research Group. Both authors were members of this unit, which is under the directorship of Dr. Daniel Howland, and we wish to acknowledge the generous support of sociological research. The work was financed by the Public Health Service, Division of Nursing Resources (GN 7797).

[2] [illegible] representative works: H. S. Becker and B. Geer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII [illegible]; P. L. Kendall and H. C. Selvin, [illegible] and Specialization in Medical Training," in R. K. Merton [illegible] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, [illegible]), pp. [illegible]; and [illegible] "Career Relevant Values of Medical Students: A Research Note," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLXXI [illegible]. [illegible] paper is especially [illegible] concern here with status [illegible] Kriesberg report that students "become [illegible] concerned with matters extrinsic to [illegible] practice as they move through their medical school training" (p. [illegible]). [illegible] as against only 2[illegible] per cent [illegible] that having prestige [illegible] the medical profession is very important in [illegible] the kind of medical career the student would like to have. Similar results are reported in D. [illegible], P. [illegible], and N. A. Helman, "Career Interests and Expectations of U.S. Medical Students," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXII ([illegible]), [illegible].

In the study of professional socialization, the interest lies not merely in demonstrating that socialization takes place (for obviously skills are learned, career lines are mapped, etc.) but in showing the sociologically relevant features of the learning process or content. One of the difficulties in the recent literature on socialization into the professions (especially the medical profession) is that the specifically sociological questions at issue in this literature are diffuse, perhaps because the material to be learned by professionals-in-training is extensive and diffuse.

We chose to ask whether the intern's commitment to a status-ordered social system in the hospital increases, as we predicted it would, during the year of internship. The status feature of the hospital, and of medical practice in general, has been a favorite theme for sociological commentary.[3] The present study, however, was conceived as an integral part of a larger investigation which sought to demonstrate that the stratification system of the hospital ward is a consequential matter—that is, that differences in the status system on various wards are associated with significant differences in the kind of patient care found on the ward.

We have shown elsewhere, in two papers focusing mainly on the performance of the intern, that this is indeed the case.[4] When the highly stratified wards of a large general hospital (meaning wards on which the key physician maintained wide differentials in power, prestige, and social distance between himself and other ward personnel) were contrasted with wards low in stratification, we found significant differences in medical performance between them. This result was all the more striking in view of the fact that the performance measures were derived from three different and independent perspectives: the objective view of performance, based upon the medical record; the reputational view, derived from the rating of interns by their medical superiors; and the subjective view, involving the intern's report on his own performance on the various wards. Our data, presented in these papers, argued for the general superiority of medical performance on the units that were low in stratification. It is there that we found the interns reporting better teaching from the medical staff, greater use of psychiatric and social service consultation; clearer communication to or about the patient; and the like.[5]

Thus, our concern with the effect of the apprenticeship upon the intern's status attitudes takes its significance in part from the fact that the attitudes in question are highly consequential ones. They are, it seems, relevant to the style of medicine that is practiced—relevant, that is, to the kind of patient care that the intern provides. We wanted to know whether the intern's hospital experience leads him to become more committed to the value of high stratification, and thus, by implication committed to a social order which has specific medical consequences.[6]

[3] See, e.g., R. L. Coser, "Authority and Decision-making in a Hospital: A Comparative Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (1958), 56–63; and numerous contributions in E. G. Jaco (ed.), *Patients, Physicians and Illness* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

[4] M. Seeman and J. W. Evans, "Stratification and Hospital Care: I. The Performance of the Medical Interne," *American Sociological Review*, XXVI (1961), 67–80; and "Stratification and Hospital Care: II. The Objective Criteria of Performance," *ibid.*, XXVI (1961), 193–204. For details on the method employed to derive an index of ward stratification and for a more extended discussion of the meaning of stratification in this organizational setting, see M. Seeman, J. W. Evans, and L. E. Rogers, "The Measurement of Stratification in Formal Organization," *Human Organization*, XIX (1960), 90–96.

[5] A subsequent study, carried out in the tuberculosis hospitals of the state of Ohio, tended to confirm the proposition that ward stratification is a significant variable affecting medical care; see J. W. Evans, *Stratification, Alienation, and the Hospital Setting: A Study in the Social Psychology of Chronic Illness* ("Ohio State University Engineering Experiment Station," Bull. No. 184 [Columbus, Ohio, 1960]).

[6] This estimate of the probable importance of the status *attitudes* examined here is not entirely

Moreover, the hypothesized changes in status attitudes have a bearing on sociological questions that go well beyond the simple matter of attitude socialization and beyond the question of the medical consequences of such learning. The data are relevant to an understanding of fundamental institutional changes that are said to be in process. In a wide variety of organizations, the trend often remarked upon is the one away from a status-centered mode of operation and toward a more egalitarian co-operation-based organizational style. This has been evident in the change from custodial to treatment-centered prison management. But this trend has also been noted in industry, in the military, and elsewhere. Bendix, for example, comments that "entrepreneurial leadership" in industry, with its emphasis upon individual risk, innovation, dominance and self-reliance, has gradually been "superseded by the ideal image of the manager as the skillful organizer of cooperative effort."[7]

In similar fashion, Janowitz has argued that the military establishment is involved in a long-term organizational transformation from dependence upon status and domination toward reliance upon morale and manipulation, a transformation that radically undermines the "authoritarian, stratified-hierarchical, and traditional" emphasis in the military code.[8] It is important to note at this point that the kind of change we have predicted for the medical intern namely, increased status commitment is by no means to be taken for granted. Thus, Campbell and McCormack studied the changes in attitude toward authority among a group of Air Force cadets, predicting that the military experience would lead to more ready acceptance of the hierarchical exercise of authority; but no such change, in fact, was discovered. They write: "If experience in the Air Force has any effect upon general attitudes toward authority, it is to make them less authoritarian."[9] This conclusion is surprising only if one adopts the classic civilian image of the military as a rigid and authoritarian organization. This is an image which Campbell and McCormack suggest (citing parallel arguments by Speier[10]) may present a false contrast between military and civilian bureaucracies. The heavily stratified image does not, in Janowitz' view, reflect accurately the military's new reliance on persuasion and negotiation in its adaptation to new demands (e.g., expanding non-military functions and increasingly complex technological co-ordination).

The same general argument may well apply to the hospital, for here, too major technological changes are having their impact on organizational requirements. Thus Rosen writes that "the Industrial Revolution has finally caught up with medicine, and the medical practitioner is being brought into the 'factory' (the hospital and the whole bureaucratic complexity of the provision of hospital care) where he is

a matter of inference from the demonstrated importance of the status *order*. Our data indicated directly that interns holding different status attitudes reported different medical behavior on the wards (see M. Seeman and J. W. Evans, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 74-75). We might add that the judgment of "superiority" of medical performance is, plainly enough, a complex matter, but since such value implications can hardly be avoided, we have chosen to employ the language of quality while recognizing its difficulties. For further discussion on this point, see the two papers on ward performance in relation to stratification (n. 4).

[7] R. Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), p. 441.

[8] M. Janowitz, "Changing Patterns of Organizational Authority: The Military Establishment," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, III (1959), 473. For a more recent and extended treatment by Janowitz of this point, see *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).

[9] D. T. Campbell and T. H. McCormack, "Military Experience and Attitudes toward Authority," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (1957), 482.

[10] H. Speier, "*The American Soldier* and the Sociology of Military Organization," in R. K. Merton and P. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 106-32.

being subjected to the necessary 'labor disciplines.' "[11] And Wilson, among others, has described changes in the organizational structure of the hospital which are having their impact on the status of the physician:

> His role as unchallenged master, what might be conceived as a charismatic role, is changing. No longer do nurses open doors for him or spring to their feet when he enters a room; no longer do administrators always bemoan his uncontrollability or trustees confine themselves to financial surveillance; no longer, even, do his sophisticated patients grant him quite the omniscience they once did . . . medicine is now a team activity in which the M.D. may be, at best, first among equals.[12]

In short, in asking about the possible consequences of the intern's hospital apprenticeship we are dealing on a small scale with questions that have rather large-scale sociological import—questions of socialization process, of medical consequences, and of institutional change.

MEASURE OF STATUS COMMITMENT

On the day of their arrival in the hospital, the forty-two new interns (who constituted the hospital's total complement of interns) were asked to complete our status commitment (SC) scale. They answered the same questions approximately one year later at the close of the internship. The SC scale was composed of twenty-six attitude items (see examples below), presented in a standard five-step, agree-disagree format (with the midpoint as "undecided"). The total score on this scale was taken as an index of the individual's preference for, or rejection of, status distinction in the hospital, that is, as a measure of the respondent's attitude toward hospital stratification. The low scorer on this scale has relatively equalitarian preferences regarding staff relations in the hospital.

We conceived of stratification in this organizational context as a composite of three status elements—in effect, three subscores: power difference; social distance; and prestige distinction. We present below the rough definitions of these components, along with examples of items which illustrate the scale's content (the complete list of items, with abridged wording, appears in Table 2 below). We have found that independent judges can agree very well in categorizing our attitude items as being indexes of one of the following three components:

1. *Power difference*—the degree of concentration of influence and decision-making in the work of the unit. (Sample item: "An intern should not presume to disagree with the medical judgment of the staff physician.")
2. *Social distance*—the degree of closeness, friendliness, intimacy, or informality of the relationships among personnel on the unit (Example: "During working hours, the practice of doctors and nurses addressing each other by first names should be discouraged.")
3. *Prestige distinction*—the degree of emphasis upon symbolic rank; that is, the amount of deference that is expected, or the general emphasis upon rank and status symbols. (Example: "The practice of nurses standing when the doctor comes on the ward is old-fashioned and should be discontinued.")

The status commitment scale has been administered to three groups in the hospital: the forty-two interns; fifty medical residents; and fifty-four registered nurses. The data from all three groups are employed here. The corrected split-half reliability estimates for these three groups were, respectively, .67, .75, and .62. For the interns, there was a second administration of the scale, and here a split-half reliability estimate of .70 was obtained. Our evidence suggests that the scale is a useful first approximation, but that its content is far from

[11] G. Rosen, "Notes on Some Aspects of the Sociology of Medicine with Particular Reference to Prepaid Group Practice" (unpublished manuscript cited in R. N. Wilson, "The Physician's Changing Hospital Role," *Human Organization*, XVIII [1959-60], 177-83). See also Rosen's "Provision of Medical Care," *Public Health Reports*, LXXIV (1959), 199-209.

[12] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

unidimensional, and attention to the component elements in the scale is indicated. The subsequent analysis takes this fact into account.[13]

PATTERN OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

To ask whether the internship leads to a change in status attitudes is, in fact, not a single question but a series of related questions. There is, first, the question of the *stability of individual commitment* regarding status—do the interns who score high at the beginning of the year tend to remain non-equalitarian at the close of the internship (regardless of any raising or lowering of the average level of commitment among the group as a whole)? Second, is there a significant change in the *mean level* of commitment to status distinction? Third, does the intern's *decisiveness* about status increase; and, if so, does the intern tend, when he leaves the "undecided" category, to become more equalitarian or more status-centered? Finally, does attitude change take place differentially in various *components or aspects* of status commitment?

Our first question concerns the stability of status commitments. The correlation between scores obtained at the start of the internship and the scores after the year's experience was .71 (N = 38), indicating that the attitude under investigation is, as one might expect it to be, relatively stable. This simply says that those who were equalitarian at the start of the internship remained so. This is not surprising since a good deal of learning about the status system both in general and in the hospital has already been accomplished during the years as a medical student, and radical shifts in viewpoint should be rare. We must simply recognize that we are dealing with relatively restricted limits of change, given the years of learning which precede the internship and which establish the intern's ideology about status.

What is of considerably greater interest, then, is the question of whether the average level of status commitment changes during the year, and whether the direction is, as we predicted, toward a greater general commitment to the virtue of a stratified order. Such a prediction was based, of course, upon the common recognition of the emphasis upon status distinction in the hospital world, an emphasis which hypothetically has its socializing effect upon the new intern. We found, however, that a comparison of the mean scores obtained at the start and at the close of the year provides little warrant for the view that the internship leads to an increase in status-mindedness. The mean status commitment upon entrance into the hospital was 74.5 (N = 41) and at the close of the year it was 75.6 (N = 39)—a difference that although in the "right" direction, is far from being statistically significant and is hardly persuasive about the predicted increase in preference for status distinction.

Still, though individual stability in attitude is high, and the over-all mean level of commitment does not significantly alter, it becomes apparent that changes of some kind are occurring when we explore the matter of the intern's decisiveness and when we look more closely at the component elements of the scale. For example, in the first administration of the SC scale, there were a total of 16[illegible] "undecided" responses. After a year in the hospital roughly 30 per cent of these undecided replies shifted into the "agree" or "disagree" category (a difference in degree of indecision which is significant at the .01 level of confidence). Thus, as might be anticipated, the interns become more definite in their status views.

But what are they clearer, or more de-

[13] We refer not only to the evidence on reliability given above, but to the item analyses and subscale intercorrelations which were obtained. The scores derived from the "power" items and the "prestige" items (of which there were ten each in the test) yielded a correlation of .41, using the data given by the incoming interns. This kind of evidence—on reliability, subscale intercorrelation, etc.—constitutes the basis for our judgment that the total scale is at present a primitive one; it needs both refinement and attention to its item content.

finitive, about? It must be recalled that our scale deals with three different components of stratification—power, social distance, and prestige; and it is not clear a priori in which of these areas, if any, the increased clarity of opinion would be most likely to occur. It turned out that the items which deal with power differences among the staff —in effect, with equalitarianism in direct work performance—show by far the most significant shift from "undecided" to "committed": 44 per cent of the undecided responses in this category became committed responses in the second trial, as compared with 24 per cent and 15 per cent for the social distance and prestige items, respectively.[14]

These data indicate that the intern's status attitudes (particularly his "power" attitudes) become more definite through the year's experience. But this increasing definiteness does *not* take a uniform direction, either toward generally greater or lesser commitment to stratification. That is to say, while a considerable number of choices on the second testing are no longer "undecided," it cannot be predicted whether the intern's new-found commitment (when he shifts out of the undecided category) will be in the direction of high stratification or equalitarianism. They choose both in approximately equal degree. This conclusion, based strictly on the analysis of the trend in the "undecided" responses, conforms with our earlier finding that the total mean scores do not shift significantly.

We turn, finally, to a closer look at the differential changes that may be occurring in the various elements of status commitment, a question that involves inspection of the three components and the individual items in the scale. Looking first at the three subscores on power, social distance, and prestige, we find, again, that none of these three elements shows a significant change in status-mindedness. Table 1 presents the mean scores (and standard deviations) obtained for the three components on both the first and second test. Examination of these data by means of the Wilcoxon matched-pairs test[15] indicates that the changes for these sub-scores are not significant.

Thus far, it would seem that somewhat increased decisiveness, reflected in the significant decline in the number of "undecided" responses, is the only change the internship involves. There is seemingly no clear *direction* of change—on this, there is agreement from three sources: in our analysis of the total scores, of the component scores, and in the unclear direction taken by the new commitments that replace the "undecided" responses. The proper conclusion would appear to be that there is no discernible pattern of attitude change during internship. We do not believe, however that such a conclusion is the proper one, and an examination of our results for the individual items in the SC scale will reveal the basis for our judgment. Table 2 presents the comparison of first and second test scores for each item (with the items shortened to present their basic content but not the exact wording). For comparative purposes, the table also includes the mean scores obtained for the medical residents, who are the interns' superiors, and the registered nurses, who are their subordinates.

There is a pattern in these item changes, and Table 2 has been arranged so as to facilitate its description and inspection. The pattern rests upon the distinction between items which deal with the intern's relationships with his medical superiors

[14] The specific content of these "power" items can be examined in Table 2 The following items were categorized as having "power" content in the sense defined above 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 18, 23, and 25 These items, in one way or another, deal with the allocation of influence or decision in the work of the ward The number of "undecided" responses (on which the indicated percentages are based) was fifty-two for the power items on the first administration of the scale, and twenty-nine on the second test; while by way of comparison, on the "prestige" items the comparable figures were sixty-one and fifty two

[15] S. Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co, 1956), pp 75–83.

TABLE 1

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THREE COMPONENTS OF STATUS COMMITMENT FOR THIRTY-EIGHT INTERNS AT BEGINNING AND END OF INTERNSHIP

Test Period	Power Difference Mean	Power Difference Standard Deviation	Social Distance Mean	Social Distance Standard Deviation	Prestige Differences Mean	Prestige Differences Standard Deviation
Beginning	24.00	3.8	17.95	3.[illegible]	24.16	3.1
End	24.00	3.4	17.71	3.1	24.26	3.0

TABLE 2

ATTITUDE CHANGE BY ITEM FOR INTERNS FOR TWO TESTINGS AND COMPARATIVE SCORES FOR SAMPLE OF MEDICAL RESIDENTS AND REGISTERED NURSES

ITEM*	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I Physician related items					
1 Intern should not disagree with superior	2.11	1.71	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2 MD's should not become friendly with interns	1.[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3 Intern should not urge change upon resident	[illegible]	1.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4 Respect and deference for superior is essential	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
II Subordinate related items:					
5 MD's should avoid informal chats with nurses	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6 Verbal orders to RN's O K if work load is heavy	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7 RN should be patient with doctors' "flare ups"	2.61	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8 RN may decide about giving information to patients	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9 RN should not make ward "rounds" with doctors	2.1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10 MD and RN should not use first names on duty	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11 The idea of a "medical team" is unrealistic	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
12 MD should not completely avoid RN duties	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
13 RN should never tell MD an order is wrong	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14 RN's standing up for MD is old fashioned	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15 RN may by pass intern or resident at times	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16 MD should keep his professional distance on ward	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17 RN should take complaints to head nurse, not to MD	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18 Review of patients' charts should include RN	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19 Respect for MD is very important in a good RN	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
20 Prestige gap between RN and MD should be reduced	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
III Indeterminate items					
21 Head nurse should not become friendly with aides	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22 RN should not report intern errors to resident	2.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23 A step ladder system of authority is efficient	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24 RN's should have work preferences over subordinates	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25 Department heads must be like a "top sergeant"	1.[illegible]	2.1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26 RN's should not address one another by first names	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* The wording of these items is highly condensed [illegible]

[illegible] The differences between means for the two time periods were tested by the [illegible] Q. McNemar, *Psychological Statistics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, [illegible])

[illegible] at .01

[illegible] at .001

[illegible] at .05.

(the "physician-related items") and those which deal with his relation to subordinates.[16] The pattern can best be discerned by focusing initially on item 3 in Table 2. On this item—which in its entirety reads, "An intern is exceeding his position when he urges a change in the procedures that have been established by the resident"—the interns have a significantly *less* status-oriented view at the close of the internship. The same is true for item 1: the interns are a good deal less inclined at the end of the year to say that it is presumptuous for an intern to disagree with the medical judgment of the higher-status attending physician.

By contrast with this trend toward equalitarianism where relations with senior physicians are concerned, we note that on item 6—"Though verbal orders are generally frowned upon in other than emergency cases, in practice it's O.K. for the doctor to issue such orders when he finds the workload is heavy"—the change is in the predicted status-centered direction. Here, the intern is more ready to agree that though the rules are against it, the nurse should be ready to "cover" an unwritten order if the doctor decides to use the verbal procedure. Likewise, on item 10—"During working hours, the practice of doctors and nurses addressing each other by their first names should be discouraged"—the change is significantly in the direction of *increased* status distinction.

Of the twenty-six items in Table 2, ten show a degree of change which is significant at or beyond the .05 probability level; and the changes do not appear to be random in character. But if the changes are not random, what is the interpretation that makes the best sense of them? We believe the data support the conclusion that the year of apprenticeship has, indeed, made the interns more status-minded. At the end of the year they appear to see themselves as more integral members of the high-status medical fraternity. They have become more nearly equals of the other physicians, and in that degree their responses show increasing equalitarianism and in-group membership; but it is an equality which stresses the distance between this medical in-group and the out-group of lower-status personnel.

The bulk of the data of Table 2 (including both items which show statistically significant change and those which show a clear trend of change regardless of strict significance) is consistent with this interpretation. Thus, we find that the prediction of an increase in status commitment works out very well for the great majority of those items which involve a relation between the medical and the non-medical staff (i.e., the items in Part II of Table 2). The interns, on the second testing, are more ready to agree with the following ideology: verbal orders are acceptable (item 6); it is a waste of time for nurses to go on ward "rounds" with the physician (item 9); firs names should not be used during dut hours (item 10); it is unrealistic to con sider the hospital's professional worker (doctors, nurses, social workers, etc.) a fairly equal members of a medical tean (item 11); the nurse should never tell physician his order is wrong (item 13) the nurses' deferential custom of rising i the presence of the physician is a desirabl practice (item 14); the nurse should no "by-pass" the intern or the resident in re porting on a patient's condition (item 15) the nurse should not be included in th daily review of patients' records conducte by the physicians (item 18); and the pres tige distinction between nurse and physi cian should not be reduced (item 20) These increases in status commitment, i

[16] Since this distinction was not a matter of prior planning in the construction of the scale, but emerged from the present treatment of the attitude data, a number of the items in the scale are listed as "indeterminate" in Table 2 since their content is either too general to allow the necessary distinction (e.g., item 23 which discusses an overall "step-ladder system of authority" covering all ranks, and item 22 which involves the intern's relations both upward and downward in the hierarchy), or does not refer to the intern or medical staff at all (e.g., item 21 which discusses the head nurse's relation to her subordinates).

must be recalled, were paralleled by a clear decline in status distinction for those items which involved the intern's attitude about relationships with his medical superiors (see Part I of Table 2).

We have said that the great majority of the items support this interpretation; but we should specify the points of failure - in effect, points which most urgently demand replication. The important failures occur on two of the "subordinate-related" items (5 and 8) showing statistically significant changes, which, however, appear to go contrary to our interpretation. With regard to item 5, the interns show a decline in status-mindedness: "Informal chats" with nurses are more tolerated at the close of the year. Apparently, such socializing is not of a piece with what one might call "working equalitarianism," a kind of equalitarianism with respect to ward tasks that the interns found less acceptable at the end of the year as indicated in their consistent rejection of the nurse as a working partner (as, e.g., in items 9 and 18). Likewise, on item 8 there was a decline rather than an increase in status commitment, since the interns were more ready at the end of the year to give the nurse a freer hand in passing information to patients. Whether this change actually represents an inconsistency in ideology remains to be seen.[17]

INTERPRETATION OF CHANGE

These results merely tell us that there was a change in status attitude among the interns, and that the change was a dual one involving both an increase and decrease in status-mindedness depending upon the status relationship involved. The interpretation of how the change took place, and of its significance, is another matter, a matter which is aided by a closer inspection of the data for the residents and nurses in Table 2. The change we have described represents, it seems, another instance of reference-group behavior, an instance which may be of special interest because the interns, as apprentices, are essentially engaged in a rite of passage from full membership in the low-status student group to membership in the high-status physician group. In the process, they bring to mind the situation of the Army replacement personnel described in *The American Soldier* and discussed by Merton and Kitt. The hypothesis in that case was that "insofar as subordinate and prospective group members are motivated to affiliate themselves

[17] These two items read, in full, as follows: "Even when work is slack, doctors should avoid frequent informal chats with the nurses", and "A nurse should use her own judgment regarding what information to give the patient and what questions to refer to the doctor." Our problem is one of developing a reasonable post facto interpretation of the attitude changes that took place. We believe that the deviation of these two items is not so much a matter of inconsistency in the pattern of change as it is a misreading on our part of the meaning of these particular [illegible] in the hospital. Thus, our item analysis reveals that the item dealing with "informal chats" is very poorly correlated with the remainder of the status attitude items; that is, the interns do not treat informal socializing as though it were an issue of status distinction. Though extensive comment on the deviation of this "social" item is not warranted here, it is pertinent to note that George Homans' chapter on "[illegible]" in his recent *Social Behavior* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., [illegible]), pp. [illegible], makes the same distinction between "social" and "work" [illegible] and makes an excellent [illegible] thinking about the hospital case.

With respect to the second item ("free hand"), the wording makes it entirely possible that the lower score on the second test is not so much a matter of giving nurses a free hand as it is a matter of protecting the busy intern from the burden of endless questions from both the patient and the nurse. The residents, we note, disagree markedly with the interns on this "free hand."

Since the interpretation we have offered here is, like the concept of relative deprivation in *The American Soldier*, a "provisional after-the-fact interpretative scheme" (see R. K. Merton and P. Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible]), it follows that the only satisfactory solution for the interpretive trouble generated by these items is to be found in the process of replication. We should note, too, that the simple test-retest procedure employed here, and in the Campbell-McCormack study cited in n. 9, has obvious limitations, limitations that are nicely described by Campbell and McCormack in their "epilogue on an ideal design" (*op. cit.*, pp. 489–[illegible]).

with a group, they will tend to assimilate the sentiments and conform with the values of the authoritative and prestigeful stratum in that group."[18] The attitude data for the combat veterans, replacements, and green troops appeared to verify this proposition since the replacements tended to assimilate the values of the veterans. The parallel of this process of value adaptation in the area of social class mobility is, of course, well known.

The data of Table 2, which shows the comparative scores of the medical residents and the nurses, provides an interesting view of the reference group process involved in the intern's movement toward higher status. A comparison of the interns' status attitudes at the close of the internship (col. 2, Table 2) with the attitudes of the residents (col. 4) reveals what might be called a pattern of "over-identification" upward, coupled with "over-separation" downward. In the case of the four "physician-related" items in Table 2, the interns' scores are uniformly lower (more equalitarian) than those of the residents. The interns, that is, are insisting upon a degree of equality that their superiors are not prepared to grant (and in some instances, the difference in status views is considerable; see, e.g., item 3 where there is very nearly a full scale-point difference in the means of the two medical groups). At the same time, on the bulk of the items that involve relations with subordinates, the interns insist upon a greater degree of status segregation than the residents do (e.g., items 9 and 11).[19] On the whole, in comparison with their superiors' view of matters, at the close of the year the interns see themselves as more firmly included in the in-group, while at the same time they remove themselves farther from the subordinate group: there is, as it were, a kind of "status protestation."[20]

Interestingly enough, the consequence of this protest is that the interns do *not* assimilate the sentiments of the next higher group in the status hierarchy, at least not in any direct and literal sense. Indeed, the interns typically change in a fashion that carries them ideologically away from the status views of the residents: they are more different from the residents at the end of the internship than at the beginning of the year. This is generally true for both the "physician-related" and the "subordinate-related" items—inspect, for example, items 1 and 11 in Table 2, where the interns' first score (col. 1) and the residents' score (col. 4) are quite close, while there is a significant change in the final score for the interns.

The change away from the residents' score is particularly intriguing in view of the fact that the great bulk of the interns, at the second testing, are only weeks away from being residents themselves. If the scores for our present resident group can be taken as a standard, our data indicate that

[18] R. K. Merton and A. S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Merton and Lazarsfeld (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[19] It is notable that of the three items which depart measurably from this pattern (items 5, 8, and 17), two are the same items we have already discussed as deviant cases (see n. 17), while the third is an item that deals with the *resident's* relationship to the nurse, not the intern's relation: "*If a nurse is dissatisfied with a resident's attitude, she should take her complaint to the head nurse rather than approach him directly.*"

[20] The change toward greater denigration of the nurses' status by the interns is apparently the continuation of a trend that has begun earlier. Reissman and his co-workers found that "seniors were much more negative in their estimates of nurses than were juniors" (L. Reissman *et al.*, "The Motivation and Socialization of Medical Students," *Journal of Health and Human Behavior*, I [1960], 180-81).

The pattern of protest revealed in the intern's attitude change is very similar to the pattern that holds for the prestige evaluation of one's own profession in general. Thus, Caplow writes: "Each of the major professions tends to award itself a higher status than outsiders would be willing to concede, and to underestimate its relative rewards. Of course, disproportions between relative prestige and the relative earnings of a professional group may exist, but the degree of the disproportion is invariably exaggerated" (T. Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954], p. 131).

the status change into the residency will modify the former intern's protest pattern concerning his status. He will presumably modify his outlook in accord with his new position in the hierarchy, stabilizing at a somewhat less equalitarian level than he had on entrance into the hospital as an apprentice. These remarks are based upon a comparison of the residents' attitudes with the attitudes of the entering interns. The mean score for the residents on the physician-related items was 11.3, while for the incoming interns the mean was 10.5; while a similar comparison for the subordinate-related items (using all of the items in Part II of Table 2, with the exception of the two deviant items—No. 5 and No. 8) produced a mean score of 38.7 for the residents and 37.9 for the interns. In both cases, the residents are more status-oriented, and in the case of the physician-related items the difference approximates the .05 significance level using a one-tailed test (t = 1.53, with 86 degrees of freedom).

Thus far, we have been speaking of mean changes among the group of interns as a whole. The question arises as to how the change appears when we look at it from the standpoint of the individual. We correlated the scores derived from the physician-related items with those based on the subordinate-related items to see whether the pattern of association changed during the year. The answer is that it did. For the incoming interns, the correlation was .45, indicating that at the beginning of the year the intern who held an equalitarian attitude with respect to subordinates also held an equalitarian attitude with respect to their superiors on the medical staff; and those who were status-segregationists vis-à-vis the nurses also held that there should be status distance between themselves and those higher in the hierarchy. At the close of the year, however, this pattern of association is altered, the correlation is −.06.

How this change occurred is shown by

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF HIGH AND LOW SCORES* ON "PHYSICIAN-RELATED" ITEMS AND "SUBORDINATE-RELATED" ITEMS AT BEGINNING AND END OF INTERNSHIP (N = [illegible])

Physician-Related Items	Time of Test	[illegible]	[illegible]
High score	Beginning	[illegible]	[illegible]
	End	0	[illegible]
		3	[illegible]
Low score	Beginning	[illegible]	[illegible]
	End	7	27

the data in Table 3, where the cells have been assigned rough labels to facilitate the interpretation of the change. In Table 3, the interns who were high scorers on the physician-related items but low scorers on the subordinate-related items are designated as "nurse colleagues" (cell 1) since they approve of distance in relation to the senior staff but closeness with respect to the nurse; while in cell 2 we find the "intern segregationists" who propose that interns should constitute a distinct stratum in the hierarchy, removed from both the senior staff and the nurses. The remaining cells are similarly labeled.

The key fact about Table 3 is the heavy concentration of interns, at the close of the year, in the cell which designates them as "doctor colleagues," whereas at the begin-

ning of the year the bulk of the interns are either "equalitarians" or "segregationists." That is to say, the predominant view at the end of the year is that the system should resemble neither an equalitarian team nor a three-way system with the interns as an intermediate status group: it is now a two-way stratification design composed of a homogeneous group of physicians contrasted with the low-status nursing staff.[21]

The intern's "protest" involves the nurse as well as the senior physicians, hence it is instructive, if we are to interpret the institutional import of the attitude change, to attend to the nurses' responses to the same attitude items. As relatively lowly placed subordinates within the system the "minority" as it were --one might anticipate that the nurses would seek to protect their professional status by equalitarian convictions, by minimizing the status distance between themselves and the physicians. But here, again, there is an intriguing duality in the responses. The nursing group does achieve the most equalitarian score, and often clearly so, on a number of items in Table 2: for example, they are firm in believing that it is realistic to speak of a medical "team" in which the nurse participates (item 11, on which the nurses have the quite equalitarian mean score of 1.83); they believe that it is appropriate for the nurse to be a part of ward "rounds" and to be involved in the medical review of the patient (items 9 and 18); they do not approve of verbal orders (item 6); and they believe that the nurse should have a good deal of latitude in giving information to the patient (item 8) But two things are noteworthy about the attitude responses of the nurses. First, all the items on which they are highly equalitarian (more equalitarian than either the interns or the residents) are of the "power" variety they deal with equalitarianism in work, and with the nurses' professional contribution to the treatment process. Second, on many of the items that involve the nurse's deference practices and prestige position, there is a surprising degree of positive commitment to a strict status order; or, put otherwise, there are many items on which the nurses have the most status-acquiescent score. Thus, they are very much against a first-name relationship between nurses and physicians (item 10); they are very agreeable to the idea that one of the most important features of a good nurse is the respect she gives to the physician (item 19); they support the idea that it is the nurse's duty to be patient and understanding of the physician's "flare-ups" (item 7); they insist, more than do the interns or the residents, that the nurse should never tell a physician that an order is wrong (item 13), that the nurse should take her complaints to the head nurse and not to the physician (item 17), and that a physician should not become involved in the routine or menial features of patient care that are essentially nurses' work (item 12).

In a certain sense, the nurses' responses

[21] The heavy concentration of cases in the "doctor colleague" cell of Table 3 implies what can be directly observed by a comparison of the changes each intern shows on the two kinds of items The decreasing status mindedness on the physician items and the increasing status-mindedness on the nurse items are not produced by different interns changing in these two directions, but by correlated changes on both scores Twenty-five of the interns showed a decline in their scores on the physician items, and of these, nineteen interns showed a concomitant increase on the nurse-related items

Our data appear to indicate that an accommodation in status attitudes has taken place during the intern's apprenticeship, and we have called this accommodation a "status protest" As several critics have pointed out, however, it is not very clear whether this change should be regarded as a consequence of the fact that the interns have changed their position in the system (they have, after all, an additional year's experience as physicians and they are now, to all intents and purposes, medical residents), or whether the change is more a matter of learning or socialization—of altered commitments about the status order. We cannot discuss this question in detail here, but would propose that both position change and attitude change are involved. To put it briefly, the data (including both the intern changes and the residents' pattern) tell us what status meaning the interns have learned to assign to their position change.

can be seen as being reflective of an institution in transition: while the interns are learning the essentially status-centered values of the medical in-group (and "over-doing" it somewhat in comparison with the residents), the nurses reflect both the equalitarian, co-operative values that symbolize the "new" organizational style as well as the status-centered attitudes of the "old" deferential, hierarchical style. It is easy, of course, to imagine why the new equalitarian style would be attractive to those in subordinate positions; but it is somewhat surprising to find the low-status members of the hospital system so readily accepting and validating their low position in the organization on prestige issues. On this point, the view propounded by Thibaut and Kelley may be very instructive. They note that [illegible]matively supported consensus about [h]igh and low positions in status systems [illegible] seem to develop, and then add:

> Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of these [nor]ms is the degree to which low-status members endorse them, thereby (it would seem) [illegible] themselves. More often than one [illegible] expect, they acknowledge the value of [illegible] received by high status persons and [illegible] this acknowledgment by expressions [of a]dmiration and attempts at upward mobil[ity]. Low status members are asked, in effect, [to subsi]dize the outcomes to high status members by assenting to the value of activities [illegible] of which are exclusively the province [of] the highs. The effect of this assent is to give [low] status persons some power over the higher [illegible]. The high status person who held great [illegible] power is no longer able to make sharp [illegible] by virtue of the status awarded him [illegible] reaping the rewards due him.[22]

Our conclusions, then, are neither surprising nor dramatic; but they have a bearing on reference-group processes in socialization, on medical performance, and on institutional change. The apprentice physician serves his apprenticeship in an institution and in a profession where status is a primary value, and in the course of that apprenticeship the intern comes to see himself as a more integral member of the highest ranking group within the system, namely, the medical staff. What this membership calls for in the intern's eyes, apparently, is a change toward equality with in-group members along with greater status distance between members and subordinates. Neither the equality nor the distance that the apprentice wishes to establish is quite what the medical resident, as a more solid member of the in-group, prefer[s].

Though such results are in some ways quite expectable, we would enter a caution about carrying the "of course" reaction too far. For one thing, these results tell us that the medical apprentice is indeed still a student, and not only with regard to the technical and skill aspects of his trade: he is still learning about the social-organizational features of the profession, and the attitude changes described here reflect and illuminate that learning.

This fact must be taken together with the perhaps more significant fact that what the intern is learning about the status system is not, as some might have it, a matter of mere taste. For [illegible] shown, as we have already shown [illegible] in a provisional way, that [illegible] status attitude of the medical practitioner and the status system within which [illegible] a concrete difference in the kind of patient care that eventuates, then the intern's learnings on the status issue are of considerable importance. The institution [illegible] teaches status values that carry medical consequences. To put it more [illegible] the apprenticeship is not only an occasion for learning more of the trade and more of the attitudes that surround the trade; when these two kinds of learning are combined, the apprenticeship is a way of getting committed, more or less unaware, to an ideology and a type of social organization that is tied to certain outcomes as against others. In this view, a choice among status attitudes is, in significant part, a choice among medical consequences.

[22] J. W. Thibaut and H. H. Kelley, *The Social Psychology of Groups* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959), pp. 230–31.

Finally, these results tell us that the organizational trend which is postulated for so many contemporary institutions—the trend toward decreased status-centeredness and an increased "emphasis on group interdependence and on a team concept of coordination"[23]—has not found its way into the hospital situation in sufficient degree to yield either a decline in status orientation for these interns, or, at the least, no change in status attitudes (the kind of absence of change that constituted the "surprise" in the Campbell and McCormack study referred to above). Our prediction of increased status commitment during the internship was based upon a conception of the hospital which might well one day turn out to be a stereotyped holdover from the past, since the institutional drift that has been postulated for business and the military may shortly alter the medical situation as well. Currently, however, Hughes' remarks on the matter seem most appropriate:

[23] M Janowitz, *op. cit.* (1959), p. 476.

Although the world of business uses the term *private entrepeneur* there is plenty of evidence that the model businessman is seen as a team worker rather than a person who goes it alone. It is possible that in some respects the medical model is a hangover from the outmoded one of the business world. Given current trends in medical organization, it seems obviously important to discover not merely the extent to which the go-it-alone model prevails as against the team-work model, but also to find out what influences continue to reinforce it.[24]

What all this implies is that the present data may be seen not only as information concerning the socialization of interns in an ideology which is demonstrably important for their medical performance, but also as information that bears on, and in some degree may serve as a baseline for, the assessment of the hospital's transformation as a modern institution.

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[24] E. C. Hughes, "The Making of a Physician," in *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 124.

THE FUNCTION OF MALE INITIATION CEREMONIES: A CROSS-CULTURAL TEST OF AN ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESIS[1]

FRANK W. YOUNG

ABSTRACT

A recent explanation of male initiation ceremonies interprets them as a means of controlling potentially disruptive emotions generated in childhood. The main evidence supporting this hypothesis consists of a cross-culturally based association between male initiation ceremonies and a combination of two customs: a close mother-son sleeping arrangement and a postnatal taboo on the mother's sex relations. This essentially Freudian interpretation is, however, not the only possible one. A counter-hypothesis explains initiation as the dramatization of the sex-role characteristic of societies with a high degree of male solidarity. The two "child-rearing practices" are better interpreted as aspects of the organization of polygynous families. The exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangement is simply another way of looking at the father's absence, and the postnatal taboo is a norm that protects wives from too [illegible] pregnancies. The spuriousness of the association is demonstrated empirically, and a similar interpretation, proposed as a substitute for the first hypothesis, is also rejected.

Many "culture and personality" studies depend on theories which characterize personality as a system of intervening variables or mechanisms by which one aspect of culture—usually child-training practices—influences another aspect such as religious beliefs or particular institutions. Although this view has been criticized[2] and contradictory evidence on some points has been published,[3] it has been difficult to [illegible] the theory to a decisive test because so much of its support is in the form of clinical or anthropological evidence that cannot be replicated. There is need for a test which differentiates between a Freudian hypothesis and an alternative, and which, in turn, rejects one but not the other under conditions that are rigidly controlled.

The opportunity for such a test is provided by the appearance of a study by John W. M. Whiting, Richard Kluckhohn and Albert Anthony in which they test on a sample of fifty-six societies a hypothesis that links certain childhood situations to the presence of male initiation rites.[4] They assert that when the infant sleeps on its mother's bed for a year or more, strong feelings of dependency develop. Similarly if there is a postnatal taboo of a year or more on the mother's sex relations, when the husband finally returns to his wife the displacement of the dependent boy from his mother's close care generates deep hostility. Both these emotions may become disruptive to society when the boy matures. Adolescence is a particularly dangerous period because at that age the boy is called upon to participate in men's work, independent of his mother's support. At this age he also handles weapons. Since all societies must maintain social control of disruptive behavior, an institutional mech-

[1] This paper is an expanded version of one read [illegible] 1960 meeting of the American Anthropo[illegible] [illegible] Association and was supported by PHS [illegible] Grant #M 3730A. I am indebted to my [illegible] Dr. Ruth C. Young, for her analytic assist[illegible] [illegible] to Mrs. John A. Beagles and Miss Joan [illegible] for ably coding the bulk of the data. [illegible] R. Ayoub, Albert S. Anthony, Jules [illegible], John Hitchcock, Kimball Romney, Leigh [illegible], and John M. Whiting kindly supplied [illegible] data or other information on which [illegible] research depended. I am indebted to Orrin [illegible] and Morris Daniels for helpful criticism.

[2] H. Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personal[illegible]," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLVI (1949), 1–48; [illegible] A. R. Lindesmith and A. L. Strauss, "A [illegible] of Culture Personality Writings," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 587–600.

[3] W. H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Per[illegible] of the Child," *American Journal of Soci[illegible]* LVIII (1952), 15–59.

[4] "The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies at Puberty," in E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958), pp. 359–70.

anism of control is functionally necessary. The initiation ceremonies of primitive peoples may be so interpreted as such a mechanism. Hazing and genital operations assert the authority of men over the adolescent boy; the separation of boys from women and submission to tests of fortitude breaks the boys' psychological dependency. A demonstrable association exists between the four initiation customs and the two child-training practices.

It is clear that the foregoing "disruptive emotion" hypothesis follows the classic Freudian framework of impulsive man assailed by a frustrating culture. Although Whiting *et al.* reject a specific Oedipal explanation, their modification is still in the Freudian tradition, and the many general criticisms that have been made of that framework still apply. For instance, it is assumed that the emotions generated in childhood somehow maintain themselves until adolescence, despite the great variety of experience between the two periods. It is further assumed that the two- or three-year-old boy is capable of the complex emotions and perceptions that are postulated by the theory; that is, when the father returns the displaced boy is able to infer that the father is to blame, even though it was the the mother who allowed the father to return. Third, it is assumed that initiation ceremonies are primarily inhibitory and that this function is almost completely determined by the peculiar patterning of two small aspects of family organization.

Before introducing an alternative explanation based on symbolic interaction theory, it should be acknowledged that Whiting has already abandoned the disruptive emotion hypothesis (a shift that became known to the author after the termination of the study reported here) and has substituted what may be called a "sex-role conflict" hypothesis. The latter explanation of the empirical association between initiation ceremonies and child care employs some concept of identification, namely: "the process of identification consists of the covert practice of the role of an envied status. In learning-theory terms, identification consists (*a*) of learning a role by rehearsal in fantasy or in play rather than by actual performances, and (*b*) such rehearsal is motivated by envy of the incumbent of a privileged status."[5] The initiation ceremony is now interpreted as an institution which resolves a cross-sex identification. The child having a close sleeping relation with his mother (the post-natal taboo is disregarded in the second interpretation) comes to envy her status, which in turn leads to a feminine identification. If he lives in a society where the rule of residence is patrilocal, however, at five or six years of age he perceives that men have the enviable status, which leads him to a male identification. The resulting conflict must be resolved with the help of a social institution.

In view of the second hypothesis, criticism and empirical rejection of the disruptive emotion explanation is more pertinent rather than less so, since the second hypothesis is basically like the first. For example, despite the term identification, the sex-role conflict hypothesis involves the same assumptions regarding childhood emotions and the competence of the child to make complex interpretations. Thus, Whiting argues that when the boy sleeps with the mother he comes to identify with her as a result of his recognition that her status is different from his and that hers is enviable, while if the parents sleep together, the boy identifies with them both to about the same degree. But is not the opposite interpretation equally plausible? If a child thinks at all, is it not more likely that he would be satisfied when he has his mother all to himself and would feel relatively deprived when he must share her with the father? Would he not therefore identify with her when the father is present? Similarly, the interpretation of patri-

[5] Roger V. Burton and John W. M. Whiting "The Absent Father: Effects on the Developing Child," paper read at the 1960 meeting of the American Psychological Association.

local residence is dubious. Even granted that in patrilocal societies men have higher status, it does not follow that such status is any more readily perceived than in matrilocal societies. At any rate, the best study available indicates that males play the instrumental role in all societies, regardless of rule of residence.[6] At least, en, the child must discriminate between e instrumental role of the men and their estige. Finally, the sex-role conflict hythesis still assumes that initiation ceremies are inhibiting at least Whiting plies this when he uses the term "brainash" to characterize their function although now the ceremony also functions reinforce the boy's male identification. esumably as a result of the hazing and nital operations, which prompt the youth envy the status of his tormentors.

The present study uses the cross-cultural ethodology employed in the Whiting rearch, and whenever possible uses his oding of items, although this coding, since is derived from another theoretical amework, tends to work against the test. he same sample is used with the excepon of the Khalapur Rajputs and the ruze, inasmuch as these are a caste and religious group respectively and do not alify as communities, the basic unit of e present analysis.[7]

AN ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION

According to the symbolic interaction xplanation,[8] the function of initiation is to stabilize the boy's sex role at a time when it is particularly problematical, although not in the manner suggested by Whiting. Thus, one's sex role becomes problematical insofar as its definition does not provide sufficient guidance in the diverse social interactions allowed or prescribed by society. Inasmuch as societies have a sexual division of labor and some form of marriage, a well-defined sex role becomes functionally necessary when the boy nears the threshold of participation in such social patterning. However, some societies pose still another socialization problem which is that sex role must conform to more specific requirements imposed by a high degree of male solidarity. Such solidarity may be defined as the co-operation of the men in maintaining a definition of their situation as one which is not only different from that of women, but which involves organized activities requiring the loyalty of all males. Although solidarity is a matter of degree, a crucial threshold develops when the men of a village come to see themselves as a consciously organized group with the power to exclude or dis-

[6] See Morris Zelditch, Jr. "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in T. Parsons and R. F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), 307–51.

[7] The general methodology of these studies is reviewed in John W. M. Whiting, "The Cross-cultural Method," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), 523–31. The specific sample used here is described in Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony, *op. cit.* The following considerations bear on the [illegible] reliability and freedom from bias of this study. (a) After a [illegible] od of training, the two coders extracted the data from the ethnographies for fifteen societies. Data that did not attain a level of agreement of 85 per cent were [illegible] from the schedule which was revised at that point. Lack of funds precluded a complete reliability study. (b) Four coders worked on the different parts of the data which means that an adequate level of reliability must have been obtained, since the hypotheses held despite the negative [illegible] of any random error introduced. (c) Data coded by Murdock and Whiting *et al.* were used, introducing different frames of reference which, if anything, worked against the hypotheses. (d) In general, the variables used in this study are gross categories and are therefore probably [illegible].

[8] The theory proposed here is simply a specification of that already developed by Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, G. H. Mead, W. I. Thomas, H. S. Sullivan, A. R. Lindesmith, A. L. Strauss, N. Foote, and E. Goffman, all of whose work is too well known to require citation. This line of thought has recently been reviewed and creatively extended by Hugh Dalziel Duncan (see his "The Development of Durkheim's Concept of Ritual and the Problem of Social Disrelationships," in Kurt H. Wolff (ed.), *Emile Durkheim, 1858–1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), pp. 97–117.

cipline its membership. Inasmuch as explanation of the development of male solidarity is outside the scope of this paper, it is sufficient to say that it appears to be an ecological problem in the sense that the physical and social environment determines the degree of cohesion: The environment must permit a simple and stable definition of the situation. Solidarity would not be expected among Eskimo men where the food supply is so meager and diverse that males rarely act in concert. At the other extreme, modern societies have such complex environments that an undifferentiated interpretation is rarely possible. Rather, male solidarity should occur in the "middle-level" societies where the variety of food exploitation patterns is limited and where the resources may be exploited by co-operative groups. Moreover, it is among such societies that intergroup hostilities conducive to male solidarity are possible. In nomadic communities hostility tends to be individualized while in complex societies armies are made up of men from diverse communities. Only in relatively stable, autonomous communities would combat groups include all the males of the village and only those. Of course, as male cohesion develops it is likely that the "approved" interpretation of the environment becomes oversimplified, and if a notion like "all whites are our enemies" develops, then the phenomenal environment may operate to further consolidate the group.

In societies with a high degree of male solidarity, stabilization of sex role is not complete until the boy identifies with the male group, since such identification is a major component of the sex role. Identification is here defined as the process of taking as one's own the cluster of social meanings held by a person or group. Identification requires first that the identifier have sufficient skill in symbolic interaction (usually not acquired until early adolescence) to comprehend the symbolic environment and, second, that he recognize that his society requires him to learn certain specific clusters of social meanings, such as those involved in one's sex role. Strength of identification is determined by the degree to which the identifier co-operates in creating and maintaining the definition of the situation and by the degree of clarity given the social meanings by the group or person generating them.

Given the foregoing assumptions, it might appear that identification with a solidary male group is easy compared to learning the relatively vague attitudes required for participation in work and the family and hence that initiation ceremonies should be unnecessary for the more organized male structure. But the relative clarity of meanings held by the cohesive males is not apparent to the candidate. Typically, the male activities are hidden from the uninitiated. Moreover, once the meanings of the male group are accessible, internalization must be achieved rapidly and precisely. There is no long period of inculcation by way of games, sharing in sex-segregated work, or the differentiated expectations of others. Neither is there the allowable deviation that occurs in most family and work organization. Therefore, the social meaning of male solidarity must be dramatized in a memorable way and the candidate must participate intensely in the presentation. Furthermore, the rest of the community must be alerted to his new status so they can respond appropriately. What could be more impressive to both the youth and the community than to be publicly subincised or to be the center of attention of a group of village men intent upon beating him severely? It is a mistake to interpret initiation ceremonies in terms of culture-bound notions of pain or mutilation. The ethnographic accounts strongly suggest that, given the proper attitude, these are probably accepted with the same equanimity that a woman submits to beauty care or a man to being tatooed. Similarly, tests of fortitude and social separation (the ethnographic accounts give no basis for Whiting's phrase "separation from women") are another way of dramatizing the boy's new status. Not only

does he give a performance to the community, but his separation before or after the performance reminds the community by his absence of his new presence.

The solidarity hypothesis may be empirically tested by cross-tabulation of the child-training items and initiation ceremonies when male solidarity is controlled. Although this hypothesis ultimately requires a recoding of both the child-training items and Whiting's empirical definition of initiation rites, they are adequate for the present test. The only new factor, then, is male solidarity. Empirically it is defined by the presence of an organization in which all adult males are expected to participate and from which women are excluded. The organization must be institutionalized to the point of having its own building or a taboo that protects open meetings from the perception of women or uninitiated boys. The definition includes the cases of the Hopi and Dahomeans where there are a number of male organizations of essentially the same type. It is assumed that such reduplication occurs in larger communities simply as an adaptation to the larger population. When the organizations develop differentiated purposes, they do not qualify.

The cross-tabulation of these three factors is shown in Table 1 and follows the format of the Whiting *et al.* article. It is clear that when male solidarity is controlled, no relation remains between the typology of child-care items and the presence of initiation ceremonies. The relative efficiency of prediction of the disruptive emotion and solidarity hypotheses is .45 and .70 respectively, as measured by Goodman and Kruskal's[9] lambda and giving Whiting *et al.* the benefit of the doubt on the predictions of the positive-negative combinations of child-care items, even though they made no prediction about these. Essentially the same cross-tabulation applies to the sex-role conflict hypothesis, except that the postnatal taboo is dropped out and the presence of patrilocal residence (as against matrilocal and a general category labeled ambilocal) is substituted. The efficiency of the prediction based on these factors is only .42

TABLE 1

RELATION OF MALE INITIATION CEREMONIES TO EXCLUSIVE MOTHER-SON SLEEPING ARRANGEMENT AND POSTNATAL TABOO WHEN PRESENCE OF EXCLUSIVE MALE ORGANIZATION IS CONTROLLED

Exclusive Male Organization	Mother-Son Sleeping	Post-partum Taboo	[illegible]	[illegible]
Present	[illegible]	[illegible]	11	1
	[illegible]		1	1
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			2	[illegible]
				[illegible]
			[illegible]	2
Absent			[illegible]	[illegible]
			0	2
			1	[illegible]
			0	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]

* Genital operations, hazing, [illegible]

[9] Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross-Classifications," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, XLIX (1954) [illegible]. Lambda varies from zero to one. Although tables of significance are as yet unavailable, this makes no difference in the present case where all the tests used the same sample.

compared, as before, to .70 for the more parsimonious solidarity variable. Unfortunately a cross-tabulation of these variables with male solidarity controlled is not feasible due to the paucity of cases.

Among a number of possible objections to these results, one demands immediate analysis: Is the relation between male solidarity and initiation ceremonies tautological? As usual, answers may be given at different levels of abstraction. If the question refers to the concrete level of indicators, then the answer is certainly negative. If the only index of male solidarity was the presence of a specific male organization, one might object that the initiation ceremony is merely an aspect of the organization's activities. But as defined here, male solidarity is more than a specific organization and is indicated in other ways, such as group hunting, organization for local warfare, etc. Moreover, many initiation ceremonies have no apparent relation to the activities of the male organization, and even if they did, it still does not follow that the *degree* of dramatization (the dependent variable) is an integral part of the organization's activities. If, however, the question refers to the conceptual level, there is room for doubt. Of course, there is nothing in either of the two concepts—male definition of the group situation and dramatization of status—that necessarily implies the other, but it might be argued that at a high level of abstraction initiation ceremonies are simply another way of talking about the boundary-maintaining activities of a given, although abstractly conceived, group. Whether this is so or not requires a much deeper theoretical and empirical probing, but the important implication remains unchallenged. If initiation ceremonies and group solidarity are simply different aspects of the same social structure, then it is even more doubtful that an explanation of these in terms of the events of childhood is sufficient. Certainly the basic features of social structure are not determined by events that are consequences of that very structure. Rather, an ecological explanation, such as has been suggested, would appear more plausible.

A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF INITIATION CEREMONIES

The cross-tabulation in Table 1 shows that when male solidarity is controlled, the association between the child-care items and initiation ceremonies is dissolved. But the indicators of the initial association were based on the rejected hypothesis. It remains now to reconceptualize both of these in terms of the new framework and to show that male solidarity is an even stronger determinant when these variables are recoded.

The solidarity hypothesis would define initiation ceremonies as the more dramatic forms of sex-role recognition. So conceived, initiation ceremonies involve a patterned performance designed to convey a particular impression to an audience. Such dramatization of sex role takes a variety of forms, combining particular customs like tatooing, tooth filing, beatings, fasting, special taboos, social isolation, gifts, dances, participation in raids, circumcision, subincision, etc., in ways that have always attracted the attention of anthropologists. Examples of undramatic sex-role recognition are the informal delineation that results from differentiated subsistence activities among Koryak men and women, the adolescent boy's shift of residence to a youth camp among the Nyakyusa, and the formalized—but undramatic—coeducation in our own society. However, not all customs of the adolescent period are relevant to the social recognition of sex role, and the following rules delineate the limits: (*a*) the custom must occur periodically in the same general form and be supervised at least in part by the adults of the society, (*b*) it must apply to all adolescent males and only to these—ceremonies including females do not qualify, and (*c*) of a series of initiation ceremonies, only the most elaborate, as measured by the scale, is to be coded. Such rules would

exclude the tooth filing among children in Alor, the festivities surrounding the young men in wartime Japan who went into the military, the unpatterned hazing of Maori warrior novices, and the marriage-initiation pattern of the Khalapur Rajputs (although they were excluded on other grounds). One major implication of these operational rules is the rejection of the view that initiation marks the attainment of full adult status. There is of course an intimate connection between sex role and responsible adulthood, and in a few societies the recognition of the two statuses merges. But in the large majority, consensual validation of responsible adult status is withheld by prohibitions on marriage, speaking in councils, full participation in warfare, etc., until late adolescence.

These criteria defined a large pool of items some of which formed a Guttman scale (Table 2). Step 1 of the scale includes all the minimal recognition customs, such as gift-giving, a change of name, festive attention, etc., that are periodically maintained with the help of adults. Such public recognition usually lasts less than a day and involves a group no larger than the immediate family. The second and third steps may be taken together to reflect individualized dramatization of the initiate. Social seclusion and decoration and/or performance call attention to the personality of the youth. The last two items also combine to form a general category of "group participation," with the fifth step reflecting an emotionally charged group response. It is significant that items like circumcision, subincision, etc., did not scale, probably because the coding was not sensitive to their precise dramatic context, which is the basis of the scale. Circumcision in itself, as our own society demonstrates, is not necessarily dramatic. Needless to say, none of the scale items occurs in societies with undramatic sex role recognition.

Although the scale has a high coefficient of reproducibility (.97), the small number of cases and the fact that some of the steps contain only one or two societies detract from its internally demonstrated validity. However, at least two relationships between the scale and other data reinforce its interpretation as an unidimensional measure. First, essentially the same scale applies to females and holds for the thirty-four societies of this sample that have dramatic initiation ceremonies for that sex. Second, an elaborate dramatization is most likely to occur when there are a number of initiates, rather than just one, a fact which would also support the present interpretation.

However, a more important consideration is the theoretical plausibility of the scale. The three basic steps appear to reflect an increasing amount of social preparation. The easiest thing the adults can do is make a simple gesture, such as a gift. If they wish to call more attention to the boy, but still keep the effort small, they can separate him socially. Further elabora-

TABLE 2

SCALE OF DEGREE OF DRAMATIZATION OF MALE [illegible]

Step	Item	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Customary minimal social recognition (gift, [illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	Social seclusion (physical and/or social separation [illegible] or taboo on social contact)	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	Personal dramatization (initiate is center of [illegible] performance)	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	Organized social response (group [illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	Emotionalized social response [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Total cases	[illegible]	

tion can be achieved by dramatizing the initiate's person, or by organizing the whole group. Only in the more elaborate forms is there a strong emotional display.

The scale takes on special significance in view of Whiting's interpretation of initiation as "brainwashing." It is difficult to see how these items would support such an interpretation, as indeed, it is difficult to see how the four items chosen by Whiting *et al.* (especially when only *one* of the four need be present) qualify as a social mechanism for resolving a sex-role conflict. It must be admitted, however, that there is an almost total overlap between the presence of initiation ceremonies as coded by Whiting *et al.* and as indicated by the scale. In fact, nineteen of the twenty cases are identical. The scale rejects one society (Chiracahua) which Whiting *et al.* coded as having initiations and adds another (Yap) which they excluded. Such correspondence is reasonable, nonetheless, since all the four items used by Whiting *et al.* are ways of dramatizing sex role. The crucial point is that the four-item index excludes a host of customs that anthropologists and the scale would include.

If the scale of dramatic sex-role recognition is substituted for the four-item index in Table 1, and is used simply to indicate the presence or absence of dramatic customs, there is an increase in the measure of prediction efficiency of the solidarity hypothesis, bringing it to .80 in comparison with .45 for the disruptive-emotion hypothesis, where there is no change. The next step is to relate degrees of solidarity to degrees of dramatization, but because of the small number of cases in the present sample, only a trend shows up.

MALE SOLIDARITY AND FAMILY ORGANIZATION

In addition to replacing the interpretation of initiation ceremonies required by the two Freudian hypotheses, the solidarity hypothesis calls for a reinterpretation of the childhood experience items. It has already been shown that the two aspects of what may now be labeled "absent-father fam organization" have no empirical relation initiation ceremonies when male solidar is controlled. Why, then, was there ever correlation to begin with? It is importa first, to examine the actual data. An "e clusive mother-infant sleeping arrangemen means that the mother keeps the child o her own mat for at least a year and usual until the child is weaned. Often the moth lives in a special hut, a pattern that is fr quent when there is polygyny. But the same facts have another side. From th adult point of view an exclusive sleepin arrangement is simply another way of say ing that the father is absent. While it i true that the mother need not keep th child on her own mat when the father i away, the two situations are usually th same in practice and it is doubtful whethe it would be possible to code the distinction given present data, even if it existed. Perhaps then, the real question is why the father is absent. The mere fact of polygyny is almost a sufficient explanation. Although it is conceivable that a husband might continue to sleep with a wife who is nursing an infant, considerations of sleeping convenience are enough to explain why he stays with other wives. But even in those cases where the husband has no other wives he may not stay with his new family, but go instead to the men's house where life is probably more exciting and at least quieter. And what of the postnatal taboo? It also makes sense in this context as a norm for controlling the frequency of pregnancy, since polygynous wives typically maintain separate households and gardens, and must be free to work. This interpretation is tested in Table 3 by a cross-tabulation of the relation of the father to a nursing wife with the presence of an exclusive male organization and the extent of polygyny.[10]

[10] The data on polygyny are taken from G P Murdock's invaluable "World Ethnographic Sample" (*American Anthropologist*, LIX [1957], 664–87). His categories of "general," "sororal," and "non-sororal" polygyny were combined for the first category in the table, and his "limited" and "limited . . . but sororal" constitute the second category.

the absent-father family pattern was empirically defined by the combination of both the exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangement and the postnatal taboo, since to rely on only one of these items would admit too many cases where the family type was undeveloped. The distribution of the cases (lambda is .42) indicates that when general polygyny and a male organization are both present, the absent-father family pattern is likely to occur. It is still relatively frequent if only general polygyny exists. In the two cases where a male organization is present but there is no polygyny, we should expect the presence of a men's house where the husband can stay. In fact they (the Yapese and Fijians) do have such houses. Similarly, the society (Ooldea) that does not have the absent-father family pattern despite the presence of a male organization ought not to have a men's house, as indeed is the case. However, this sort of refinement in terms of sleeping quarters may not be carried too far. In some societies, the men sleep apart from their wives despite the lack of men's house while in other societies they do not make use of the clubhouse in this manner. Also, such refinement unduly reduces the already small number of cases.

The foregoing discussion has been extended more than might ordinarily be necessary because it is important to show how faulty operationalization leads to false conclusions. These customs of household organization apply only to adults. Any inference from them to the personality of the child is just that. Admittedly it is difficult to index infant behavior directly, but there are descriptions of boy's play, attitudes, etc., which might serve better. The burden of proof is at least on those who see such a connection. Indeed, it should have been there at the outset. To assume that childhood experiences index personality tendencies is tantamount to defining as true the crucial link in the theory.

The only problem remaining is why polygyny should be associated with male solidarity. Although various hypotheses might be offered, the simplest one is that it takes the work of many women to support the activities of solidary males.

SOME BASIC ISSUES

There are many loose ends to this study, such as the relation of female initiation to female solidarity, the relation of solidarity to the division of social labor and to more particular ecological factors, the prediction of degrees of dramatization, and the relation of other customs, such as the couvade, to types of household organization. Preliminary findings on all of these factors appear to support the solidarity hypothesis

TABLE 3

RELATION OF FATHER'S SEPARATION FROM NURSING WIFE TO EXTENT OF POLYGYNY AND PRESENCE OF EXCLUSIVE MALE ORGANIZATION

EXTENT OF POLYGYNY	[illegible]	[illegible]
Exclusive male organization present		
Polygyny, 20 per cent or more	7	1
Limited polygyny, under 20 per cent	3	1
Monogamy	2	4
Total	[illegible]	6
Exclusive male organization absent		
Polygyny, 20 per cent or more	[illegible]	8
Limited polygyny, under 20 per cent	1	8
Monogamy	1	13
Total	[illegible]	29

and will be published elsewhere. Enough has been said, however, to permit an analysis of some basic issues.

In the image of man and society that stands behind the two Freudian hypotheses, personality is conceptualized as "mediating" between "maintenance systems" and "projective systems." An example given by Whiting illustrates the paradigm: In societies with extended family households, in contrast to mother-child households, mothers tend to indulge infants.[11] Such high

[11] In John W. M. Whiting, "Socialization Process and Personality," in Francis L. K. Hsu (ed.), *Psychological Anthropology* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1961), 358 ff.

indulgence is in turn associated with the belief that human beings can influence the gods. In this example, the organization of the household is part of the maintenance system. The kind of personality found in different household organizations is said to be reflected in the amount of maternal indulgence, and since this indicator is associated with attributes of the gods, it is asserted that personality interacts with the projective system. Initiation ceremonies can be similarly fitted into this paradigm: polygyny is part of the maintenance system and, as Table 3 shows, is associated with an exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangement. The feminine identification alleged to result from this infant experience is a variable of personality which interacts with other variables, particularly male identification. Initiation ceremonies, interpreted as part of the projective system, help to resolve the resultant personality conflict. If childhood training is interpreted as predisposing the child to accept a certain social order, the cases are analogous, although the meaning of "projective" thereby becomes ambiguous. However, the basic point is clear: Whiting's particular hypothesis concerning initiation ceremonies, whether in its first or second form, is to be taken as only one instance of a general paradigm, as a specific derivation from a general theory. Now, if we could be sure that his explanation of initiation ceremonies was a rigorous deduction from this theory, then a negative test of the hypothesis would invalidate the parent structure. But such precision may not be assumed at the present stage of the social sciences, so it is necessary to examine directly, if only theoretically, the basic conceptualization. It may be criticized on several fundamental counts.

In the Whiting model, the direction of causation moves from the subsistence institutions to the personality of the child and thence to the wider social order. Although the possibility is admitted that some sequences by-pass the childhood events, they are exceptions to the rule. Such a framework poses at the outset complex methodological problems. An adequate test of any derived hypothesis should follow the causal sequence from the events in the economy of one generation to the interaction of the next generation with the prevailing ideology. An experiment lasting some twenty years or more is indicated, and it is difficult to believe that adequate controls could be instituted during this period.

But a more substantive question bears on the assumption that social determinants can be generated or transmitted through the mechanisms of childhood personality. For a hundred years or more social scientists have agreed that society exists in and through communication, and it was tacitly assumed that this was adult communication. There were good reasons for this assumption that children do not fully participate in society, that is, in the symbolic environment of a group of people making a living in a particular locality. Since children are not physically able to participate in adult work, they are excluded from full involvment in the symbolic environment. Such participation, there is good reason to believe, is a precondition to adequate comprehension of social meanings. Phrasing this criticism another way, can any modern conception of society disregard the vast accumulation of evidence and theory regarding social control, institutionalization, leadership, and all the other processes that adults appear to maintain? The situation is analogous to that pointed out by Hume in discussing whether we should except the truth of miracles. If such a belief requires the rejection of a larger body of scientific generalization, we are well advised to disbelieve.

But even if the Whiting model granted that "babies don't make culture," as Ellsworth Faris once said, it would still be inadequate. For it appears that the scheme postulates an essentially wordless communication. In both hypotheses, the child assimilates a crucial meaning of his experience quite early in life, certainly before his language skill is fully developed. In the

discussion of how the four customs of the initiation ceremony operate, it is implied that the experience of isolation, tests of fortitude, etc., convey particular meanings. Again, in the sex-role conflict hypothesis the boy learns by exposure to genital operations and hazing that identification with males is preferable to identification with females. Phrased generally, the individual is placed in a behavioral situation, and "he gets the message."

Maintaining the position that meaning is conveyed without words is at least awkward. How then does the boy maintain his male identification after his initiation when there is no high-status group to envy? To say that the youth is always inferior to someone invalidates the particular choice of patrilocal residence and the mother-son sleeping arrangement as determinants. Whiting might invoke secondary reinforcement—a wordless variety—but such reinforcement can only account for the narrowest conception of identification. For if male role means anything it means participating in the legal, religious, military, and kinship structures—all of which involve words and consensus—in ways that are different from the activity of females. Sex, dominance, or aggression may or may not be part of the male role, but participation in certain social sectors in prescribed ways always is. At the very least, the empirical association between male solidarity and initiation would appear to imply words and demand an explanation in terms of them.

It appears, then, that Whiting's conception of cultural and personality integration can do without words only if a narrow concept of identification is employed. But it is questionable whether the social sciences can do without a broad, social definition of male identification. How are we to explain the modal shifts in behavior as a person changes roles even when the situation remains the same? How are we to deal with the identical responses made to different stimulus situations? Words seem quite necessary as carriers of the complex and flexible cluster of meanings that appear to be involved in the male role.

However, it is very likely that Whiting would agree that the conventional symbolism of language is necessary for the flexible behavior characteristic of the socialized adult. Secondary reinforcement might be invoked to connect the behavioral situations with the associated words. Perhaps the contrary implication in his empirical research is simply an operational problem, to be remedied by better data. But if this is so, major theoretical problems remain. Concepts like status envy and identification must be broadened to include social meanings and the theory must explain how these meanings are learned. In the present case, initiation ceremonies may not be labeled "brainwashing" and described with no reference to the manipulation and dramatization of ideas that is part of the meaning of that term.

There is another characteristic of Whiting's conception of meaning that may be noted. The model places great emphasis on the isomorphism of the behavioral situation and the meaning that it conveys. Thus infants that are indulged by their mothers come to believe that the gods will indulge them too. When a boy is displaced from his mother's bed by his father he believes he is being deprived (rather than favored by both). When, during initiation, a boy is socially isolated, he comprehends that he must give up his dependence on women, and when he is circumcised he is confirmed in his male status through an experience impossible for women. Of course, not all the ascribed meanings reflect this congruency, but there is a strong trend in this direction, reminiscent of early Freudian dream interpretation. However, this implicit assumption is untenable if for no other reason than the lack of enough isomorphisms in the world to account for social behavior. Even if there were, it would require great methodological sophistication to find the connections. For instance, does a digging stick convey the idea of a man or a woman? Admittedly the assumption of isomorphism between situation and meaning

is not crucial to the theory, but it does tell us something about Whiting's disinterest in purely conventional symbolism.

A third line of criticism questions whether any theory that explains social facts in terms of parallel individual experiences can adequately account for the uniformities of group behavior. This question, posed long ago by Durkheim, has never been satisfactorily answered by advocates of person-specific theories. In the present case, for instance, it is agreed that all societies that initiate boys do so uniformly. The exceptions are few and clearly deviant. Now, in terms of the sex-role conflict hypothesis each boy sleeps near his mother, comes to identify with her, and later, if he lives in a patrilocal society, comes to envy the status of the men and to identify with them. But do all boys follow this sequence? It has already been shown that the exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangement is a concomitant of polygyny. But even in polygynous societies not all men have multiple wives and some of the monogamous men very likely sleep at home with their nursing wives. Of what use is initiation to these boys? It does no good to claim that the norm of polygyny exerts a general influence, because the hypothesis requires that each boy experience a close relationship with his mother. Neither is it sufficient to say that some boys have no conflict but go along with initiation anyway, because such a loophole vitiates the hypothesis and undermines the whole task of explanation.

Actually, this criticism of person-specific theories has been implicit in a methodological complaint often lodged against cross-cultural research. It has been argued that a social norm is not an adequate index of individual behavior. There is no assurance that individual behavior is uniform, and the very notion of a norm implies that it will not be. But this stricture had little force as long as investigators obtained correlations between two or more social norms and made a plausible explanation of how individual behavior might operate. On the other hand, the criticism has great force when it is stated, not as an operational problem, but as a fundamental deficiency of a whole class of theory. Regardless of correlations, person-specific theories cannot explain uniformities of behavior like participation in initiation ceremonies.

What then is the alternative conceptual framework? First, it is that symbolic interactionism is still in its early stages of development and requires much more elaboration. But such a conceptual framework would assert that society is a complex of groups within groups—even the smallest primitive community is differentiated—and that each of these subgroups tends to maintain its organization intact in the context of the whole and vis-à-vis the other subgroups. The individual members co-operate to maintain a given definition of the group situation and to communicate it successfully, often by dramatization, to the other groups, which constitute audiences. This interplay always appeals to overriding principles of the social order since few subgroups can afford the destruction of the larger structure. Over and above this organized conversation is the grammar of language itself. This combined structural backbone helps to maintain the contingencies in vocabulary that carry clusters of social meaning.

The relations of the individual to these symbolic structures is one of varying modes and degrees of participation, and the organization of roles acquired in the course of such participation is the basis of personality. Although personality may be said to affect social structure indirectly through individually promulgated social innovation, to say that modal personality has an independent effect on the shared system of beliefs makes no sense in these terms. Personality is linked to culture not as a mediator and converter of signals in the manner of a television relay station, but as a special and intense organization of a field of symbols. The degree and mode of each individual's participation in society determine "how much" personality he will have and whether he will reorganize his portion of the

symbolic environment in a way that might later affect the whole.

In the picture of society suggested above there is little that is new. The novelty lies in the application of this conceptual framework to the phenomena of initiation. Male solidarity has already been defined as the consensus of the men regarding the purpose and activities of the group. Although the present study does not directly index these shared meanings, the ethnographic accounts strongly suggest that definite religious, military, and fraternal attitudes exist and are expressed in the ritual activity, regalia, and mythology. These meanings must be maintained by adults inasmuch as, quite aside from the taboos barring the uninitiated, children cannot comprehend these meanings fully until after early adolescence. Granted that games, observation, and conversation serve as an introduction to adult symbolic structures, the inculcation of these is weak and partial. Certainly this line of thought would reject the unconscious learning asserted by the Freudians to occur during the first several years of life.

Initiation ceremonies are viewed as a mechanism for maintaining the consensus of the males. If the boys did not undergo initiation or if some were allowed to avoid it, the male definition of the situation might be distorted or weakened. It is for this reason that initiation is required of all boys in a community. The ceremony insures conformity by involving the candidate in an intense co-operation with men in the symbolic process. Initiation is the first and perhaps most memorable step in a continued participation in an organized symbolic structure. So long as a man participates in it, the social meanings he has internalized remain strong and he plays his sex role with confidence in diverse situations. The rituals themselves only remind him of what it means to be a man in his society; in themselves they contain no meaning. On this view circumcision is not different in kind from a gift, a new name a dance, etc. It differs in degree only insofar as its acquisition has a more dramatic and emotional context. Thus, almost anything can figure in the initiation ceremony. The sound of a bull roarer or some test of endurance have an intrinsic dramatic quality. Lacking such, the effect may be heightened by hiring a specialist to direct the ceremony or by encouraging the women to wail.

An initial implication of this conception of initiation ceremonies is that empirical work on ritual must allow for the wide variety of symbolic contents: it may not be limited to particular customs. More generally, it suggests that other rituals might profitably be viewed in terms of a dramaturgical framework. The essence of this approach, it should be noted, is the analysis of the function of rituals for groups, not individuals.

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COMMENT

JOHN W. M. WHITING

Frank W. Young is to be commended for giving us a new understanding of the function of male initiation rites at puberty. He has convincingly demonstrated the strong relationship between such rites and the presence of exclusive male organizations in a society. Furthermore, his interpretation that the function of the rites is, in part at least, to dramatize and make explicit the male role in contrast to that of woman's, is quite plausible.

I also commend his attempt to challenge previous interpretations. It is in this way, in my opinion, that science advances. I do not feel, however, that he has successfully refuted all culture and personality studies that have used events in childhood as indicators of personality.

With specific reference to the Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony study,[1] Mr. Young has quite properly attempted to discover the relative merits of his male solidarity hypothesis and what he has labeled the "disruptive emotions" hypothesis advanced by Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony. He has done this by showing the effect of the predicting variable for each hypothesis with the other held constant. By this procedure he has shown that the relationship of male initiation to male solidarity is stronger than to either exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangements or the *post partum* sex taboo. This is well and good, but I think he has become a little overenthusiastic when he claims that if exclusive male organizations are held constant there is no relationship at all between the childhood factors and male initiation rites. If one looks at his Table 1, this statement is true only when exclusive male organizations are present. Where they are absent there is still a significant relation between the child-rearing variables and initiation rites.

More importantly, however, as far as the more general question of the validity of the culture and personality theory goes, Mr. Young has completely neglected to take into account the functional equivalents to both antecedent and consequent variables presented in the Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony paper. These alternatives are: (1) that change of residence at adolescence is a functional equivalent to male initiation rites, and (2) that the absence of a father's authority over a child, as is the case in certain matrilocal societies, is the functional equivalent of exclusive sleeping arrangements and the *post partum* sex taboo. Since Mr. Young has not published the names of the tribes in his Table 1, it is impossible to conclude as to the relative merits of the "male solidarity" hypothesis or the "disruptive emotions" hypothesis as modified by the above assumptions. However, it seems evident that the most plausible interpretation is that both relationships are strong and valid.

As Mr. Young has indicated in his paper, Whiting and his associates have abandoned the "disruptive emotions" hypothesis or at least drastically modified it. They now argue that insofar as male initiation rites are designed to curb disruptive emotions it is those emotions arising from a male youth's conflict as to his sex identity and his consequent need to prove himself a man by exhibiting aggressive and antisocial behavior. This interpretation was suggested as an alternative in the Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony article. "If, however, the mother herself is perceived by the child as the one responsible for terminating the early intense relationship, this should lead the boy to both envy her and identify with her. This should produce conflict with respect to his sex role identity, which initiation rites would serve to resolve."[2] The function of male initiation rites are seen as a cultural means of establishing and confirming male identity. The two hypotheses differ in specifying the conditions under which such confirmation is necessary. Mr. Young argues that the rites are necessary in societies which are characterized by a high degree of male solidarity. Mr. Young tentatively suggests that such a need should occur in middle-level societies, but his argument here is neither convincing nor supported by evidence. I would argue that both male solidarity and male initiation rites are a consequence of conflict in sex identity engendered in infancy and early childhood, and evidence in support of this is presented in two of the papers[3] men-

[1] J. W. M. Whiting, R. C. Kluckhohn, and A. Anthony, "The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies at Puberty," in E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 369.

[3] John W. M. Whiting, "Socialization Process and Personality," in Francis L. K. Hsu (ed.), *Psychological Anthropology* (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1961); Roger V. Burton and J. W. M. Whiting, "The Absent Father and Cross-sex Identity," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, VII (1961), 20.

tioned in Mr. Young's article and more extensively in a forthcoming monograph on cross-sex identity which includes both cross-cultural and cross-individual evidence. If one looks at Mr. Young's Table 1 with the view that both male solidarity and male initiation are consequences of conflict in sex identity, it will be seen that exclusive male organizations are nearly as strongly associated with mother-son sleeping arrangements and the postnatal sex taboo as they are to initiation rites.

Mr. Young has attempted to justify a reverse direction of causation by suggesting that exclusive male organizations cause polygyny which in turn causes the absence of the father and hence exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangements and the *post partum* sex taboo. He has presented data to support this in Table 3. The relation between polygyny and mother-infant relationships shown in the table is partly the consequence of scoring procedures. Societies where the polygynous wives sleep separately and the husband rotates between them have been coded as having exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangements since the father shares the bed no more than half the time and usually not at all if there is a *post partum* sex taboo. The relation between exclusive male organizations and polygyny, however, is not significantly significant; in fact it is virtually non-existent. It can be seen from Mr. Young's Table 3 that only eight of the twenty-one societies with 20 per cent polygyny have exclusive male organizations whereas nearly as many, six of twenty, monogamous societies have male organizations. Thus the reverse direction suggested by Mr. Young is not supported by empirical evidence but rather the culture and personality hypothesis shown in the diagram at the bottom of the page.

Mr. Young cannot accept this causal connection because he rejects the whole Freudian and culture and personality approach. This is, of course, his privilege. But the evidence in favor of this view is to me quite convincing, much more so than the oft-cited critiques of this approach by Sewell and Orlansky, Lindesmith, and Strauss, referred to by Mr. Young. Leaving aside recent clinical and psychological studies which have shown the effect of child-rearing upon personality, the many recent cross-cultural studies that have shown relations between child-rearing and other aspects of culture are too numerous to be convincingly refuted by Mr. Young's study. Many of these studies have been reviewed recently by the present author.[4] They include, in addition to those referred to in Mr. Young's paper, Spiro and D'Andrade,[5] Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf,[6] Barry,[7] Whiting and Child,[8] Stephens,[9] Friendly,[10] Ayres,[11] Whiting,[12] and Whit-

Polygyny → { Exclusive mother son sleeping / *Post partum* sex taboo } { ↗Exclusive male organizations / ↘Initiation rites

[4] Whiting, "Socialization Process and Personality," *op. cit.*

[5] Melford E. Spiro and Roy G. D'Andrade, "A Cross-cultural Study of Some Supernatural Beliefs," *American Anthropologist*, LX No. 3 (1958), 456–66.

[6] William W. Lambert, Leigh M. Triandis, and Margery Wolf, "Some Correlates of Beliefs in the Malevolence and Benevolence of Supernatural Beings: A Cross-cultural Study," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. LVIII, No. 2 (1958).

[7] Herbert A. Barry, "Relationships between Child Training and the Pictorial Arts," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LIV (1957), 380–83.

[8] John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, *Child Training and Personality* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953).

[9] William N. Stephens, *The Oedipus Complex: Cross-cultural Evidence* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961).

[10] Joan P. Friendly, "A Cross-cultural Study of Ascetic Mourning Behavior" (honors thesis [typescript], Radcliffe College, 1956).

[11] Barbara C. Ayres, "Personality Determinants of Food and Sex Taboos during Pregnancy" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1954).

[12] John W. M. Whiting, "Sorcery, Sin and the Superego: A Cross-cultural Study of Some Mech-

ing *et al.*[13]

The difference in the basic assumptions between these so-called culture and personality studies and the standard sociological or functional anthropological studies has been hinted at by Mr. Young but, I think, should be made clear. What I would like to call somewhat unfairly "old-fashioned functionalism" assumed that culture serves the psychobiological needs of "natural man" and that such needs are universal and a part of human nature. In addition to these psychobiological needs rooted in the individual, there are structural needs or prerequisites which account for variations in other aspects of a culture but do not presume any fundamental psychological difference in the nature of the individual members of the society in question.

The basic assumptions of the culture and personality approach are quite different. Starting with a similar assumption as to the basic psychological needs of man they assume that there are other equally coercive or perhaps even more compelling needs that arise from early life experiences. Such needs may be a strong fear of failure and a need to achieve to compensate for it, an overpowering sense of guilt, a strong distrust of others, or in the present instance a conflict in one's sex identity.

If a reasonable majority of the members of a society are brought up in such a way as to have one or another of these conflicts, it is assumed by the proponents of the culture and personality approach that there will be institutions developed by the society to help its members resolve these conflicts either by protecting them from events which will evoke them or by re-education (initiation ceremonies) or by providing socially approved means of denying them or acting them out.

It is further assumed that these conflicts are usually unconscious, that is to say, that the members of the society are not aware of them and cannot put them into words. Furthermore, it is assumed that parents often have no intention of inducing such conflicts in their children and would avoid it if they knew what they were doing.

Clearly the issue between these two approaches cannot be resolved by a single study but I think that Mr. Young is to be strongly commended for bringing this issue to the fore so that it can be debated.

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anisms of Social Control," in *Symposium on Motivation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959).

[13] John W. M Whiting, H. F. Antonovsky, E. H Chasdi, and B. C. Ayres, "The Learning of Values," in E. Z. Vogt and J. M Roberts (eds), *The Peoples of Rimrock*, Vol. I ("Final Report of the Harvard Values Study" [Evanston, Ill: Row Peterson, in press]).

REJOINDER

FRANK W. YOUNG

Since the central issues of this debate depend on the first and third tables in the article, I shall comment briefly on several important, but less crucial, points. First, I realize that even a successful rejection of this Freudian-derived hypothesis would only raise doubts about the rest of the theory and findings, but I did want to bring the larger framework into the debate in order that the character of these doubts might be examined. Second, I intended that my discussion of middle-level societies and warfare should indicate the direction that research can take. Actually my findings on these "ecological" determinants were not included inasmuch as they would have doubled the length of the paper. Third, I disregarded the functional equivalents that Professor Whiting mentions because most of the variance and his basic theory depend on the child-training items. I felt it was important in a paper of this sort to avoid too many bypaths, although in fact my other results do throw doubt on one of

the functional equivalents--the change of residence at adolescence. Finally, I did not publish the coding for the variables because I intend to include the complete code and detailed indentifications of the communities in a longer publication.

Whiting, in criticizing the data, feels that I am "a little overenthusiastic" in interpreting Table 1 as showing no relationship between the childhood factors and initiation when male organization is controlled. But Whiting himself admits that the association dissolves when male organization is present, and the lower part of the table should not offer much encouragement. I feel that lambda is a more appropriate statistic for these data than chi square, and in this case lambda is zero for both subtables. However, I confess that I, too, did not find the lower half of Table 1 entirely satisfactory. I was surprised to see even the three cases turn up in favor of Whiting's hypothesis. But now I am happy to report that I have found a way to get rid of even these.

Whiting makes a significant statement when he mentions (in discussing Table 3) that there is a built-in association between polygyny and mother-infant intimacy due to coding separate wives' quarters, a *post partum* taboo and a rotating husband as an exclusive mother-son arrangement. Given the inadequate data in the ethnographies, I can understand this decision, but it leads to difficulties. The fact is that if only direct evidence of exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangements is accepted, the three cases that favor the disruptive emotion hypothesis (lower half of Table 1) melt to one, and there is no significance even by chi-square. As will become clear from the discussion below, the effect of coding the combination of rotating husband, separate wives' quarters and a *post partum* taboo as exclusive mother-son sleeping is to build in the male solidarity variable.

Recoding the exclusive mother-son sleeping pattern so as to exclude polygyny also has a marked effect on Table 3, a new version of which is presented in Table 4. Two important facts are evident. First, the absent-father family pattern as I would prefer to call the combination of the two childhood items --tends to appear only when polygyny and male organization are both present. Second (and rearranging the table accordingly), male organization tends to appear only when both polygyny and the absent-father pattern are present. This enables us to conclude, contrary to the line of argument proposed in Whiting's diagram, that the "childhood factors" are not predictors of male organization nor does polygyny alone adequately account for their presence. In summary, then Table 4, together with the revision of Table 1, rejects all the predictions in the theoretical diagram. Rather, these relationships suggest that male solidarity leads to initiation rites, that solidarity combined with polygyny leads to the absent-father family pattern, and that there is no association between such a pattern and initiation ceremonies. Thus:

TABLE 4*

RELATION OF FATHER'S SEPARATION FROM NURSING WIFE TO EXTENT OF POLYGYNY AND PRESENCE OF EXCLUSIVE MALE ORGANIZATION†

Extent of Polygyny	[illegible] Wife: Yes	[illegible] Wife: No
Exclusive male organization present		
Polygyny, 20 per cent or more	5	2
Limited polygyny, under 20 per cent	3	1
Monogamy	1	5
Total	9	8
Exclusive male organization absent		
Polygyny, 20 per cent or more	2	8
Limited polygyny, under 20 per cent	2	8
Monogamy	0	14
Total	4	30

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

→ Male initiation

Interaction of {Male organization, Polygyny} → Absent father family pattern

These interrelations may be explained as follows: polygyny and male solidarity are mutually functional in that women can compensate with their work for the nonproductive activity of the males and at the same time give each other aid and moral support when the husband is not around. Alternately, only when a man has plural wives can he absent himself to a great extent from the domestic establishment and still maintain it, and only because of the demands of the male group are there reasons to be away or so preoccupied.

There is much more that could be said on these points, but two anthropologists have already taken up too much space in a sociology journal. Let me add only that Whiting and I heartily agree on at least one principle: research should be cumulative. And progress is even easier when one investigator is willing to smooth the path for the second, as Whiting has so generously done for me on more than one occasion.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUPS[1]

VLADIMIR C. NAHIRNY

ABSTRACT

The interpretive schemes hitherto advanced in sociology do not account for the character of social relations found in ideological groups, that is, in groups which require that their members orient themselves to one another primarily in terms of some central symbols and ideas be they those of Zion patrie, *Volk*, *narod*, or proletariat. Drawing upon historical evidence this essay explores and tentatively conceptualizes the basic modalities of ideological relationship and orientation

Undue reliance has been placed in the sociological literature upon the common dichotomies *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and their many contemporary variations; yet ample evidence suggests that these antithetical types present "conceptual obstacles" to the fruitful analysis of a myriad of social groups and, indeed, impede the development of a satisfactory group taxonomy. This condition is in part derived from the tacit assumption that these logically exclusive schemes are also empirically exhaustive: they supposedly establish outer limits within which all other transitional and intermediate social entities fall.

To be sure, no such refined ordering and comprehending of intermediate social relationships and groups was ever accomplished. Something patently different occurred: all imaginable social groups kinship and friendship, religious orders and ideological circles, corporate bodies and large-scale associations, totalitarian movements and political parties came increasingly to approach either *Gemeinschaft* or *Gesellschaft*-like formations. The shifting images of a society as a whole are in many ways the outgrowth of this tradition of typing social groups antithetically. Suffice it to recall a handful of such terms as "atomization," "depersonalization," "bureaucratization," "mass culture," and "mass society" that loomed so large in sociology some two decades or so ago. These and similar expressions evoke an image of modern society characterized by an increased division of labor and specialization of functions, by rootlessness and anonymity of many of its members. More recently with the "rediscovery" of small primary groups, the allegedly mounting tide of *Vergesellschaftung* has been successfully averted. Relationships formerly considered to be impersonal and formal were found to be intricately interwoven with an infinite network of personal and intimate ones. Conditions previously viewed as disorganized and anomic were then found to be permeated by small personal groups -cliques and gangs Even mass culture was personalized by intervening variables of personal influence and primary contacts In brief, the wasteland of anonymity and anomie was more and more likened to one big playground filled with "peers," "buddies," or simply friends ever eager to respond to sociometric queries The reader of sociological literature may also learn that the ties binding the members of religious sects and ideological movements are not unlike those found in small personal groups. In analyzing, for example, the relationship between the intensity of conflict and the frequency of interaction in personal primary groups, on the one hand, and formal associations on the other, Coser resorts to the following argument:

> In groups that appeal only to a peripheral part of their members personality, or, to use Parson s terminology in groups in which relations are functionally specific and affectively neutral, conflicts are apt to be less sharp and violent than in groups wherein ties are diffuse and affective, engaging the total personality of

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made for the encouragement and counsel of Professor Edward A Shils

their members. In effect, this suggests that conflicts in groups such as Rotary Clubs or Chambers of Commerce are likely to be less violent than in groups such as religious sects or radical parties of the Communist type.[2]

The main thesis of this essay is that there are distinct social groups which are qualitatively different from personal and functional ones. These are groups which make their members relate to one another in the light of ideas and beliefs rather than in the light of personal qualities or specific functions which they perform. If this assumption is correct, neither the traditional dichotomies nor the more recent pattern variables can adequately account for them. To the extent that the pattern variables are but an elaboration upon *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* they pertain at best to personal groups and functional associations. A serious difficulty emerges as soon as one applies the same conceptual tools to the analysis of ideological groups and totalitarian movements of the Communist type. To suggest that the ties which bind the members of ideological groups are diffuse, that they are "strongly affective, intimate, 'organic' "[3] is to equate them inadvertently with such personal groups as friendship or the family. Would it not be more proper to question the adequacy of these concepts rather than to apply them indiscriminately to an ever widening range of social phenomena?

Such a difficulty was faced by this writer in his study of the small ideological circles that mushroomed on the Russian social scene during the second half of the nineteenth century. These circles have also been traditionally conceived as small friendship cliques of young men and women carrying on an uneven struggle against the autocracy and working disinterestedly for the liberation of *narod* (Russian word for "people") and proletariat. A careful scrutiny of biographies, memoirs, programs, and other sources reveals a strikingly different picture. They neither were, nor were they meant to be by their founders and members, personal cliques of political and social outcasts. What were they then?

IDEOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

It is one of the most striking and general features of ideological groups that they frown upon and oppose vehemently any display of personal affective attachments among their members. Ideally, members of ideological groups are expected to avoid familiarity and to forego willingly all familial attachments and personal ties for the sake of some such central symbols and collectivities as socialism, revolution, people, or proletariat. The few individuals who tend to form personal ties within and without the ideological group are suspected and, indeed, find themselves standing apart from the rest of the members. They belong, to cite one writer, to the category of those to whom the ideological group cannot become "country, family, everything."[4] One such member in the Land and Freedom organization was characterized in this way:

> Many features of his character were the cause of it, his sarcastic and sometimes haughty bearing. . . . But the main reason, it seems to me, was the fact that Alexander Ivanovich underestimated the moral qualities of those he was in contact with and this was felt instinctively by others. He loved some, but *not all;* valued some, but *not all.* In the meantime, if I am correct, all of us in our friendly relations did not *individualize*—for us the knowledge that one is a man totally committed to the revolutionary cause and is ever ready to offer for it his liberty and life—evoked love to him, created a certain emotional nimbus around him.[5]

Continuing on the same theme, the same writer deemed it necessary to add that "be-

[2] Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill : Free Press, 1956), pp. 68-69.

[3] Michael S. Olmstead, *The Small Group* (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 59

[4] S Kravchinsky (Stepniak), *Underground Russia* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1892), . 68.

[5] Vera Figner, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii* (Moscow, 1928), V, 215.

tween him and other distinguished revolutionists there did not exist close relations . . . he could not fuse with them and did not admit of *full revolutionary intimacy*."[6]

A mere glance at such expressions as "individualize" and "full revolutionary intimacy" points to the unique type of relationship supposed to exist among the members of Land and Freedom. Basically, they all relate to that particular individual's failure to make his attachment to other members transferable and universalistic. Yet love and close friendly relationship entail individualization; they presuppose that an attachment be particularized. In the Land and Freedom organization, however, this same differential response and the accompanying tendency to individualize undermined "full revolutionary intimacy" and also precluded the establishment of close friendly relations. May it not be that the so-called revolutionary intimacy has nothing in common with the intimate interpersonal relationship between friends or between husband and wife? That this is the case can be gauged by the attitude toward those few individuals who, like one of them, "loved women and was loved in turn,"[7] or like another who "loved all the passions and charms of life" and followed the dictum: "life was given to us in order to live it."[8] Significantly enough, these few individuals of "unusual spiritual physiognomy" were singled out because their relationship to "women-revolutionists was completely different from other friends."[9] Whereas most of the members displayed "simple friendship," these exceptional ones "dispersed sparkles, followed and pursued, attempted to satisfy whims, evoked caprices and laughter."[10] To put it succinctly, their uniqueness lay in the fact that they responded to women as women, that they introduced spontaneity and permitted personal feelings to enter into the relationship. Because of this they were scarcely desirable individuals in those circles. "One such man can be in our party, two is still possible to retain, but three of them is impossible."[11] It is far from paradoxical, therefore, that the exemplary type of individual who best fitted those "close" and "friendly" relations was a young man who was cold and indifferent to the people surrounding him and burned only with "social passion," who "had no family and whom love did not disturb";[12] a young woman who did not have the "slightest trace of the desire which almost every woman has of displaying her beauty" and was "incapable of the spontaneous friendship of young and inexperienced minds."[13] Indeed, they were expected to forget "all ties of kinship and all personal sympathies, love and friendship,"[14] to be emptied of all affective dispositions toward other human beings and of all personal needs and inclinations. It is for this reason that some observers were struck by the very slight account they took of "personal interests connected with their profession, their future, and even of the pleasures which are said to grace the morning of life."[15]

One encounters here an extremely significant phenomenon, the terms "intimacy" and "close" and "friendly" relations connote complete lack of personal intimacy, or personal and affective attachments. More than that, the same intimate and friendly relationships demand that their subjects be deprived of all "romanticisms, all sensitivity and enthusiasms," that they be inimical to all private considerations, "personal hatred," that they refuse to allow themselves to be guided by personal impulses, that

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Kravchinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[8] Figner, *op. cit.*, I, 191.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Kravchinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[14] Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: International Publishers, 1927), p. 180.

[15] Kravchinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

they obliterate "all the soft and tender affections arising from kinship, friendship, and love,"[16] so much so that the members of the same "fraternal groups" should have "no personal inclinations, no business affairs, no emotions, no attachments, no property, and no name."[17]

Formulated in general terms, ideological groups require, first of all, that their members divest themselves of all personal ties and attachments. More specifically, they demand that their members obliterate completely the sphere of privacy and lay bare all their innermost feelings and desires. This is achieved through the revolutionary intimacy which makes it possible to control "every little weakness, every lack of devotion to the cause."[18] There reigns thus a complete internal publicity and a total secrecy with reference to the surrounding world. One of the leading members of the Will of the People organization left this injunction in his testament:

> I enjoin you, brothers, to keep guard over each other in every practical activity, in all the small concerns of everyday life. It is necessary that this guarding should enter into the conscience and thus turn itself into a principle, that it should cease to seem offensive, that personal considerations should be silenced before the demands of reason. It is necessary for all the closest friends to know how a man lives, what he wears, how he takes notes and what kind of notes he takes, how careful, observant, and resourceful he is—in this is our power, in this is the perfection of the activities of our organization.[19]

It is not surprising, then, that ideological groups preclude any manifestation of personal sentiment, any display of genuine intimacy and affectivity. These are most likely to thrive in the sphere of privacy. Indeed, the more intense the "revolutionary intimacy" between the members of ideological groups, the less likelihood there is that personal sentiments of liking or disliking will appear. The personal intimacy is thus inversely related to the ideological one, that is to say, the reassertion of the former is indicative of the weakening of the latter.

The same observations may be recast somewhat differently in terms of the interrelations between interaction and sentiment. It is well known that Homans has advanced several "analytical statements" about the behavior of human groups based on these and one additional concept, activity. One of them, for example, states "that the more frequent the interaction between people, the stronger in general their sentiments of liking or affection for one another."[20] A positive relationship, in other words, exists between interaction and the sentiment of affection. In ideological groups, on the other hand, the personal sentiment tends to increase with the decrease of in-group interaction. For it is precisely those individuals to whom the ideological group cannot become "country, family, everything," who cannot merge themselves completely with other members of the ideological group, who do not admit of "full revolutionary intimacy," who form personal affective attachments with outsiders, are prone to individualize, to stand aloof, to like some and dislike others, and, indeed, to display personal sentiments of affection toward other members of the same ideological group. Those individuals, in contrast, who intensely interact with other members of an ideological group, who, in

[16] These and similar demands contained in the *Revolutionary Catechism* should in no way be attributed, as has been traditionally done, to the personal aberrations of Nechaev and his elderly friend Bakunin. In fact, the by-laws of the Executive Committee of the Will of the People organization consist of well-nigh identical requirements (see Robert Payne, *The Terrorists: The Story of the Forerunners of Stalin* [New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1957], p. 22).

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[18] Kravchinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[19] B. Basilevich (ed.), *Literatura Partii Narodnoi Voli* (Paris, 1905), p. 972. In addition to spying, the ideological groups resort also to public confessions, e.g., the technique of *éruption* and purification employed by the Jacobins.

[20] George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950), p. 444.

fact, confine their whole relationship to the small circle of zealots and are completely insulated from the surrounding world, are least prone to individualize and thus evolve sentiments of personal affection for one another. They are, in effect, those who develop "full revolutionary intimacy."

One may continue arguing along these lines by selecting other similar "analytical statements" about human groups. But even this single illustration clearly shows that at best they summarize some of the uniformities found in personal groups—be they those in the Bank Wiring Room or in some other friendship cliques. Moreover, it also suggests that the very concepts which enter into the formulation of such hypotheses as (1) the greater the interaction, the greater the sentiments of affection, or (2) the closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict, will have to be redefined and clarified anew. This clarification and redefinition are necessary because the nature of interaction, cohesion, conflict, and, indeed, sentiments of affection in small personal groups is most likely to be qualitatively different from that in ideological groups or even religious sects. Unless this takes place, sociologists will undoubtedly continue to argue that the splits and disruptions in both the family and ideological groups are to be explained by close affective and diffuse relationship. In doing so, they will disregard the distinction that ideologists themselves draw between their own brand of "simple friendship" and personal friendship, between their own "revolutionary intimacy" and genuine intimacy. Even more, they will be unable to account for the extreme suspicion and hatred that ideological groups display toward any manifestation of personal affectivity among their members.

MODALITIES OF IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

In what follows an attempt will be made to identify tentatively the basic components of ideological orientation and also to show wherein they differ from personal and functional ones. First, ideological orientation is *total*—involving a response to the whole person as nothing but a belief-possessed being. Phrased differently, members of ideological groups respond to ideas and beliefs as if these were qualities of persons rather than objects of cognitive or appreciative orientation and, conversely, conceive of themselves as solely the carriers of ideas, not the possessors of various personal qualities. The end result of this orientation is of far-reaching consequence: ideas and beliefs become "personalized" and human beings "ideologized."

Ideological orientation is thus total in a twofold sense. It is total because it is all-inclusive and requires that the individuals empty themselves of all personal interests and identifying attributes, forgetting even their names, and act and respond to one another solely in terms of their symbolic significance. It is also total because it is exclusive of multiple-group loyalty and, as such, demands that the individuals sever all personal ties and primordial attachments and, indeed, stand outside all normal social ramifications.[21]

Second, idealogical orientation is *dichotomous*. This dichotomy is deeply imbedded in ideological orientation and is expressed on several levels. It is expressed, first of all, in the so-called authoritarian syndrome characterized by the intolerance of

It is evident that membership in an ideologized group presupposes a particular type of man. On the level of personality, he is an individual completely integrated and [illegible]. Whenever he acts he acts not to satisfy his "personal passions, but for mankind in general;" whatever he says he says "from principle and not from passion, from conviction and not from personal desire." On the level of interaction, such a man is one and indivisible. He is "throughout his life, in all the spheres of his life and activity, in all his acts decisively consistent and devoid of conflicting qualities." To speak metaphorically, an ideologist is dressed on all occasions in one and the same attire, and, as a result, is bent on playing only one master role: that of a man of convictions. He may, of course, change his article of faith, he may also worship different deities—mankind, *narod*, proletariat—but he is nonetheless intensely attached to his faith, boundlessly devoted to his gods, and totally committed to their service.

ambiguity and rigid all-or-nothing formulas. More basically, it is a dichotomous orientation because it conceives of the social universe in terms of black and white, hopelessly divided into two irreconcilable parts—one part of it to be collectively saved, another collectively destroyed. Consequently, it gives rise, as one member of the Will of the People remarked, to a kind of primitive morality, to two sets of directly opposed rules for approaching and judging the people.

In a moral sense I discover plainly that the ideas of Lavrov lead merely in some degree to a revival of a quite primitive, imperfect kind of morality. Instead of a universal brotherhood and a higher justice which governs all private interests (including those of the circles), Lavrov revives the Old Testament circlelike solidarity. According to this, within the circle (or party) the closest relations develop, but all the rest, the external world so to speak, represents some *goys* and *giaours;* it comes about that they are looked upon as enemies, as *nemtsy, nemy* (the dumb) with whom the Lavrovs cannot communicate (there is no common language). No doubt, this external world they have in mind to save, but in the first place, as a collectivity, as mankind, while individuals who come under the heading of "enemies of socialism" have no right to expect justice. In their attitude towards the latter, as is evident from the above, the revolutionists permit themselves to drop all ideas of honor. In the matter of "saving," neither honesty nor regard is shown to the external world.[22]

The persistent attempts made by ideological groups to draw clear-cut bounds between themselves and the hostile world reflect this dualistic orientation. The clearer such a line of demarcation, the more intense are the hatred and suspicion of the outside world and, consequently, the more cohesive the ideological group. This external world to be hated *in toto* is identified, as a rule, in terms of social entities (*narod*, proletariat) destined to be collectively saved. It is as if ideological groups could thrive only as long as there were objects to be hated—be they real or imaginary.

Third, ideological orientation precludes seeing a human being as a composite of personal ascribed qualities and performances. These aspects of individual human beings have no meaning in ideological relationships. In other words, ideologists neither value each other for what they are nor for what they achieve as individual persons. Ideally, they are completely deindividualized, and by renouncing all personal qualities, conceive of themselves as nothing but the carriers of beliefs. To the extent that they do this, the most important criterion is *commitment*. Once it is known that an individual is totally committed to a set of beliefs and is ever ready to die for them, he is showered, as has been pointed out, with "love" and also endowed with an "emotional nimbus."

Finally, ideological orientation precludes a direct affective disposition toward human beings. Tyrannical to themselves and to others, the individuals in an ideological relationship attempt to subdue, if not entirely to eliminate, any direct expression of personal affection. At the same time, it is not an affectively neutral orientation. In fact, ideologists channel all personal passions and emotions on to the collective cause they cherish. Human beings share in this *displaced* and *collective affectivity* to the extent to which they are its vessels. It is thus a profoundly antipersonalists orientation, characterized by an all-pervasive insensitivity to the needs and sufferings of concrete human beings—be they peasants or workers. "Not the concrete and real peasant," observed one populist writer, "attracted all our attention, was liked by us, made us ready to sacrifice everything decisively for the sake of improving his life—we wished well to and loved the abstract peasant. More than that, we feared the peasant closest to us, and so to speak perceptible."[23] Far from being the Christian *caritas*, this kind of love for collective en-

[22] Lev Tikhomirov, *Pochemu ia perestal byt Revolutsionerom* (Moscow, 1896), pp. 108 9.

[23] Lev Deich, *Za Polveka* (Berlin, 1923), II, 67.

tities—*narod* or proletariat— may go hand in hand with extreme contempt for individual peasants and workers. It is safe to assert, indeed, that in terms of the displaced affectivity described above, ideologists are not inconsistent when they suffer and die for people, and also exclaim in the same breath that concrete human beings are nothing to them, that the cause of the "people" is everything. It is even doubtful whether they are inconsistent when, on the one hand, they deceive individual peasants by forging manifestoes, and terrorize human beings en masse, and on the other hand, convince themselves and others that they are servants of the same "people," working disinterestedly for their welfare and liberty.

The four components of ideological orientation have been tentatively identified by way of a contrast with the well-known conceptual scheme of the pattern variables. Thus, totality and displaced-collective affectivity are contrasted with the two "attitudinal" variables of diffuseness-specificity and affectivity-neutrality; dichotomy and commitment, in turn, with the two "object categorization" variables of particularism-universalism and quality-performance. Whatever the implications of this procedure, the significant point is that the very decision to introduce the four key concepts named above was based primarily on hard facts brought to light in the process of studying several ideological groups and movements. These facts could be neither meaningfully interpreted nor coherently related in terms of the pattern variables. Needless to add, the value of this ideal model is that of any constructive typology --the capacity to relate in a meaningful fashion hitherto unrelated facts.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL IDEOLOGICAL GROUPS

The four components of ideological orientation can be most likely expressed through diverse organizational structures. This is readily recognized when one compares, for example, the internal structure of a small group of belief-ridden zealots with that of a centralized ideological movement of the Communist type. Wherein does this difference lie?

One way of approaching this structural differentiation is to specify the basic difficulty that constantly besets small ideological groups. Evidence exists that such groups are impelled from within to degenerate with time into friendship cliques in which the spontaneous flow of emotion and personal likes and dislikes reassert themselves. It is known, for example that ideologists indulge recurrently in so-called little banquets at which they pour out their hearts to each other. "This need of giving unrestrained expression to feeling, so natural among people allied more by community of effort, ideas and dangers, than by ties of blood, communicated to these rare gatherings something poetical and tender, which rendered them beyond measure attractive."[24] It is also known that behind the façade of ideological asceticism there tend also to evolve personal ties between men and women who are members of the same circles. As one of them readily admitted a few decades later: "When I look back at that period of my life, I recall that among the people surrounding me there were quite a few couples in love and that many of those couples culminated their intimate relations in marriage."[25] Finally, this same personal factor is manifest in the mode of recruitment of new members into small ideological circles. Available evidence suggests that they cannot but rely exclusively upon mutual confidence and individual acquaintance and contacts.

To obviate the danger of relapse into the sphere of privacy and thus secure ideological identity and organizational continuity, small ideological circles resort to what might be called "bureaucratization." It is of interest here to note that this very move

[24] Kravchinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[25] N. A. Morozov, *V Nachale Zhizni* (Moscow 1907), p. 176.

split the Land and Freedom organization into two opposing factions. One of them contended that new members ought to be recruited on the basis of personal acquaintance and confidence; the other insisted that impersonal consideration of the individual's integrity and usefulness should suffice for acceptance into the organization. Underlying this particular disagreement, however, was the central problem of the "progressive elaboration of the superior type of organization" upon which "revolutionary continuity" and the successful accumulation of "revolutionary experience" depend.[26] This superior type of organization was to recruit new members not on the basis of personal confidence but on the basis of prescribed rules for expressing confidence or lack of it; it was to regulate, in an explicitly stated manner, the duties of its members; it was to be centralized and thus capable of co-ordinating the activities of dispersed circles; and finally, it was also to be hierarchically structured and disciplined.[27]

Such "bureaucratization" of the organizational structure notwithstanding, the ideological character of the groups remains intact. True enough, they are built upon the principle of hierarchy and a consistent system of formalized rules, but they are most certainly different from any functional associations. It matters little, of course, what names one gives to these two types of ideological groups. They may be conveniently called here, respectively, ideological informal and ideological formal groups. The important point is that they not be confused with personal groups or functional associations. Ideological formal groups do not admit in the fashion of the latter either the separation of public and private spheres of life, or the clear-cut segregation of the individual's roles. Their members do not participate in them merely in the capacity of one narrowly defined and functionally specific role of "official." They continue to demand, like informal ideological groups, a total commitment to the cause, which is now authoritatively defined and institutionalized. It is here that they differ strikingly from ideological informal groups. Members of ideological informal groups are recruited on the basis of individual contacts and mutual confidence, members of ideological formal groups on the basis of formal requirements and regulations. The former groups are held together by "inner convictions" of their members, the latter by the organizational structure which has come to embody them. By establishing, as it were, an "immediate rapport" with their ideas, members of ideological informal groups are inwardly compelled to conform to them. Members of ideological formal groups, in the fashion of Lenin's "tribunes," conform primarily to organizational principles. What we witness here is both "formalization" of the organizational structure and "institutionalization" of ideas. The former leads to the rise of professional ideologists; the latter results in the establishment of a doctrine.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing analysis provides us with a vantage point from which we can put into new perspective one type of human group. It hardly needs to be added that no conceptual scheme at present available to sociology can account plausibly for the nature

[26] Figner, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii, op cit.*, I, 107; see also O. V. Aptekman, *Obshchestvo "Zemlia i Volia" 70-kh Godov* (2d. ed ; Moscow, 1924), pp. 194–98.

[27] Viewed from this vantage point, Lenin's organizational proposal was merely an elaboration on that of Land and Freedom. He referred to it with approval on several occasions and explicitly acknowledged his indebtedness to its authors "But the magnificent organization that the revolutionists had in the seventies and which should serve us all as a model, was not formed by the *Narodovolists*, but by the adherents of *Zemlya i Volya*. . . . And only a gross failure to understand Marxism . . . could give rise to the opinion that the rise of a mass movement *relieves* us of the duty of creating as good an organization of revolutionists as *Zemlya i Volya* had in its time, and even a better one" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* [New York: International Publishers, 1929], IV, 208–9).

of the relations extant in ideological groups, religious orders and sects. The very fact that sociologists still continue placing these groups on the continuum of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* lends credence to our contention. The same observation applies with even greater force to such an historical phenomenon as the Russian intelligentsia. It is not without good reason that at least one student of Russian history recently voiced the following complaint: "No recognized system of social analysis, either those known to the intelligentsia itself, or those elaborated since by modern sociology, makes provision for a 'class' held together only by the bond of 'consciousness,' 'critical thought,' or 'moral passion.'"[28]

It remains to be seen what other implications and additional lines of inquiry the approach indicated by this paper may harbor. From what has been said, however, it can be argued on a priori grounds that the category of individuals best fitted to join ideological formations would have to be looked for among those who have no personal responsibility, who have severed for one reason or another all personal attachments and primordial ties, and who are not bound, as adults are, by specific obligations to corporate groups and associations. Ideally, they would be individuals who have left the family of orientation but have not yet established the family of procreation; who have ceased to be dependent children but have not yet become responsible citizens. In short, the category of least responsible people most closely approximating this model is youth On this point there can be hardly any doubt that ideological groups are well-nigh completely monopolized by young people. Yet it is evident also that not every youth in any conceivable social condition is psychologically prepared to substitute love of mankind, *narod*, or some other collective entity for personal affection; that not every youth is ready to accept commitment to the cause and give up, in exchange, attachment to individual persons. Ideally, then, the recruits for ideological groups should not only be young but should also stand outside normal social ramifications. They should be individuals who have lost the sense of personal identity and belonging; that is, they should be socially uprooted and alienated from the surrounding world.

Implicit in the argument above is the assumption that ideological relations provide an ersatz to those people whom the world has deprived of or made insensitive to, personal ones. And although in the present state of our understanding of ideological relations and groups, we are unable to pin down all the ersatz qualities they possess, two of them total immersion within a society of belief-ridden brethren and the accompanying feeling of belonging and meaningfulness are readily evident

NEW YORK CITY

[28] Martin Malia, "What Is the Intelligentsia," *Daedalus*, Summer, 1960, p 445.

MUNICIPAL ANNEXATIONS AND THE GROWTH OF METROPOLITAN SUBURBS, 1950–60[1]

LEO F. SCHNORE

ABSTRACT

In this study, "suburbs" are represented by metropolitan "rings"—those parts of the 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas that lie outside the central cities. Population changes in centers and suburban rings between 1950 and 1960 are examined by means of three different measures For the first time, we are able to take account of the effect of annexation and can see the actual extent to which the expansion of city boundaries tends to mask the amount of "decentralization" or "suburbanization" that has been taking place Considering the nation as a whole, the unadjusted data show that rings grew about four and a half times as fast as the cities they surround, and that these outlying parts of SMSA's captured just over three-fourths of the total increase going to metropolitan areas When adjusted for annexations by central cities, however, the data reveal that the rings grew over forty times as fast as the cities as bounded in 1950, and that the suburban rings captured almost 97 per cent of the total metropolitan increase. Before annexation was taken into account, 64 SMSA's appeared to have been "centralizing," but this number was reduced to eight when city boundaries were held constant.

The growth of metropolitan suburbs in the United States has captured the attention of almost everyone concerned with the description and understanding of the changing American scene. Anyone who lives in or near a large American city—and that describes a majority of us—is at least partially aware of the sheer scale of this massive movement. As Dudley Kirk has observed:

> Everywhere we see the growing place of the metropolis and suburbia in our national life. Perhaps the single most significant demographic series in the whole armamentarium of American population statistics is represented by the following: two generations ago, in 1900, the median American lived in the countryside; by 1930 he lived in a small town of 5,000–10,000 population. Today he lives in a metropolitan area, increasingly in the suburbs, and the country-dweller today is as much in touch with world events and cultural innovation as the city-dweller of yesterday. It is difficult to overstate the revolution this has meant in the average American's way of life.[2]

It is the task of the demographer to supply some of the basic facts concerning this wholesale redistribution of our population; the major trends for the first half of this century have been well described in a series of historical-statistical studies by Thompson, Bogue, and Hawley.[3] Now the availability of data from the 1960 Census of Population permits us to sketch the outlines of the latest chapter in this epic—one that seems almost certain to be continued for some time to come.

The study reported here makes use of final population counts for the 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) delineated by the Bureau of the Budget with the advice of a federal committee composed of representatives of the major federal statistical agencies.[4] We must stress

[1] Revised version of a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, New York City, May 5–6, 1961 The study was supported by the research phase of the University of Wisconsin Urban Program under a grant from the Ford Foundation Jean Smith served capably as a research assistant on this project.

[2] Dudley Kirk, "Some Reflections on American Demography in the Nineteen Sixties," *Population Index*, XXVI (October, 1960), 306.

[3] Warren S. Thompson, *The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States, 1900–1940* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947); Donald J. Bogue, *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900–1950* (Washington, D.C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1953); Amos H. Hawley, *The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

[4] See Office of Statistical Standards, Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget,

the fact that the results are not directly comparable with earlier studies employing the Standard Metropolitan Areas (SMA's) delineated prior to the 1950 Census; not only have a large number of new areas been recognized, but a substantial number of pre-existing SMA's have been altered. This study takes the 1960 SMSA's as given and examines their experience within the last intercensal decade.

Table 1 provides a summary of the major facts concerning recent metropolitan growth in the United States. The 212 metropolitan areas grew almost four times as fast as the rest of the country, and they captured almost 85 per cent of the total national increase. The areas characterized as "metropolitan" in the 1960 Census contained 63 per cent of the country's population, while these same areas held only 59 per cent ten years earlier. Table 1 also summarizes some important aspects of the redistribution of population within broad regions and divisions. A few facts are worth pointing up: (1) The Northeast is the only region in which non-metropolitan areas grew faster than SMSA's; in divisional terms, New England is the only one showing this aberrant pattern. (2) Though all four regions experienced growth in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors, three divisions (the West North Central, East South Central, and West South Central) sustained losses in their non-metropolitan parts. (3) If one regards the percentage point difference between the proportions in SMSA's at the two dates as an index of the speed of metropolitanization, the process is proceeding most rapidly in the South and West, particularly in the West South Central and Mountain divisions.

TABLE 1

INDEXES OF METROPOLITAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN GROWTH, UNITED STATES, 1950-60, BY REGIONS AND DIVISIONS

Census Region and Division	Per Cent Change 1950-60: Total	In SMSA's	Outside SMSA's	[illegible]: In SMSA's	Outside SMSA's	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
United States	18.5	26.4	7.1	84.2	15.8	63.0	59.0	[illegible]
Region								
Northeast	13.2	13.1	13.5	78.5	21.5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
North Central	16.1	23.5	6.5	82.4	17.6	60.1	[illegible]	[illegible]
South	16.5	36.2	[illegible]	90.4	9.6	48.1	[illegible]	[illegible]
West	38.9	48.5	19.4	83.6	16.4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Division								
New England	12.8	12.3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Middle Atlantic	13.3	13.3	13.1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
East North Central	19.2	23.5	11.7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
West North Central	9.5	23.4	0.8	104.7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
South Atlantic	22.6	30.7	8.8	78.5	21.5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
East South Central	5.0	22.6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
West South Central	16.6	38.1	1.1	103.6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mountain	35.1	65.9	15.7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pacific	40.2	45.8	22.6	86.6	13.4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

So much for background. Our major objective is an assessment of differential growth *within* these areas. For present purposes, "suburbs" are represented by metropolitan "rings"—those parts of the SMSA's that lie outside the central cities. As Shry-

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), and the subsequent list of areas released in September, 1960, together with errata and addenda dated September 26, 1960, and November 2, 1960.

ock has observed, this is one operational definition of "suburb" that has been used from time to time, although there is still no standardized meaning attached to the term. "In the literature," he remarks, "*suburb* is used almost as loosely by the social scientist as by the layman."[5] Given the peculiarities of political boundaries, metropolitan rings are manifestly heterogeneous units, and their use can only be defended on the grounds of expediency; subsequent investigations will necessarily employ alternative definitions.[6]

Comparisons of population change within cities and their rings yield only gross results, but they do provide an overview of major shifts in population distribution. One problem that has always proved embarrassing in such comparisons, however, has been the possibility of boundary changes; in particular, annexations by central cities are likely to overstate their growth, and to understate the growth of outlying rings. Fortunately, the 1960 Census of Population yields data that permit an adjustment for this factor: the 1960 populations residing in the 1950 areas are shown for all incorporated places having 2,500 or more inhabitants in 1950.[7] For the first time, then, we are able to take account of the effect of annexation, and we can see the actual extent to which the expansion of city boundaries tends to mask the amount of "decentralization" or "suburbanization" that has been taking place. For this reason, all of the materials presented in this report are shown in two forms—*before* and *after* adjustment for annexations by central cities. Comments on the two series will be made in passing. The fact that 160 out of the 212 areas—or over 75 per cent—were affected by such annexations makes an assessment of the impact of boundary changes almost mandatory.[8]

MEASURES OF SUBURBAN GROWTH

Within the limits of city-ring comparisons, there are three principal indexes of growth that can be employed. All three are affected by annexations on the part of the central city.

1. *Growth rates of metropolitan centers and rings.*—The most common approach to the question of suburban growth involves a simple comparison of rates of population change in the two parts between the beginning and the end of the period of observation. This simple measure percentage increase or decrease—will be employed here for metropolitan areas aggregated in various ways. A disadvantage of this measure is the fact that it is seriously affected by the size of the base population at the beginning of the period of observation. A

[5] Henry S. Shryock, Jr, "Population Redistribution within Metropolitan Areas. Evaluation of Research," *Social Forces,* XXXV (December, 1956), 155.

[6] In "The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs," *American Sociological Review,* XXII (April, 1957), 165–73, I defined metropolitan suburbs operationally as incorporated places of 10,000 or more inhabitants lying within metropolitan rings, and I have also advocated a functional distinction between "Satellites and Suburbs," in *Social Forces,* XXXVI (December, 1957), 121–27. See also Richard A Kurtz and Joanne B. Eicher, "Fringe and Suburb: A Confusion of Concepts," *Social Forces,* XXXVII (October, 1958), 32–37.

[7] These data are shown in Table 9 in the series of state reports PC (1), chap "A" I am very grateful to the Population Division, United States Bureau of the Census, for the provision of photocopies of these tables for all of the state reports that were still being processed for publication at the time that this paper was in preparation (March, 1961), and I am especially indebted to Henry D Sheldon and Gordon F Sutton of the Bureau staff

[8] In an October, 1960, report based on preliminary counts compiled in the 1960 Census field offices, and covering 209 SMSA's, it was stated that "there is evidence that annexation has, in many instances, materially increased the rate of growth of many central cities," but it was noted that "information on the size of the population involved in annexations is not yet available, and therefore the exact effects of this process cannot be determined" (United States Bureau of the Census, "Population of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas 1960 and 1950," *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Preliminary Reports, Population Summaries,* PC (P3)-4 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, October, 1960], p. 4).

modest absolute increase over a small base, for example, will yield a high rate of increase. Its principal advantage is its familiarity.

2. *Shares of metropolitan growth going to centers and rings.*—Another aspect of metropolitan population change is measured by determining the proportions of total metropolitan growth that have been captured by centers and rings respectively during the period of observation. This measure is less useful than the others employed here, especially in the examination of individual SMSA's, which may be losing population. Though it is affected by the proportions found in centers and rings at the beginning of the period of observation, which are, in turn, influenced by the extensiveness of city boundaries, it does make some intuitive sense. It has also become fairly familiar; the Bureau of the Census employs it from time to time, and Bogue has made use of a slight variant in his analyses.[9]

3. *Shifts in the proportion contained in metropolitan rings.*—A third measure is based upon a comparison of the proportions found in metropolitan rings (*a*) at the beginning and (*b*) at the end of the period of observation. Examination of the resulting percentage-point differences permits one to assess the *rate* of redistribution within metropolitan areas. After reviewing the characteristics of a number of possible measures, Bogue and Harris concluded that this is "the best index for measuring the speed of suburbanization."[10] A negative shift in the proportion found in the ring indicates relative "centralization," while a positive difference indicates "decentralization" or "suburbanization."

GENERAL FINDINGS

Table 2 provides some basic descriptive data on recent suburbanization in the United States. Considering the nation as a whole, the unadjusted data in the lower panel indicate that metropolitan rings grew about four and a half times as fast as the cities they surround and that these outlying parts of SMSA's captured just over three-fourths of the total increase going to metropolitan areas. When adjusted for annexation by central cities, however, the upper panel reveals that the rings grew over forty times as fast as the cities as these were bounded in 1950 and that they captured almost 97 per cent of the total metropolitan increase.

Table 2 also shows variations in city and ring growth within the four census regions and the nine census divisions.

Regions.—Even before adjustment, it can be seen that the metropolitan cities of the Northeast were losing population in the aggregate, while those of the North Central region grew only slightly. In the South and West, rings grew twice as rapidly as cities, but cities captured almost half the increase going to southern metropolitan areas and almost one-third of the growth in western SMSA's—at least before the effect of annexation is removed. After adjustment, however, cities of the North Central region are also seen to be losing numbers in the aggregate, and city growth in the South and West is much less marked. Southern and western rings also claim overwhelming shares of total metropolitan growth.

Divisions.—In Table 2, the same indexes of city and ring growth are also shown for the nine census divisions. The noteworthy features of the lower panel—where the unadjusted data are shown—concern the experience of metropolitan areas in the West

[9] See, e.g., Donald J. Bogue, "Urbanism in the United States, 1950," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (March, 1955), 471-86, esp. p. 480, Table 5, and Bogue, *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900-1950*, p. 11, Table 3.

[10] Donald J. Bogue and Dorothy L. Harris, *Comparative Population and Urban Research via Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis: A Methodological Experiment, with an Illustrative Application to the Study of Factors in the Growth and Suburbanization of Metropolitan Population* (Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University, Chicago: Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, 1954), p. 45.

South Central and Mountain divisions. Unlike the other divisions, these two show city growth outstripping that of the ring. Adjustment for annexation dramatically reverses these patterns. While the metropolitan cities of the Mountain division appeared to have captured two-thirds of the total increase in SMSA's, growth within the 1950 city boundaries amounted to only 15 per cent of that increase. Similarly, holding city areas constant in the West South Central division shows that cities captured not three-fourths but less than one-fifth of the total metropolitan growth in the entire division. Finally, the very last column shows that metropolitan areas in these two divisions were not centralizing but decentralizing, and at very rapid rates.

All of the results shown so far have simply documented the fact of gross variations from one part of the country to another. The regions and divisions utilized

TABLE 2

INDEXES OF METROPOLITAN CITY AND RING GROWTH, UNITED STATES 1950–60, BY REGIONS AND DIVISIONS

Census Region and Division	Per Cent Change, 1950–60			Shares of Total Growth		Per Cent of SMSA Population in Rings		
	SMSA's	Cities	Rings	Cities	Rings	1960	1950	Difference
	After Adjustment							
United States..	26.4	1.5	61.6	3.3	96.7	53.0	41.4	11.6
Northeast* .	13.1	−3.3	35.0	−14.2	114.2	51.0	42.7	8.3
New England.	12.3	−3.7	28.9	−15.5	115.5	56.3	49.0	7.3
Middle Atlantic	13.3	−3.1	37.0	−13.9	113.9	49.6	41.0	8.6
North Central*	23.5	−1.6	66.5	−4.3	104.3	49.7	36.9	12.8
East North Central	23.5	−1.4	66.4	−3.8	103.8	49.5	36.8	12.7
West North Central	23.4	−2.2	66.9	−5.8	105.8	50.2	37.1	13.1
South*..........	36.2	5.3	82.1	8.7	91.3	53.8	40.2	13.6
South Atlantic	39.7	2.8	82.0	3.8	96.2	60.7	46.6	14.1
East South Central	22.6	1.0	54.6	2.5	97.5	50.8	40.3	10.5
West South Central	38.1	10.0	101.1	18.1	81.9	45.0	30.9	14.1
West*........	48.5	14.5	84.1	15.3	84.7	60.6	48.9	11.7
Mountain . ..	63.9	16.6	128.4	15.0	85.0	58.9	42.3	16.6
Pacific......	45.8	14.0	77.4	15.3	84.7	60.9	50.0	10.9
	Before Adjustment							
United States	26.4	10.7	48.6	23.7	76.3	48.7	41.1	7.5
Northeast* .	13.1	−3.1	34.9	−13.8	113.8	50.9	42.7	8.2
New England	12.3	−3.3	28.4	−13.6	113.6	56.1	49.0	7.1
Middle Atlantic	13.3	−3.1	37.0	−13.8	113.8	49.5	41.0	8.5
North Central*	23.5	4.3	56.1	11.5	88.5	46.7	36.9	9.8
East North Central	23.5	3.7	57.6	9.8	90.2	46.9	36.8	10.1
West North Central	23.4	6.3	52.5	16.8	83.2	45.9	37.1	8.8
South*... .	36.2	28.4	47.7	47.0	53.0	43.6	40.2	3.4
South Atlantic	39.7	20.9	61.3	28.0	72.0	53.8	46.6	7.2
East South Central	22.6	17.3	30.4	45.8	54.2	42.8	40.3	2.5
West South Central	38.1	11.8	29.9	75.8	24.2	29.0	30.9	−1.9
West*..	48.5	31.4	66.3	33.2	66.8	54.7	48.9	5.8
Mountain....	63.9	73.6	50.6	66.5	33.5	38.9	42.3	−3.4
Pacific... .	45.8	22.8	68.7	24.9	75.1	57.9	50.9	7.9

* Census region

here are those that have been employed for many years by the Bureau of the Census. As such, they offer comparability with other census-based materials, but little else. They are not offered as a set of analytical categories, though they do serve some useful purpose in description. We turn now, however, to two variables which do present some analytical possibilities—size and age.

Size of SMSA.—Table 3 shows the indexes of city and ring growth for metropolitan areas classified by their size in 1960. There is no systematic variation in over-all metropolitan growth with size, but it can be seen in the lower panels that the larger the area, the lower the rate of city growth. Similarly, the larger the area, the higher the rate of ring growth.[11] With respect to shares of metropolitan growth, central cities in the larger areas captured very little of the total increase, most of it going to their suburban rings; the opposite pattern held for the smaller SMSA's, and there is a fairly regular progression in the columns devoted to shares of growth. In the unadjusted data, the last column in the lower panel suggests that suburbanization was proceeding most rapidly in the very largest areas, while the smaller areas were undergoing "centralization," and again there is a systematic progression from one size class to the next. Nevertheless, the adjusted data in the upper panel reveal no such clear-cut patterns. The *general* tendencies described above can still be discerned in every case, but the associations are much less clearly manifested.

Age of central city.—The literature dealing with metropolitan areas contains occasional reference to a concept of "metropol-

[11] Similar relationships, observable in advance census data, were shown in a table in *Population Index*, XXVI (October, 1960), 310. These materials were used as the basis for that issue's cover chart.

TABLE 3

INDEXES OF METROPOLITAN CITY AND RING GROWTH, UNITED STATES 1950–60, BY SIZE OF SMSA IN 1960

[illegible] SMSA in 1960	Per Cent Change, 1950–60			Share of Total Growth		[illegible]		[illegible]
	SMSA's	Cities	Rings	Cities	Rings	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]							
3,000,000 or more	23.2	0.6	72.2	1.7	98.3	44.1	[illegible]	[illegible]
1,000,000–3,000,000	25.0	2.3	52.7	4.5	[illegible]	60.5	[illegible]	11.0
500,000–1,000,000	36.1	4.8	80.0	7.8	92.2	54.0	[illegible]	15.4
250,000–500,000	25.6	2.2	52.0	[illegible]	98.5	50.9	[illegible]	9.9
150,000–250,000	26.7	4.5	53.7	9.3	90.7	54.6	[illegible]	[illegible]
100,000–150,000	24.7	8.3	56.2	13.2	86.8	47.8	[illegible]	9.6
Under 100,000	21.5	8.6	69.9	26.1	73.9	[illegible]	[illegible]	9.4
	Before Adjustment							
3,000,000 or more	23.2	1.0	71.3	2.9	97.1	43.9	51.5	12.4
1,000,000–3,000,000	25.0	5.6	44.7	11.3	88.7	57.4	49.5	7.9
500,000–1,000,000	36.1	21.2	57.0	34.4	65.6	47.9	41.5	6.4
250,000–500,000	25.6	16.1	36.2	33.4	66.6	51.0	47.0	4.0
150,000–250,000	26.7	25.0	28.6	51.7	48.3	45.7	45.0	0.7
100,000–150,000	24.7	23.5	26.6	58.9	41.1	38.8	38.2	0.6
Under 100,000	21.5	29.2	10.8	88.5	11.5	23.0	25.9	2.9

itan maturity." Older and well-established areas presumably reveal different patterns from those observable in newer areas; indeed, these age differences may lie behind some of the patterns to be seen in data organized by size and regional location.[12] In an effort to get at this matter more directly, we have classified SMSA's according to the census year in which their central cities first reached 50,000 in size; in the case of areas with more than one central city, we used the largest city for this purpose. ("Age," of course, is not entirely independent of size.)[13]

Table 4 shows the results. It is worth noting in passing that the areas with older central cities had notably lower rates of over-all growth and that those with newer cities exhibited progressively higher rates of over-all increase between 1950 and 1960. In addition, the lower panel suggests that the older cities themselves have been losing

[12] One need not postulate an evolutionary sequence or a "life cycle" through which entire areas pass in order to expect such differences, for cities have developed in dissimilar technological eras. "Because Southern cities have had their greatest growth during the automobile age," T Stanton Dietrich has observed, "residential areas tend to be dispersed over the countryside, and the extent of this dispersal is probably greater in the South than elsewhere" (see his "Nature and Directions of Suburbanization in the South," *Social Forces,* XXXIX [December, 1960], 182).

[13] The zero-order correlation between (*a*) the number of decades that the 1950 SMA has had a central city of 50,000 or more and (*b*) size of SMA in 1940 was reported to be +.596 by Bogue and Harris, *Comparative Population . . .* , p. 75, Appendix Table II. This measure was also used in Leo F. Schnore, "The Timing of Metropolitan Decentralization: A Contribution to the Debate," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* XXV (November, 1959), 200 206. It is far from perfect, since some cities have "grown" into this size class by annexing territory.

TABLE 4

INDEXES OF METROPOLITAN CITY AND RING GROWTH, UNITED STATES 1950–60, BY "AGE" OF (PRINCIPAL) CENTRAL CITY

Census Year in Which (Principal) Central City First Contained 50,000 Inhabitants	Per Cent Change, 1950 60			Shares of Total Growth		Per Cent of SMSA Population in Rings		
	SMSA's	Cities	Rings	Cities	Rings	1960	1950	Difference
				After Adjustment				
Older:								
1800–1840......	14 1	− 1.9	50 2	− 9 5	109 5	40 4	30 7	9 7
1850–1860	20 9	− 5 2	54 2	−14 0	114 0	56 1	44 0	12 1
1870–1880...	20 3	− 5 2	51 8	−14 3	114 3	56 5	44 8	11 7
1890–1900	32 1	5 2	68 0	9 2	90 8	54 5	42.9	11 6
1910–1920	32 8	8 4	66 4	14.7	85 3	52 8	42.1	10 7
1930–1940.	42 2	5.7	84 1	7 3	92 7	60 2	46 5	13.7
Newer:								
1950 or later . .	46 3	17.8	76.4	19 7	80 3	58 6	48 6	10 0
				Before Adjustment				
Older:								
1800–1840......	14 1	− 1 9	50 2	− 9.5	109 5	40 4	30 7	9 7
1850–1860 ...	20 9	− 4 3	53 1	−11 6	111.6	55 7	44.0	11 7
1870–1880 ..	20.3	− 1 2	46 8	− 3 2	103 2	54 6	44 8	9.8
1890–1900..	32.1	13 3	57 2	23 6	76 4	51 0	42.9	8.1
1910–1920..	32 8	27.2	40 6	47 9	52 1	44 6	42.1	2 5
1930–1940....	42.2	43.9	40 2	55 7	44 3	45.9	46.5	− 0 6
Newer:								
1950 or later.	46 3	50 2	42.1	55 7	44 3	47.2	48.6	− 1.4

population, while the newer cities have been growing even more rapidly than their own rings. These differences also appear in the columns devoted to the shares of metropolitan growth going to cities and rings. Finally, suburbanization appears to be proceeding most rapidly in the areas with "older" central cities. All of these patterns, however, emerge only in the unadjusted data. Adjustment for annexation again sharply modifies the regularities that were previously observed.

INDIVIDUAL GROWTH PATTERNS

Up to this point, we have provided no more than a generalized description of suburban growth. The data were highly aggregated, and variations from area to area have been almost completely ignored. Only selected features of metropolitan areas have been examined—size, location, and "age"—and the major objective has been to identify broad patterns of population change in cities and their rings. Treatment of the substantial variations around the weighted averages shown for regions, divisions, size classes, and age groups will have to await further analysis, and explanation of the differences that can be observed would obviously require a more sophisticated research design than that used here. "In the last analysis," Davis has observed, "the pattern of metropolitan expansion differs for each metropolitan area and has to be studied on an individual basis, although, for predictive purposes, it is necessary to use comparative techniques in order to determine the main variables that affect the rate of suburbanization."[14] As an intermediate step, we can provide some information on the patterns of growth experienced by individual areas.

We have identified each area according to the general *pattern* of population change that it experienced between 1950 and 1960. Once growth rates have been computed for individual metropolitan centers and their rings, one can readily characterize their experience according to the broad patterns exhibited. There are six possibilities, three of which involve relative *centralization,* and three of which involve relative *decentralization.*

Centralizing patterns.—There are three patterns of metropolitan population change that result in relative gains by *centers:*

I The center gains numbers while the ring loses;

II Both center and ring gain numbers but the center gains at a faster rate;

III Both center and ring lose numbers, but the center loses them at a slower rate

Decentralizing patterns.—Similarly, there are three patterns that yield relative gains by *rings:*

IV. Both center and ring gain numbers but the ring gains at a faster rate;

V. The ring gains numbers while the center loses;

VI Both center and ring lose numbers but the ring loses them at a slower rate

(In point of fact, Pattern III is not found among the 211 SMSA's for which this comparison can be made, either before or after annexation is taken into account. The remaining five patterns, in the order described, represent a hypothetical developmental sequence through which an area might progress over time.)

In the nation as a whole, Table 5 shows that 64 of the 211 areas (or more than 30 per cent) were "centralizing" before annexation was taken into consideration. This number is reduced to eight areas (or less than 2 per cent) when city boundaries are held constant. Table 5 also shows the number of SMSA's in each region and division that may be found in each of the identifiable growth classes. Again the Northeast region (and its New England and Middle Atlantic divisions) stands out; not one of the 46 Northeast SMSA's experienced "centralization" in the past decade. And, after adjustment for the effects of annexation, the same thing can be said

[14] Kingsley Davis, "Urban Demography and Ecology," *Alpha Kappa Deltan,* XXVIII (Winter, 1958), 14.

for three additional divisions—the East North Central, the South Atlantic, and the Pacific.

Table 6, provides a concrete illustration of each of the patterns described, and indicates the type of growth manifested before and after adjustment for annexation. It is worth noting that more than one-third of all SMSA's (75 out of 211) must be reclassified after correction for annexation.

Within the size and age classes, Table 7 shows the number of SMSA's experiencing each of the growth patterns described above. Even before adjustment for annexations by central cities, it is noteworthy that very few of the larger areas exhibit the patterns labeled "centralizing," and that all of the thirty-two areas whose central cities reached 50,000 before 1880 are "decentralizing." The adjusted data reveal even more clearly the tendency for "centralizing" areas to be smaller and newer.

CONCLUSIONS

If it has contributed nothing else to the understanding of recent suburban growth, this paper has forcefully demonstrated the need for taking territorial changes into account when one is examining growth differentials within metropolitan areas. As Shryock has noted, "One of the most prominent trends in municipal development during the 1950's has been the greatly increased number of annexations to incorporated places. No account of urbanization during the period could be complete that overlooks this process, and measurement of the population involved seems to be called for."[15]

[15] Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "What Is New in Our Eighteenth Decennial Census of the Population?" *Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section, American Statistical Association, 1958* (Washington, D.C.: American Statistical Association, 1958), p. 26. In the nation as a whole, "the incorporated urban places of 1950 [lying inside and outside metropolitan areas] annexed territory

TABLE 5

GROWTH PATTERNS, METROPOLITAN CITIES AND RINGS, UNITED STATES 1950–60, BY REGIONS AND DIVISIONS

Census Region and Division	After Adjustment for Annexations: "Centralizing": City Gained, Ring Lost	After: "Centralizing": Both Gained, City Faster	After: "Decentralizing": Both Gained, Ring Faster	After: "Decentralizing": City Lost, Ring Gained	After: "Decentralizing": Both Lost, City Faster	Before Adjustment for Annexations: "Centralizing": City Gained, Ring Lost	Before: "Centralizing": Both Gained, City Faster	Before: "Decentralizing": Both Gained, Ring Faster	Before: "Decentralizing": City Lost, Ring Gained	Before: "Decentralizing": Both Lost, City Faster	No. of SMSA's
United States	4	4	109	90	4	28	36	91	51	5	211*
Region:											
Northeast	0	0	15	27	4	0	0	15	27	4	46
North Central	1	0	33	25	0	6	7	36	10	0	59
South	3	2	41	31	0	20	21	23	12	1	77
West	0	2	20	7	0	2	8	17	2	0	29
Division:											
New England	0	0	11	11	0	0	0	11	11	0	22
Middle Atlantic	0	0	4	16	4	0	0	4	16	4	24
East North Central	0	0	22	19	0	2	3	28	8	0	41
West North Central	1	0	11	6	0	4	4	8	2	0	18
South Atlantic	0	0	15	18	0	3	10	10	9	1	33
East South Central	0	1	6	6	0	3	3	4	3	0	13
West South Central	3	1	20	7	0	14	8	9	0	0	31
Mountain	0	2	9	2	0	2	5	6	0	0	13
Pacific	0	0	11	5	0	0	3	11	2	0	16

* Meriden, Connecticut, is excluded from table because it has no metropolitan ring.

TABLE 6

TYPES OF CITY GROWTH BEFORE AND AFTER ADJUSTMENT FOR ANNEXATION

Area	Before Adjustment Per Cent Change, 1950–60: City	Ring	Type	After Adjustment Per Cent Change, 1950–60: Type	City	Ring	No. of Areas Exemplified*
Sioux City, Iowa	6.2	6.2	I	I	5.7	4.2	4
Huntsville, Alabama	340.3	-20.3	I	II	111.7	46.2	2
Tucson, Arizona	368.4	-14.9	I	IV	0.7	129.6	12
Evansville, Indiana	10.1	-7.6	I	V	9.8	83.3	10
Albuquerque, New Mexico	107.8	24.9	II	II	43.4	73.3	2
Ann Arbor, Michigan	39.6	21.7	II	IV	5.0	31.0	22
Billings, Montana	66.0	8.8	II	V	8.0	105.1	12
Akron, Ohio	5.7	64.8	IV	IV	5.5	65.2	75
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	16.3	14.7	IV	V	-3.1	0.5	16
Macon, Georgia	-0.7	70.8	V	V	7.3	77.9	51
Wheeling, West Virginia	-0.3	-0.3	VI	V	10.7	0.2	1
Johnstown, Pennsylvania	14.7	-0.6	VI	VI	-14.8	0.6	4

* Total number of areas, 211

TABLE 7

GROWTH PATTERNS, METROPOLITAN CITIES AND RINGS, UNITED STATES, 1950–60 BY SIZE OF SMSA IN 1960 AND BY "AGE" OF PRINCIPAL CENTRAL CITY*

Size and Age	After Adjustment for Annexation: Centralizing: City Gained Ring Lost	Both Gained City Faster	Decentralizing: Both Gained Ring Faster	City Lost Ring Gained	Both Lost, City Faster	Before Adjustment for Annexation: Centralizing: City Gained Ring Lost	Both Gained City Faster	Decentralizing: Both Gained Ring Faster	City Lost Ring Gained	Both Lost, City Faster	No. of SMSAs
Size of SMSA in 1960.											
3,000,000 or more	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	4	0	5
1,000,000–3,000,000	0	0	5	14	0	0	8	5	11	0	19
500,000–1,000,000	0	0	19	9	1	1	4	17	6	1	29
250,000–500,000	0	1	23	22	2	2	7	21	16	2	48
150,000–250,000	0	1	29	16	1	8	10	19	8	2	47
100,000–150,000	1	2	19	20	0	10	4	22	6	0	42
Under 100,000	3	0	13	5	0	7	8	6	0	0	21
Census year in which principal central city first contained 50,000 inhabitants											
Older: 1800–1840	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	4	0	5
1850–1860	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	1	9	0	10
1870–1880	0	0	3	13	1	0	0	6	10	1	17
1890–1900	0	0	15	18	2	2	5	14	14	2	35
1910–1920	1	0	33	18	1	4	8	28	11	2	53
1930–1940	0	0	18	14	0	8	9	14	1	0	32
Newer: 1950 or later	3	4	39	13	0	14	16	27	2	0	59

* Meriden, Connecticut, is excluded from table because it has no metropolitan r

The metropolitan central cities annexed territory containing 4.8 million people at the end of the decade. If so many central cities had not pursued vigorous annexation programs, almost all of the considerable metropolitan growth during the decade would have gone to the outlying suburban rings, for growth within the 1950 city boundaries was extremely limited.

There is no particular mystery here, for cities regularly exhibit peripheral growth. A clear statement of the salient facts is contained in the census bulletin cited above:

> If there is a considerable area within the city limits which is suitable and profitable for residential development, it is probable that a large part of the population growth will occur within the city limits and that the census will register a population gain for the central city. If, however, at the beginning of the decade, there is only a limited space within the corporate limits suitable for residential development, and if these limits are not extended, the population of the central city is likely to remain stationary or decline. The growth of urban aggregates tends to be greatest in their periphery, and, as the area of dense settlement spreads outward, it overflows the boundaries of the legal city. At the same time, the growth of the entire aggregate increases the need for nonresidential uses of land in its central part to accommodate increased business activity—commercial establishments, office buildings, parking areas, freeways, and the like. Thus, if the city limits remain fixed, there comes a time when the economic growth of the entire metropolitan area may be accompanied by a decline in the population of the central city or cities.[16]

We have shown that city-ring comparisons unadjusted for annexations substantially understate the amount of "suburbanization" that has occurred in the most recent intercensal decade. This is not to deny the possibility of a significant counter-movement on the part of a selected minority (e.g., those older suburbanites whose children have grown and married) that may lead in time to a "recentralization" of substantial numbers of people.[17] It merely dramatizes the extent to which a "decentralized" pattern now characterizes an overwhelming majority of metropolitan areas.

The task that now remains for demographers is to undertake more detailed analyses of these outward shifts in residential population, viewing them in the context of the changing structure and functions of the metropolitan community, and relating them to the larger trends in the American economy and society. The difficulties should not be underestimated. Duncan has pointed out:

> This is a field of research with more than ordinary difficulties of conceptualization and measurement All too often researchers ... have naïvely accepted findings of differential growth rates between central and peripheral portions of urban communities as evidence of a specific process of "suburbanization" or "decentralization," without attempting an operational distinction between these alleged processes and the normal tendency for expansion to occur on the periphery of the community area."[18]

Such an operational distinction was not attempted in this paper, for we were primarily concerned with assessing the impact of annexation on "suburbanization" as it is commonly understood. One must always be

containing 8 8 million persons at the end of the decade" (Shryock, "Some Results of the 1960 Census of the United States," *Population Index*, XXVII [July, 1961], 219).

[16] United States Bureau of the Census, "Population of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas 1960 and 1950," *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[17] Using housing and school data for New York City, A. F. Parrott has argued that "The Flight to the Suburbs Slackens," in *Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section, American Statistical Association, 1960* (Washington, D.C.: American Statistical Association, 1960), pp. 152–58 (see also Philip M. Hauser, *Population Perspective* [New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960], p. 115).

[18] Otis Dudley Duncan, "Human Ecology and Population Studies," in Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan (eds.), *The Study of Population* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 697.

aware, however, of the fact that cities grow horizontally, extending their areas at the periphery of settlement.[19] What we need now are methods that are adequate to deal with the physical growth of cities, as well as with changes in the size of their populations. Ours is a metropolitan society whose study increasingly requires attention to these massive agglomerations of population, and to the changes occurring therein.

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[19] In an oral discussion of this paper, Kingsley Davis pointed out that growth by political annexation represents an approximation of the actual spread of the physical city and that the demographer's proclivity for holding area constant tends to ignore this fact. Cities grow outward (in area) as well as upward (in density), but there is still no satisfactory model that accommodates both types of increase (see Edward Gross, "The Role of Density as a Factor in Metropolitan Growth in the United States of America," *Population Studies*, VIII [November, 1954], 113-20).

PATTERNS OF CITY GROWTH*

BEVERLY DUNCAN, GEORGES SABAGH, AND MAURICE D. VAN ARSDOL, JR.

ABSTRACT

Residential construction is proposed as the mechanism whereby city-wide population growth is translated into population redistribution from mature to relatively undeveloped areas. Cohort analysis of Los Angeles residential areas indicates that the rapidity of redistribution varies directly with both the rate of population growth and the ratio of new dwellings to incremental population. The accelerated redistribution in the immediate postwar period, coupled with the maturity of central cities and the rigidity of their corporate limits, resulted in the so-called flight to the suburbs

As the rich descriptive materials on intracity differentials in growth have accumulated, a recurring observation is the relatively more rapid growth of outlying than of central parts of cities, that is, the pattern popularly termed in recent years the "flight to the suburbs." Students of population distribution have failed to make it clear whether this suburban movement represents a new pattern of growth or whether the only new element is a widening gap between the limits of the political city and those of the physical city. At the same time, they have neglected to test rigorously the long-standing notions about how an urban center expands and how its expansion is reflected in internal growth differentials.

The economists, Hoover and Vernon, have recently reminded sociologists that as a city grows in population it expands physically, whether upward or outward. Their stages in the development of neighborhoods set forth to help explain the "Spread of the People"[1] represent a variation on Burgess' hypothesis of city growth and "general cycles in the life-history of the neighborhood."[2] Hoover and Vernon describe a sequence of stages through which neighborhoods typically proceed: subdivision and building up; transition into intensive residential use; downgrading; thinning out; and, finally, renewal. The rate of population growth is presumed to decelerate as succession proceeds, with peak rates occurring during the building-up phase. Provocative as their scheme is, it remains a moot point whether the developmental stages can serve as anything more than a sensitizing frame of reference. In fact, the scheme may fall into the undeserved disrepute of the Burgess hypothesis because these "ideal-type" stages cannot be readily discerned in all cities.[3]

Two major implications of Hoover and Vernon's proposal as well as Burgess' hypothesis often are ignored in studies of patterns of city growth, perhaps because they are so obvious to common sense. First, an area in intensive urban use has a more limited growth potential than one which includes large tracts of undeveloped land. The differential potential must be reckoned with in any adequate accounting of interarea differences in growth.

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[1] Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), chap. viii.

[2] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), chap. ii; and "The Natural Area as the Unit for Social Work in the Large City," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago, 1926).

[3] Davie, in a critique of Burgess' hypothesis, observed: "There is no universal pattern, not even of an 'ideal' type" (Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. [eds.], *Reader in Urban Sociology* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951], p. 259).

Second, the present patterning of intra-urban population changes can be understood only in terms of the past development of the city, for the form of the city — the "residue" of its past development — is a major element of the context within which growth occurs. Other relevant elements of the context which typically receive little more than token recognition include the size of the population increment in the city as a whole, the expansion of the city's housing supply and the components thereof, and changes in technology, particularly with respect to means of transportation and techniques of housing production.

Neither Burgess nor Hoover and Vernon have specified the growth contexts within which their schemes have descriptive validity. They seem to assume, however, a relatively stable context whose elements include areal differentiation of land uses, city-wide population growth, in part attributable to net in-migration, and a substantial volume of residential construction. To evaluate the descriptive validity of the scheme, then, allowance must be made for changes in the growth context, whether these be the result of temporary disruptions such as war, of cyclical fluctuations as in the rate of new construction, or of long-run trends like those produced by shifts in modes of intra-urban transportation.

Here we have attempted to look at the growth of Los Angeles, over a quarter-century, from Hoover and Vernon's perspective, to observe growth differentials between areas in each of five periods between the six censuses taken during the twenty-five-year period, and to investigate changes in the city-wide growth context coincident with changes in internal growth patterns. We then take a "second look" at some recent findings on intermetropolitan differences in rapidity of suburbanization.

STUDY DESIGN

A design appropriate for the analysis of city growth patterns must both incorporate controls on the growth potential of city sub-areas, or their respective "positions" in the past development of the city, and allow for changes in the growth context. An analogue of the cohort analysis of fertility offers a possible solution.[4] Cohorts of city sub-areas defined in terms of the year at which they were "built up," or reached some other stage of maturation, are identified. Population change in each cohort is traced over a span of years. Comparisons among cohorts both at a given point in time and at the same stage of maturation can be effected. The alternative bases of comparison permit a more thorough assessment of the impact of changes in the city-wide growth context on patterns of growth within the city.

Although a careful sifting of historical documents probably would permit a reconstruction of the expansion of most major cities and identification of built-up portions at various dates, such a procedure calls for sizable resources and a wide variety of skills.[5] As an alternative we propose an operationally simple procedure which relies on statistics on year built and gross acreage for census tracts and a dwelling-unit density criterion to identify the built-up areas at past dates.

The spatial configuration of built-up areas in the City of Los Angeles at each of several dates as revealed by application of this latter procedure (Fig. 1) both suggests the plausibility of the classification and highlights some inherent problems. About 10 per cent of the city, as now constituted, was built up by 1920 if only census tracts with a density of at least two dwellings per acre of gross land area are classified as built up. The area built up by 1920 spreads out from the present city center with the development northward

[4] Pascal K. Whelpton, *Cohort Fertility* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954).

[5] For an example, see Marybeth Branaman, *Growth of the San Francisco Bay Area Urban Core* (Real Estate Research Program, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California, Research Report No. 8 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956]).

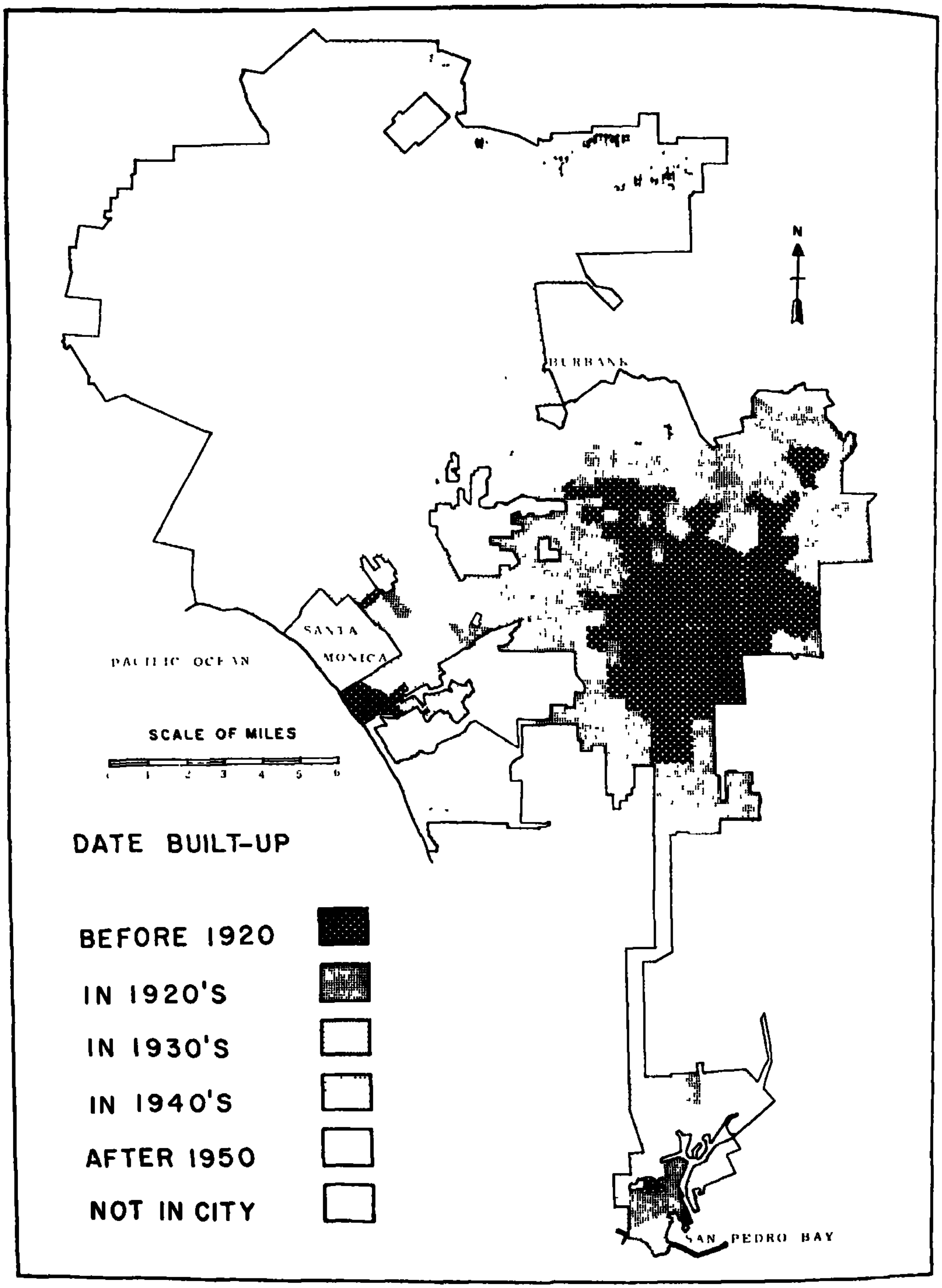


FIG. 1.—Census tracts of 1940 grid classified by date built up, City of Los Angeles

truncated, probably by rugged terrain. It includes outlying nuclei in the Venice area (south of Santa Monica on the Pacific Ocean) and in the San Pedro Bay area, west and south, respectively, of the city core. By 1950, about 32 per cent of the city was built up. Expansion emanating from the central core had engulfed the Venice concentration to the west. To the south, however, undeveloped areas remained between the greatly expanded central built-up area and the more slowly spreading built-up area near San Pedro Bay. The northward expansion had proceeded into the San Fernando Valley, with development emanating from the nucleus which appeared in the 1930's just north of the central built-up area and west of suburban Burbank. With this background, let us consider the classification procedure.

First, a few comments on the data used in computing dwelling-unit densities by census tract: Gross acreage figures compiled by local agencies are available for census tracts. Dwelling-unit counts were published in the *Census Tract Bulletins* of the 1940 and 1950 Censuses, and estimates of the 1920 and 1930 housing inventories can be obtained from the distributions of 1940 dwellings by "year built," that is, year of original construction of the structure, published in the *Block Statistics Bulletins* of the 1940 Census. The estimates of the pre-1940 housing inventory are subject to error attributable both to the householder's lack of information about when his dwelling was built and to modification of the housing inventory through time (e.g., loss of units demolished or merged and gain of units through conversion). The city-wide error of estimate appears to be on the order of 10 per cent. (In 1940, some 184,000 units were reported built before 1920 and 424,000 built before 1930. Census counts of "families," roughly equivalent to occupied units, were 159,000 and 369,000 in 1920 and 1930, respectively. The estimate assumes a vacancy rate of 5 per cent.) Errors of estimate probably vary substantially by census tract, however, with a tendency toward larger errors in more mature areas.

TABLE 1

GROSS ACREAGE AND HOUSING INVENTORY OF CENSUS TRACTS BY DATE BUILT UP, CITY OF LOS ANGELES

Date Built Up	No. of Tracts	Gross Acreage (000's)	Dwelling Units (000's) 1940	Dwelling Units (000's) 1950	Vacant Units (000's) 1940	Vacant Units (000's) 1950	Units Built (000's) 1930's	Units Built (000's) 1940's
City, total	302*	288†	529	698	36.2	31.4	122	169
Before 1920	136‡	29	261	268	19.3	11.7	16	13
In 1920's	92	33	163	189	9.8	6.2	54	23
In 1930's	15	11	31	48	1.9	1.5	16	17
In 1940's	17	21	27	63	1.9	3.0	15	35
After 1950	42	194	48	130	3.3	9.0	21	81

* Based on 1940 census tract grid. Tracts 192 and 193 combined to maintain [illegible].

† Acreage as of 1940. Acreage of Los Angeles reported by City Engineer: 282,[illegible] 290,200 in 1950, 290,109 in 1953, 291,000 in 1956.

‡ Includes three centrally located tracts with densities less than two dwelling units per acre, [illegible] built before 1920.

A criterion of gross, rather than net residential density was used both because gross acreage figures are more readily available and because entire census tracts, not segments thereof, are being characterized as built up. The gross-density criterion poses two troublesome problems, however. First, tracts are delineated to equalize tract populations rather than the area of tracts. The average area of the before-1920 tracts was some 200 acres, in contrast to about 4,500 acres for the tracts not yet built up in 1950 (Table 1). Quite possibly, built-up sections of 200 acres exist within the latter group of tracts. Second, intensive urban land-use need not be residential in form. Areas in which residences have given way to industrial or transport

use or in which these uses pre-empted vacant land may appear not yet built up on a gross-density criterion. As a partial compensation, each tract in the present commercial center of Los Angeles was classified as built up before 1920, although three failed to meet the density criterion in 1920 and at subsequent dates.

The fact that nearly 70 per cent of the City of Los Angeles is classified as not yet built up in 1950 may suggest that the density level of two dwellings per acre used here is too high. Although the spill-over of the physical city beyond municipal boundaries has received rather more attention, the case of Los Angeles implies that not all of the political city need be in the physical city. A special survey indicated that by 1944 only some 21,000 acres of the 136,000-acre San Fernando Valley, a part of the City of Los Angeles since 1915, were in urban use. The prevalence of open space in the Valley cannot be attributed solely to topography, for only 34,000 acres were considered "unfit" for any use.[6] Moreover, the present level of technology in Los Angeles allows for the building of single-family homes in many sections of mountainous areas at a density of two dwellings per acre, the criterion of classification used here.[7] These considerations lend some plausibility to the classification of 194,000 acres within the city as not yet built up in 1950, although they by no means validate the density level selected.

A number of refinements might be introduced into the classification procedure outlined above, but they are required only if the general utility of this approach to the analysis of patterns of city growth can be demonstrated.

COHORT DIFFERENTIALS

Some analytical possibilities of this approach to the study of city growth patterns can be illustrated with the data on gross population densities shown in Figure 2. The direct association between density and maturation of the cohort observed at each census date follows in part from the classification scheme, although it is not a necessary consequence. One might be tempted to draw two inferences from this cross-sectional relationship: first, as an area becomes more mature, its population density increases; and, second, residential settlement patterns have become less dense through time.

The fallacy of the first inference becomes apparent when changes in population density through time are traced for individual cohorts. In the cohort of tracts built up prior to 1920, densities increased for at least twenty-five years after the date built up (until 1946) and declined throughout the last decade of the observation period (1946–56). Densities in the 1920's cohort increased for about fifteen years after the date built up (until 1946), decreased during the following seven years (1946-53), and again increased in the terminal three years of the observation period (1953–56). Densities in the more recently built-up cohorts increased throughout the period of observation. These findings provide another example of the pitfalls inherent in extrapolation from cross-sectional to longitudinal relationships, and vice versa.

Comparisons between cohorts at the same stage of maturation are needed to reveal any trend toward a less dense pattern of settlement. Such comparisons between the before-1920 cohort and the 1920's cohort, as, for example, at *A* in Figure 2, consistently show higher densities in the older cohort. Similarly, each comparison between the 1920's and 1930's cohorts, as at *B*, shows a higher density in the older cohort; but the inter-cohort difference in density is less than that between the before-1920 and the 1920's cohorts. Density in the 1930's cohort is slightly

[6] Charles B. Bennett and Milton Breivogel, "Planning for the San Fernando Valley," *Western City*, April, 1945; reprinted by the City Planning Commission, City of Los Angeles, 1945.

[7] City Planning Commission, City of Los Angeles, *1959 Accomplishments* (Los Angeles City Planning Commission, 1960), pp. 22, 32-33.

lower than it is in the 1940's cohort, however, a decade after each cohort was built up (*C*, Fig. 2). Admittedly, the number of possible comparisons is small, and the time elapsed since date built up is approximate. Nonetheless, these comparisons cast doubt on the proposition that density of settlement has decreased steadily in the last fifty years. These fragmentary findings, however, do suggest that the introduction of a local transport mode which extends the effective limits of a community is conducive to the development of new areas at a relatively low density. The most striking change in mode of transport within the observation period is, of course, the spread of the automobile, which presumably lessened pressures conducive to high density and permitted so-called urban sprawl. Its effects might have become evident by the 1920's. As residential development reaches the effective community limits, forces leading to denser settlement may again become operative. Quite possibly, without modification of local transport modes, future population increments in Los Angeles will gain housing through upward rather than outward expansion.

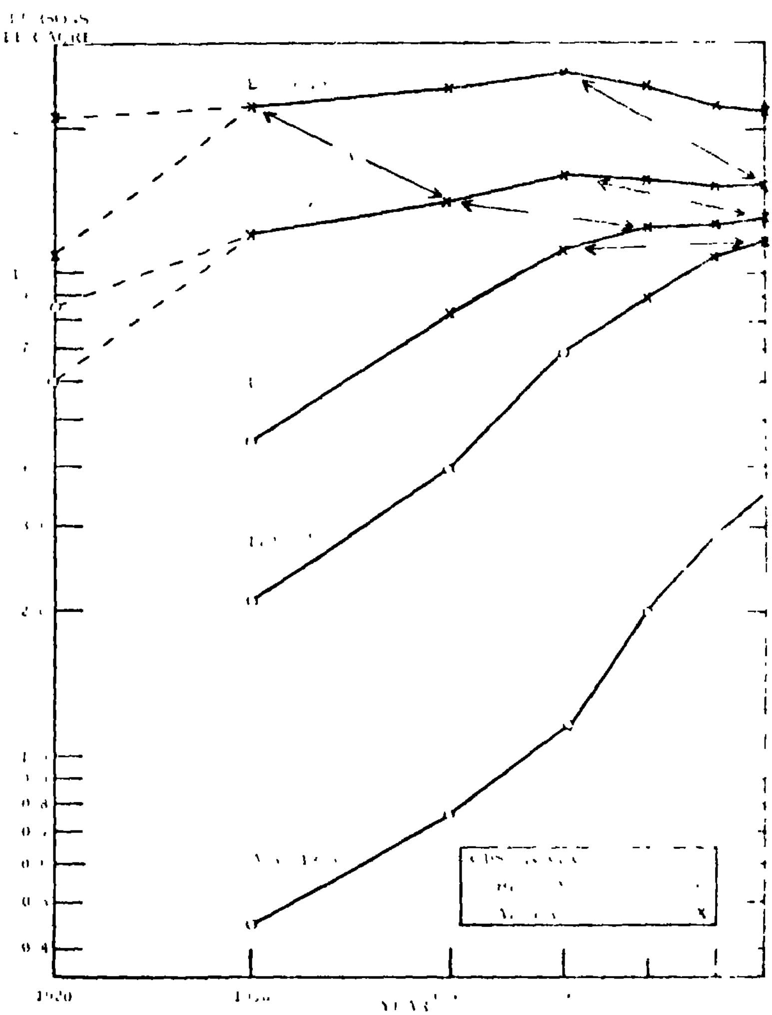


FIG. 2 Gross population density of census tracts by date built up, City of Los Angeles, 1920–50

The broad outlines of population change by cohort over the quarter-century, 1930 to 1956, are in accord with Hoover and Vernon's formulation. Rapid growth is evident during the building-up phase, that is, in the period shortly before the date built up. Lesser population increases occur as transition into intensive residential use proceeds, and eventually population losses are observed as the "thinning-out" sets in. The cohort built up before 1920 gained population in each period prior to the end of World War II and lost population in each postwar period. The 1920's cohort also grew during the prewar decade and war years and lost population in the immediate postwar periods, but a population increase was again recorded in the mid-1950's. The cohorts built up in the 1930's or more recently gained population throughout the observation period.

Incidentally, these cohort patterns are the modal patterns for individual tracts in the respective cohorts. Although the cohort pattern is the "best" single prediction for its component tracts, the modal pattern is observed in only four-fifths of the tracts built up in the 1940's, half the 1930's tracts, and about three-tenths of the 1920's and before-1920 tracts. Nearly three-fifths of the 1920's and before-1920 tracts did, however, exhibit the cohort characteristic of population increase through World War II followed by loss in the late 1940's. These observations about variability within cohorts should be balanced with a caution about assuming constant change throughout an intercensal period. Were the censuses more closely spaced, additional reversals in the direction of population change for cohorts and their component tracts probably would be found.

One departure from the generalized pattern of population changes accompanying maturation is, then, the mid-1950's reversal of postwar population loss in the 1920's cohort. We also have noted that the onset of population decline coincided with the end of World War II both in the before-1920 and 1920's cohorts, although the latter was presumably less mature at the time. The intercensal growth rates in Table 2 show that in both cohorts the average annual growth rate was more rapid during the war years (1940–46) than during the prewar decade. Another type of discrepancy is the relatively rapid growth rate of the 1930's cohort during the 1940 decade as compared with the growth rate of the 1920's cohort during the 1930 decade, that

TABLE 2

POPULATION OF CENSUS TRACTS BY DATE BUILT UP, CITY OF LOS ANGELES, 1930 TO 1956

Date Built Up	Date of Census: April 1, 1930	April 1, 1940	January 28, 1946	April 1, 1950	September 26, 1953	February 25, 1956
	Total Population (in Thousands)					
City, total	1,238.0	1,504.3	1,805.7	1,970.4	2,104.7	2,243.9
Before 1920	655.8	710.0	766.9	717.4	660.8	645.2
In 1920's	401.5	472.3	536.8	527.1	511.6	517.6
In 1930's	49.2	90.9	124.0	136.9	139.1	143.6
In 1940's	44.3	84.1	147.3	189.8	229.1	248.4
After 1950	87.3	147.0	230.7	399.2	564.0	689.2
	Average Annual Percentage Change over Preceding Date					
City, total		2.2	3.4	2.2	1.9	2.7
Before 1920		0.8	1.4	−1.5	−2.2	−1.0
In 1920's		1.8	2.3	−0.4	−0.8	0.5
In 1930's		8.5	6.2	2.5	0.4	1.3
In 1940's		9.0	12.9	6.9	5.9	3.5
After 1950		6.8	9.8	17.5	11.8	9.2

Source: 1930 and 1940 population from Earl Hanson and Paul Beckett, *Los Angeles: Its People and Its Homes* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1944); 1946 population from Bureau of the Census, Series P-SC, No. 188; 1950, 1953, and 1956 population from Bureau of the Census, Series P-28, Nos. 603 and 927.

is, these cohorts evidence a growth differential during the same stage of maturation. Such deviations from, or fluctuations about, the "normal" growth curve may represent responses and compensations to changes in the city-wide growth context.

Temporal covariation between two indicators of the growth context—city-wide population growth and city-wide volume of new construction—and a summary measure of the patterning of city growth, the index of population redistribution among cohorts, might be taken as evidence of internal adjustments to contextual changes. (The redistribution index is half the sum of the absolute values of the differences between the percentage distributions of population by cohort at two dates.) Tabulated below for each of five intercensal periods are the average annual growth rate for Los Angeles, the number of dwellings ided by new construction per 100 population increment, and the redistribution in-ex expressed on an average annual basis.

Period	Growth Rate	New Construction Ratio	Redistribution Index
–40	2.2	.38	0.7
–46	3.4	.23	1.1
–50	2.2	.61	2.2
–53	1.9	.64	2.2
–56	2.7	.45	1.7

h only five sets of observations, formal lysis of covariation among the series is cluded. It appears, however, that the new construction ratio varies directly with the redistribution index, at least when the rate of population growth is more or less constant. There also is some suggestion that the population growth rate varies directly with the redistribution index, "holding constant" the new construction ratio. Noteworthy, too, is the acceleration in the rate of population redistribution from more to less mature areas in the immediate postwar periods, when comment on the flight to the suburbs became widespread.

Working with the notion that the city-wide increase of population and the way in which the incremental population is housed are key factors shaping the pattern of city growth, we propose to show that the change in the redistribution pattern that occurred around the end of World War II could be explained largely on the basis of the shift in the ratio of population growth to new construction. To highlight the mechanism, population changes by cohort for the periods 1940–46 and 1946–50 are examined (Table 3).

TABLE 3

ACTUAL AND EXPECTED POPULATION CHANGES,* FOR CENSUS TRACTS BY DATE BUILT UP CITY OF LOS ANGELES, 1940–46 AND 1946–50

(In Thousands)

Date Built Up	Actual Change, 1940–46	Expected Change, 1940–46: Total	Expected Change, 1940–46: New Construction	Expected Change, 1940–46: Vacancy Drop	Actual Change, 1946–50	Expected Change, 1946–50: Total	Expected Change, 1946–50: New Construction	Expected Change, 1946–50: Vacancy Rise	Expected Change, 1946–50: Demolition
City, total	301	301	211	90†	165	157	290	77†	–56
Before 1920	57	63	23	40	–50	–30	17	22	–25
In 1920's	64	65	45	20	–10	–4	25	–12	–17
In 1930's	33	30	26	4	13	18	24	2	–4
In 1940's	63	59	40	19†	42	59	64	21†	–4
After 1950	84	87	80	7	168	134	160	–20	–6

* See text for explanation of expected change.

† Includes change of 15,000 military.

During the war years, only some 69,000 dwellings were built in Los Angeles although the population increased by 301,000. A sizable portion of the incremental population must have found housing in dwellings which had been vacant, for vacancies fell from 35,000 in 1940 to 5,000 at the time of the 1946 special census. Given this pressure of population on the housing supply, any long-term tendency

toward less intensive use of housing space was probably arrested. To demonstrate the implications of this population/housing balance for population redistribution among cohorts, we introduce the assumptions that: (*a*) the 69,000 new units were distributed among cohorts proportionally to the distribution of units built between 1930 and 1950; (*b*) the 5,000 vacancies existing in 1946 were distributed among cohorts proportionally to the distribution of 1940 vacancies; and (*c*) the persons per room ratio observed in 1940 persisted throughout the six-year period. (The average number of persons per room is estimated to be 0.69 in 1940. The average number of rooms is estimated to be 3.4 for units vacant in 1940 and 4.5 for units built 1940–44. Estimates are derived from size-of-household and size-of-unit distributions published in the 1940 and 1950 Censuses.) Under these assumptions, the "expected" population change in the city as a whole is 304,000, including an increase of 15,000 military personnel at Fort MacArthur, some 214,000 persons housed in new units, and 75,000 persons housed in units vacant in 1940. The expected increase closely approximates the reported increase of 301,000. In each cohort, an increase in population is expected; and a population increase is observed in each cohort between 1940 and 1946. Moreover, the largest discrepancy between expected and actual changes for a cohort is only 6,000 persons, 10 per cent of the actual change, in the group of tracts built up prior to 1920.

In contrast, between 1946 and 1950 some 100,000 units were built in Los Angeles although the population increased by only 165,000. Vacancies rose from 5,000 to 31,000. By 1950, housing space was being used less intensively than at the beginning of World War II. We assume that: (*a*) in each cohort, new units equal units reported built in the 1940's minus the units assumed to have been built 1940–46; (*b*) the change in vacancies in each cohort equals reported 1950 vacancies minus assumed 1946 vacancies; (*c*) the persons per room ratio fell from its 1940 to its 1950 level during the four-year period. (The average number of persons per room is estimated to be 0.67 in 1950. The average number of rooms is estimated to be 4.4 for units built 1945–50, 4.5 for units built 1940–44, 4.2 for units built before 1940, and 3.4 for units vacant in 1950.) Under these assumptions, the city-wide population change is expected to be 157,000, including a decrease of 15,000 at Fort MacArthur. The volume of new construction was sufficient to house 290,000. About 62,000 persons would have been displaced from their dwellings, however, by the rise in vacancies; and decongestion, or lessening room densities, would have displaced 56,000. By comparison, the reported change is 165,000. In the most mature cohorts, those built up before 1920 and in the 1920's, losses in population are expected as the net balance of increase through new construction and decrease through rising vacancies and decongestion; a loss in population is observed in each cohort between 1940 and 1946. In each more recently built-up cohort, the population increased as expected during the period. Population losses were substantially larger than expected, or gains less than expected, in the cohorts built up prior to World War II, however, while population increases were greater than expected in the cohorts not yet built up. These discrepancies re-emphasize the fact that the assumptions are arbitrary and make no allowance for demolition in mature areas or the inverse association between an area's maturation and average household size.

Nonetheless, the comparisons of expected and actual changes make it clear that the onset of population decline in mature areas and the accelerated shift of population from mature to newer area observed shortly after the end of Worl War II can be accounted for in large pa by the timing of population growth an new construction. When new constructio

greatly lags behind population increase, as was the case during the war years, a sizable portion of the population increment must be housed in the existing inventory; consequently, the rate of redistribution appears unduly low, given the population growth rate. On an average annual basis, the expected rate of redistribution was 1.0 per cent. Following such a period of piling up, the redistribution rate accelerates sharply as new construction surges in response to pent-up demand and congestion in the existing inventory is reduced. In the immediate postwar period, the rate of redistribution expected was 1.8 per cent. Over the long run or under "normal" circumstances, new construction will keep pace with population increase; the rapidity of population redistribution from mature to building-up areas then varies directly with the city-wide rate of population increase.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

Generalizing from our case study of Los Angeles, risky as that may be, we submit that temporal and areal variation in the rate of "suburbanization" for cities can be accounted for only by a set of factors which includes indicators of the growth context, including the spatial configuration of built-up sub-areas. Although such factors have been assigned an important role in the patterning of city growth by students of an ecological persuasion,[8] attempts to quantify their impact on intra-urban growth differentials have been few. Moreover, Bogue and Harris found a correlation of only .3 between rapidity of suburbanization and the rate of population growth during the 1940's for 125 principal standard metropolitan areas.[9] They point out, however, that a sizable part of the intermetropolitan variation in rate of suburbanization, and presumably an even larger part of the "unexplained" variation, may stem from the vagaries of central-city annexation and disconnection.[10]

We have, therefore, re-examined the relationship between rate of suburbanization, adjusted for central-city annexation and disconnection, and area-wide population growth for the 160 standard metropolitan areas for which the 1950 population of the 1940 central city could be estimated.[11] Rough adjustments of the 1950 central-city and suburban-ring populations to allow for change in the residence allocation of college students and in the size of the armed forces between 1940 and 1950 also were made.[12] The suburbanization measure is the algebraic difference between the 1950 and 1940 percentages of metropolitan population living in the suburban ring, a positive value denoting suburbanization; this also was Bogue and Harris' measure. The latter apparently were correct in attributing their "disappointing" results in large part to uncontrolled differentials in annexation and disconnection among central cities. The correlation between the adjusted rate of suburbanization and the adjusted rate of population growth is .56, substantially higher than the .3 based on unadjusted data. Incidentally, the rapidity of suburbanization during the 1940's ap-

[8] Leo F Schnore, "Metropolitan Growth and Decentralization" and "The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs," in William M Dobriner (ed), *The Suburban Community* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958).

[9] Donald J Bogue and Dorothy L Harris, *Comparative Population and Urban Research via Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis* (Oxford, Ohio Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1954), p 75

[10] *Ibid*, p 52

[11] Eight areas with central cities of less than 50,000 in 1940 were excluded. Estimates of the 1950 population in areas annexed during the 1940's were based on block statistics or taken from Donald J Bogue, *Components of Population Change, 1940–50* (Oxford, Ohio Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957), Appendix, Table II.

[12] The "college" adjustment was the difference between the estimated 1950 college enrolment (half the enrolment of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old persons plus the enrolment of persons twenty or more) and the estimated 1950 college students whose parental home was in the area (2 per cent of the population) It was assumed that no armed forces had been present in any area in 1940, and they are, therefore, excluded from the 1950 population.

pears to have been underestimated by Bogue and Harris who were working with unadjusted data. They report a mean of 3.5 percentage points with a standard deviation of 5.0 for the suburbanization variable;[13] the mean of the adjusted measure is 6.1 percentage points with a standard deviation of 4.8.

Pursuing the hunch that not only the growth context but also the spatial configuration of built-up sub-areas shape the pattern of city growth, we added to the growth rate as predictors of suburbanization the population density of the central city and the total population of the standard metropolitan area, in the initial year, 1940. The multiple correlation between rapidity of suburbanization during the 1940's and the three predictors is .62 for the 160 standard metropolitan areas, and the beta coefficients (partial regression coefficients in standard form) indicate that each variable makes a significant, independent contribution to the explanation of variance in the dependent variable. The beta coefficients of rate of suburbanization on growth, density, and size are: (*a*) growth, holding constant density and size, .62; (*b*) density, holding constant growth and size, .34; and (*c*) size, holding constant growth and density, —.17. Within this framework, rapid metropolitan growth and a densely populated central city are conducive to rapid suburbanization, while a large metropolitan population inhibits it. This might be taken to mean that growth tends to take the form of outward expansion until the spread of the city begins to present a barrier to internal transport and communication, at which juncture growth takes the form of upward expansion near the metropolitan core.[14]

The explanation of differences among the metropolitan areas in rapidity of suburbanization during the 1940's lies in large part in their differential rates of population growth. Moreover, the relationship between area-wide population change and population redistribution between central city and suburban ring is closer when allowance is made for population density in the central city and size of the metropolitan population. We again propose activity in residential construction as the mechanism whereby the growth is translated into redistribution. Over the decade, areal differences in new construction paralleled areal differences in population growth, and the ratio of new construction to population increment was more or less constant among the growing areas. The increase in the proportion of the metropolitan housing inventory located in the suburban ring and, hence, the suburbanization of the metropolitan population should vary directly with the rate of new construction under these circumstances, for new construction will be concentrated in sub-areas of the metropolis not yet built up, sub-areas located primarily in the suburban ring. Density of central city and size of metropolitan population provide controls on the extent to which the central city is built up and the pressure toward intensive residential use engendered by a large population.

The "flight to the suburbs," therefore, appears to be virtually synonymous with the "growth of the city." Two circumstances presumably account for the popularization of the new phrase in the late 1940's: First, the shifting balance of new construction to population growth during the 1940's resulted in an accelerated redistribution of population from mature to relatively undeveloped areas in the immediate postwar period. Second, the gap between the limits of the physical city and the boundaries of the corporate city widened appreciably in the 1940's. In the oldest metropolitan centers, the proportion of population in the physical city living in the corporate city dropped from 77 to 67 per cent between 1910 and 1940; by 1950, less than 62 per cent resided in the corporate

[13] Bogue and Harris, *op cit.*, p 41.

[14] See also the findings reported by Edward Gross, "The Role of Density as a Factor in Metropolitan Growth in the United States of America," *Population Studies*, VIII (November, 1954), 113–20.

city.[15] During the 1940's, annexations to the central city amounted to less than three square miles in 36 of these 44 metropolitan centers. Given the rigidity of corporate city boundaries, the extension of the physical city produced the flight to the suburbs.

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[15] Figures for 1910 and 1940 from Warren S. Thompson, *The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States: 1900-1940* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), Table IV. The 1950 figure is a maximum estimate derived from statistics published in the 1950 Census of Population on population of 1940 Metropolitan Districts and of urban places.

ETHICAL RELATIVISM AND ANOMIA[1]

SNELL PUTNEY AND RUSSELL MIDDLETON

ABSTRACT

Ethical relativists and ethical absolutists are compared with regard to their acceptance and observance of certain social norms. The relativists do not appear to exhibit a greater degree of anomia than absolutists in terms of any of the following indexes: difficulty in evaluating actions, a sense of making too many exceptions to principles, failure to live up to verbally accepted norms, or general rejection of norms. Relativists are less likely to accept ascetic norms which stem directly from an absolutistic religious tradition, but there is a core of generally accepted social norms which govern both the relativists and the absolutists. At least among educated and predominantly middle-class American young people, ethical absolutism does not seem essential to the efficacy of social norms

Although the cultural relativity of ethical and moral systems is generally accepted by social scientists today, this acceptance has been uneasy and fraught with ambivalence. E. A. Ross, for example, feared that widespread recognition of relativism would result in social chaos and anomie, and cautioned that "the secret of order is not to be bawled from every housetop."[2] Recent social scientists have also assumed that ethical relativism contributes to anomia, to a state wherein norms become ineffectual or disappear, and the individual, liberated from guilt and goals alike, flounders about unable to evaluate his own conduct. Hoult expresses this viewpoint, asserting that ordinary folkways are not "an adequate basis for the sustained coordinate endeavor that is indispensable for enduring social coherence."[3] On the contrary, "thus far in history, man has given the type of loyalty that can be counted on even in crisis situations only to those values and techniques which he has been taught are related to The Eternal."[4]

In a similar vein, psychoanalysts such as Erich Fromm find relativism untenable "since man can not live without values and norms."[5] Dostoevsky put it most succinctly: "If God is dead, everything is allowed." The literary critic Joseph Wood Krutch expanded on this idea in his book *The Modern Temper,* in which he contended that "the human spirit . . . breathes freely only in a universe where what philosophers call Value Judgments are of supreme importance. It needs to believe . . . that right and wrong are real."[6]

A number of cultural anthropologists—most notably Ruth Benedict—have contended that ethical absolutism is not essential to individual fulfilment, or to social order. Presumably referring to the viewpoint of Krutch, she wrote, "the sophisticated modern temper has made of social relativity . . . a doctrine of despair. [But] it rouses pessimism because it throws old formulae into confusion, not because it contains anything intrinsically difficult."[7]

[1] We are indebted to the Research Council of Florida State University for financial support of this study.

[2] *Social Control* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1901), p. 441. Ross continues: "The wise sociologist will show religion a consideration it has rarely met with from the naturalist. He will venerate a moral system too much to uncover its nakedness. He will speak to men, not to youth. He will not tell the 'recruity,' the street Arab, or the Elmira inmate how he is managed. He will address himself to those who administer the moral capital of society."

[3] Thomas Ford Hoult, *The Sociology of Religion* (New York: Dryden Press, 1958), p. 30.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics* (New York: Rinehart & Co 1947), p. 5.

[6] "Preface" to the 1956 reissue of *The Modern Temper* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co 1929), p. xi.

[7] *Patterns of Culture* (New York: New American Library, 1934), p. 257.

Relativists point out that their position is often distorted by their opponents. Hartung, for example, argued: "I could [were I a relativist] just as logically adopt the conventions of any other culture I chanced to learn about, because I would then have no possible way of concluding that my own culture's conventions are right, and furthermore, I would at the same time be convinced that the rules of another are just as valid as mine."[8] Kluckhohn has commented that this statement comes very close to the popular vulgarization of the doctrine, which suggests that if premarital promiscuity is sanctioned in one society, this gives "validity" to the practice in any society. He points out that the relativistic view means quite the reverse, "for the doctrine of cultural relativity demands, precisely, that one look within rather than without."[9] Herskovits also insists that "there is no cultural relativist, as far as I know, who asserts that his doctrine is based on, describes, or implies behavioral anarchy; . . . every society has rules of conduct, an ethical system, a moral code, that the individual members rarely question."[10] Thus, the recognition that there is no supracultural basis for moral judgments does not necessarily entail the abdication of cultural restraints and social control within a given society. The cake of custom may be sufficient to insure social order even without supernatural sanctions.[11]

The present paper is focused upon the question of whether or not those who embrace ethical relativism are more anomic than those who adhere to absolute ethical standards. We do not attempt to evaluate the general philosophical dispute between the ethical relativists and absolutists, but only to examine empirically the question of whether the acceptance of relativism is associated with anomia and the breakdown of normative standards.

The concept of anomie has undergone considerable change and development since Durkheim used the term in his studies of suicide to denote the breakdown of moral norms that regulate expectancies and behavior in a society.[12] Merton has emphasized the structural patterns in cultural and social systems which tend to produce a state of normlessness. Anomie, he argues, results when there is a disjunction between culturally stressed goals and institutionalized means for achieving those goals.[13] Williams, Johnson, and DeGrazia have pointed to another source of anomie, maintaining that normative apathy, disenchantment, and indifference may grow out of a situation in which there is great conflict among competing norms in a society.[14] The above theorists employ the term "anomie" to denote a condition of society, but the concept has been extended by others to refer

[8] Frank E. Hartung, "Cultural Relativity and Moral Judgments," *Philosophy of Science*, XXI (April, 1954), 122.

[9] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Ethical Relativity: Sic et Non," *Journal of Philosophy*, LII (November, 1955), 668.

[10] Melville J. Herskovits, "Some Further Comments on Cultural Relativism," *American Anthropologist*, LX (1958), 270.

[11] Freud took a similar position when he wrote "I disagree . . . that man cannot in general do without the consolation of the religious illusion . . . Certainly this is true of the man into whom you have instilled the sweet -or bitter-sweet poison from childhood on. But what of the other, who has been brought up soberly. Perhaps he not suffering from neurosis, will need no intoxicant to deaden it" (Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion* [Garden City, N.Y. Doubleday & Co., 1957], p. 88).

[12] Émile Durkheim, *Suicide*, trans. J. H. Spaulding and George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 252 ff.

[13] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, rev. ed. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 162.

[14] Robin M. Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*, rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1960), p. 564; Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960), p. 558; Sebastian DeGrazia, *The Political Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 72–74. DeGrazia speaks of this as "simple anomie" as opposed to "acute anomie," in which there is a deterioration or disintegration of the value system, resulting in marked anxieties

to the psychological state of individuals. MacIver defines anomie as "the state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots, who has no longer any standards but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation."[15] Lasswell speaks of anomie as "psychic isolation,"[16] and Riesman uses the term "anomic" as virtually synonymous with "maladjusted" in discussing personality types.[17] Srole refers to the eunomia-anomia continuum as "the individual's generalized, pervasive sense of 'self-to-others belongingness' at one extreme compared with 'self-to-others distance' and 'self-to-others alienation' at the other pole of the continuum."[18] By recent convention such psychological conceptions of anomie—the individual's sense of normlessness—have come to be designated as "anomia."

Both Srole and Williams agree that there is a reciprocal relation between the normative situation of society and the psychological state of individuals.[19] Individual anomia tends to arise out of the interplay of both social and personality factors. Thus, it is possible for an individual to be anomic in a relatively eunomic society, but a high rate of individual anomia in all likelihood reflects a condition of social anomie. Merton suggests that future studies might well take into account both the objective and subjective components of anomie, holding one constant while examining variations in the other.[20] In this study we concentrate primarily upon indicators of the individual component—anomia—among a group of persons with essentially similar social backgrounds. The degree of social anomie to which the individuals are subject thus remains roughly the same while we examine whether commitment to a relativistic ethical position is associated with individual anomia.

The most commonly utilized measure of anomia today is a five-item scale developed by Srole.[21] Although Srole maintains that the scale has face validity as a measure of five theoretical components of anomia,[22] the manifest content of the items is more clearly a measure of cynicism with regard to people and pessimism with regard to social conditions and events.[23] Although cynicism and pessimism may very well be correlated with the anomic condition, we desired a measure which was more directly concerned with the individual's perception of, and reaction to, normative standards. Moreover, Srole's scale is primarily a measure of interpersonal alienation, whereas we are more interested in alienation from norms than from persons.[24]

We therefore sought means of estimating anomia that would bear more directly on the alienation of the individual from norms. In the absence of any generally accepted measure, we sought to utilize various indicators, any one or all of which might reflect

[15] R. M. MacIver, *The Ramparts We Guard* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 84–85.

[16] Harold Lasswell, "The Threat to Privacy," in R. M. MacIver (ed.), *Conflict of Loyalties* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952).

[17] David Riesman *et al.*, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1953), p. 278.

[18] Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (December, 1956), 711

[19] *Ibid.*; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

[20] Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[21] Srole, *op. cit.*, pp. 712–13.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Cf. Nettler's comment that the Srole scale most likely measures despair, in Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (April, 1959), 191.

[24] Seeman, in his discussion of five alternative meanings of alienation, excludes interpersonal alienation, apparently on the grounds that it refers to a different type of phenomenon. The type of alienation which Seeman examines that corresponds most closely to Srole's conception is "isolation." Seeman, however, defines it as isolation from popular cultural standards, not from persons. "Clearly, this usage does not refer to isolation as a lack of 'social adjustment'—of the warmth, security, or intensity of an individual's social contacts" (Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV [December, 1959], 788).

anomia. One indicator of normative alienation would be that the individual experienced unusual difficulty in evaluating his own conduct. A sense of making too many exceptions to his norms would be indicative of a low level of integration between the life of the individual and his norms. Gross discrepancies between the norms he professes and his behavior would indicate the ineffectuality of norms. Finally, the individual might reflect total normative alienation by a failure to profess norms at all. These indicators of normative anomia, admittedly crude, nevertheless bear directly on the problem of the normative implications of relativism—does the relativist find it difficult or impossible to evaluate his own conduct, does he find himself continually making exceptions to his norms or simply violating them, or does he lack norms altogether?

In an earlier study[25] we found that the religious and the skeptical differ less in norms and behavior than has been generally supposed; this led us to suspect that Benedict and Herskovits might be closer to the truth than writers such as Hoult. Thus in this study we are concerned with the following hypotheses: (1) The ethical relativist is not more anomic than the ethical absolutist in terms of any of the following criteria: difficulty in evaluating actions, a sense of making too many exceptions to principles, failure to live up to norms which are verbally accepted, or the general rejection of norms. (2) Although the relativists are no more anomic than the absolutists, in a pluralistic society such as that of the United States they may accept and follow different norms. Specifically, relativists are less likely than absolutists to accept and observe ascetic Puritan norms, derived as they are from an absolutistic religious tradition, whereas relativists are as likely as absolutists to accept and observe more general social norms.

[25] Russell Middleton and Snell Putney, "Religion, Skepticism, and Behavior" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, St. Louis, August, 1961)

METHOD

The data to test these hypotheses were gathered by means of an anonymous questionnaire administered to 554 college students enrolled in social science classes at two state-supported institutions, one in Florida and one in California. Relativists and absolutists were dichotomized by means of a question asking whether ethical values were eternal and unchanging, or social products subject to modification. Further questions concerned how often the subjects experienced difficulty in deciding whether their actions were right or wrong, and whether they felt they made too many, too few, or about the right number of exceptions to their ethical principles. The subjects were also asked whether or not they believed in a personal God, a question we have previously found to be a useful measure of religiosity.[26]

Information concerning the norms accepted by subjects was obtained by asking whether or not they would feel they were violating their own ethical principles if they engaged in each of fourteen specific actions. Pretesting had indicated that these actions were common but not universal among college students, thus facilitating group comparisons. Half of the actions were violations of common Puritan ascetic principles (e.g., gambling, drinking, fornication) and half were violations of common social principles (e.g., lying, cheating, stealing).[27] The subjects were also asked how often they had engaged in each of the fourteen actions during the last three years. To make it difficult for them to feign a close relationship between their principles and their behavior, the questions relating to principles were on a later page and in a different order from the questions relating to actions. Also in a later part of the questionnaire, the subjects were asked how

[26] Snell Putney and Russell Middleton, "Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (May, 1961), 285-90

[27] See Tables 4 or 5 for a complete listing of the fourteen actions

frank they had been in admitting their actions. The results were reassuring, although, of course, not conclusive. About 95 per cent claimed to have been completely frank to the best of their memory, less than 5 per cent said they had omitted one or two of the things they had done, and a single subject reported he had not been very frank.

In the analysis, the chi-square test was used to determine the statistical significance of differences, with the rejection level of the null hypothesis set at .05. Association was measured by Yule's coefficient of association (Q). No significant regional differences were observed, and regional breakdowns are not included. Since we have previously found important sex differences in norms and behavior,[28] breakdowns by sex are always presented in the tables. However, in the present instance, differences between the sexes are surprisingly small.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS WHO WERE RELATIVISTS AND ABSOLUTISTS, BY SEX AND RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY

Subjects	Relativists	Absolutists	Total	No. of cases	Association (Q)
Males:					
Skeptics	65.1	34.9	100.0	83	
Believers	42.8	57.2	100.0	166	+.43*
All males	50.2	49.8	100.0	249	
Females:					
Skeptics	76.1	23.9	100.0	46	
Believers	47.0	53.0	100.0	236	+.56*
All females	51.8	48.2	100.0	282	
Total:					
Skeptics	69.0	31.0	100.0	129	
Believers	45.3	54.7	100.0	402	+.46*
All subjects	51.0	49.0	100.0	531	

* Significant at the .001 level.

FINDINGS

As shown in Table 1, approximately half of the subjects are classified as relativists and half as absolutists. There is essentially no difference between males and females in the proportion of relativists. In view of our previous finding that females tend to be far more religiously orthodox than males,[29] the lack of difference between the sexes in extent of relativism is of particular interest.

There is an association of + .46 between ethical relativism and religious skepticism among the subjects. However, it is important to note that, despite this significant association, nearly one-half of the believers are relativists and nearly one-third of the skeptics are absolutists. Clearly, many subjects hold absolutistic ethical convictions despite their lack of traditional religious beliefs, whereas many others accept relativism in ethics without renouncing traditional religious beliefs. Hoult's assertion that moral relativism undermines adherence to a particular religious faith[30] does not hold for more than one-third of the subjects.

The hypothesis that relativists are not more anomic than absolutists tends to be supported by the data. The first criterion of anomia in this study is the difficulty in deciding whether actions are ethically right or wrong. As shown in Table 2, the relativists in our sample actually reported such difficulty less often than did the absolutists. This tendency in the sample was statistically significant only for males, but th

[28] Middleton and Putney, "Religion, Skepticism, and Behavior," *op. cit.*

[29] Putney and Middleton, "Dimensions an Correlates of Religious Ideologies," *op. cit.*

[30] Hoult, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

data certainly lend no support to the assumption that relativists show more anomia than absolutists in terms of this criterion.

The second criterion of anomia is the breakdown of normative behavior indicated by the subject's sense of making too many exceptions to his principles. As shown in Table 3, the great majority of all subjects, both absolutists and relativists, felt that they "made about the right number of exceptions to their ethical principles." However, more relativists than absolutists stated that they "probably don't make enough exceptions,"[31] and conversely, more absolutists than relativists stated that they made "too many exceptions." These tendencies are statistically significant for both males and females. It would seem that relativists and absolutists resemble each other more in actions than they do in belief. The relativists could justify more exceptions than they in fact make, whereas the absolutists make more exceptions than they can readily justify. In any case, the data yield no evidence that relativists more than absolutists reflect anomia by feeling that they make too many exceptions to their principles.

The third criterion of anomia is the failure to live up to norms which the subjects themselves verbally accept. A cross-tabulation of the beliefs and the behavior of the subjects is presented in Table 4. The percentage of absolutists who believe an action is wrong but nevertheless engage in it is compared with the percentage of relativists who believe the action is wrong but engage in it. Thus, of the male relativists who believe gambling on sports is wrong, 20.0 per cent nevertheless have engaged in it, whereas of the male absolutists who believe gambling on sports is wrong, 30.4 per cent have engaged in it. None of the comparisons of anti-ascetic actions, and only two of

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS WHO RARELY OR NEVER EXPERIENCED DIFFICULTY IN DECIDING WHETHER ACTIONS ARE ETHICALLY RIGHT OR WRONG, BY SEX AND ETHICAL RELATIVISM-ABSOLUTISM

	Relativists		Absolutists		
Subjects	No. of Cases	Per Cent	No. of Cases	Per Cent	Significance of Difference
Males	125	56.0	124	41.1	p < .02
Females	146	53.4	137	52.6	N.S.
All subjects	271	54.6	261	47.1	N.S.

TABLE 3

BELIEFS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS REGARDING EXCEPTIONS TO ETHICAL PRINCIPLES, BY SEX AND ETHICAL RELATIVISM-ABSOLUTISM

	Per Cent					
Subjects	"I make too many exceptions"	"I make about the right number"	"I probably don't make enough"	Total	No. Cases	Significance of Difference
Males						
Relativists	15.0	64.2	20.8	100.0	120	
Absolutists	34.7	51.6	13.7	100.0	124	p < .01
Females						
Relativists	13.0	71.9	15.1	100.0	146	
Absolutists	31.9	54.8	13.3	100.0	135	p < .001
All subjects:						
Relativists	13.9	68.4	17.7	100.0	266	
Absolutists	33.2	53.3	13.5	100.0	259	p < .001

[31] Those persons who feel that they "probably don't make enough exceptions" to their ethical principles bear some resemblance to ritualistic compulsive overconformists in Merton's typology of modes of individual adaptation under conditions of social anomie (see Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-53, 184-87).

the comparisons of antisocial actions are significant by chi-square test.[32] Even these differences tend to be small. Thus the data yield little evidence that relativists have a greater tendency to reflect anomia by failure to live up to their own norms.

The final criterion of anomia utilized in this study is the rejection of norms by the respondents—that is, normlessness. In Table 5 figures are presented giving the percentage of relativists and absolutists who believe that certain specific actions are ethically wrong. The percentages are relatively low for both relativists and absolutists with regard to the anti-ascetic actions. The absolutists are, however, more often inclined to accept the ascetic norms than the relativists, and eleven of the fourteen comparisons show a significant difference. In connection with the antisocial actions, on the other hand, an overwhelming majority of both relativists and absolutists tend to accept the norms, and not one of the fourteen comparisons reveals a significant difference between relativists and absolutists.

These data also tend to support our second hypothesis that the norms of relativists differ from the norms of absolutists. None of the four criteria of anomia yields evi-

[32] In the case of six anti-ascetic actions, the frequencies were too low to justify the computation of chi-square values. However, in each of these cases the differences were small.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE ACTIONS ARE WRONG WHO ENGAGE IN THE ACTION, BY SEX AND ETHICAL RELATIVISM-ABSOLUTISM

Actions	Males					Females				
	Relativists		Absolutists		Q*	Relativists		Absolutists		Q*
	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.		Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	
Anti-ascetic actions:										
Gambling on sports	20 0	(5)	30 4	(23)	−.27†	8 1	(37)	16 2	(37)	−.37†
Gambling at cards or dice..	50 0	(8)	41 4	(29)	+ 17†	8 9	(45)	3 4	(58)	+.46†
Smoking .. .	50 0	(14)	32 0	(25)	+ 36	32 0	(25)	44 4	(36)	− 26
Heavy petting... .	75 0	(20)	57 9	(38)	+ 37	46 1	(91)	40 8	(103)	+ 11
Non-marital sexual intercourse....... ..	48 7	(39)	44 4	(81)	+ 09	12 7	(118)	9.2	(131)	− 13
Looking at pornographic pictures	77 4	(31)	94 5	(55)	− 67†	41.4	(70)	41 1	(90)	+ 01
Drinking.	62 5	(8)	46 7	(30)	+ 31†	47 0	(34)	44 8	(58)	+ 04
Antisocial actions:										
Shoplifting.	46 1	(117)	35 8	(120)	+ 21	18 4	(139)	7 4	(135)	+.50‡
Stealing towels, etc., from hotels, etc. ..	52 4	(82)	39.6	(91)	+.25	36 6	(82)	37 8	(90)	− 02
Striking a person in anger...	30 6	(62)	35 5	(76)	−.11	27 2	(103)	29 3	(109)	− 05
Lying to a teacher. .	52 9	(87)	58 0	(100)	− 10	60.5	(114)	53 1	(113)	+ 15
Theft from an individual	36 1	(122)	27.1	(118)	+.20	16 3	(141)	20 7	(135)	− 15
Cheating on exams ..	55 8	(113)	53 6	(112)	+ 04	44.4	(135)	46 2	(132)	−.04
Blaming another unjustly..... ...	44.4	(117)	47.3	(112)	−.06	47 8	(118)	41.2	(131)	+.32‡

* A plus sign (+) indicates that relativists who regard the action as wrong are more likely to engage in it than absolutists who regard the action as wrong. A minus sign (−) indicates that absolutists who regard the action as wrong are more likely to engage in it than relativists who regard the action as wrong.

† Expected frequencies too small for calculation of chi-square values

‡ Chi-square value significant at the .05 level.

dence that relativists are more anomic than absolutists, but the two groups do not necessarily organize their lives according to the same norms. There seems to be a common core of generally accepted social norms, but the relativists are less likely to accept other norms which stem directly from a particular absolutistic religious tradition. In a complex pluralistic society the fact that the ethical subsystems of various groups or subcultures diverge is not necessarily indicative of social disorganization and anomie.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS WHO BELIEVE ACTIONS ARE ETHICALLY WRONG, BY SEX AND ETHICAL RELATIVISM-ABSOLUTISM

Actions	Males: Relativists	Males: Absolutists	Q*	Females: Relativists	Females: Absolutists	Q*
Anti ascetic actions:						
Gambling on sports	4.1	18.7	+ .69†	25.9	27.8	+ .05
Gambling at cards or dice	6.4	23.6	+ .64†	31.7	43.0	+ .24
Smoking . .	11.3	20.3	+ .33	17.5	27.4	+ .28†
Heavy petting	16.9	30.6	+ .37†	63.6	78.4	+ .35†
Non marital sexual intercourse .	31.7	65.9	+ .61†	81.9	98.5	+ .87†
Looking at pornographic pictures . . .	24.8	45.5	+ .43†	50.0	68.7	+ .37†
Drinking	6.4	24.4	+ .65†	23.6	43.0	+ .42†
Antisocial actions:						
Shoplifting	93.6	97.6	+ .47	98.6	100.0	+ 1.00
Stealing towels, etc., from hotels, etc.	65.9	73.4	+ .18	57.3	67.2	+ .21
Striking a person in anger	51.7	62.6	+ .22	71.3	80.7	+ .26
Lying to a teacher	71.3	80.6	+ .25	79.2	83.7	+ .15
Theft from an individual	97.6	96.8	− .15	97.0	100.0	+ 1.00
Cheating on exams .	91.1	93.4	+ .16	93.8	97.8	+ .49
Blaming another unjustly	95.0	90.3	− .35	96.5	98.5	+ .41
No. of subjects . .	125	124	.	144	135	

* A plus sign (+) indicates that absolutists more often regard the action as ethically wrong than do relativists. A minus sign (−) indicates that relativists more often regard the action as ethically wrong.

† Chi square value significant at the .05 level.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

Relativists differ significantly from absolutists in the degree to which they uphold specific norms, particularly norms deriving from ascetic Puritan morality. Relativists are not, however, more anomic than absolutists in terms of any of the four indexes of anomia utilized in this study: difficulty in evaluating actions, a sense of making too many exceptions to principles, failure to live up to norms which are verbally accepted, or general normlessness. We thus find no evidence to support the conventional assumption shared by writers such as Hoult, Krutch, Fromm, and many others that relativism is closely associated with anomia and disorganization.

Instead, our data are consistent with Benedict's prediction that relativism is as effective a basis for normative behavior as absolutism, that the sanctification which absolutism bestows on a norm is functionally unnecessary.

What, then, underlies the relativists' adherence to social norms? Perhaps one need look no further than the traditional sociological explanation of the efficacy of norms in general. This explanation has been twofold: (*a*) the internalization of norms through the socialization process, and (*b*) the desire for acceptance by others.[33] A

[33] See Dennis H. Wrong, "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, XXVI (April, 1961), 183–93. Wrong argues, however, that these traditional views, with an "oversocialized" view of human nature, are inadequate to explain deviant behavior. "When our sociological theory overstresses the stability and integration of society we will end up imagining that man is the disembodied, conscience driven status seeking phantom of current theory."

relativist may internalize the values of his society in the same way that an absolutist does, but he need not assume that the norm is absolute in order to find that he must uphold it to maintain an acceptable image of himself. Riesman has stressed the quest for acceptance by others as the basis of normative behavior in contemporary society, and suggests that such acceptance is increasingly awarded for simple adjustment to group expectations rather than for adherence to principles which are regarded as supernaturally ordained.[34] Under such circumstances, there need be no assumption that ethical principles are unchanging, or divinely enforced; it is sufficient that the particular group upholds them at a given time.

In any case, however, it is relevant to recall that our subjects were college students. Freud may have anticipated our results when he wrote, "culture has little to fear from the educated or from the brain-workers. In their case religious motives for civilized behavior would be unobtrusively replaced by other and secular ones."[35] He was not sure, however, that the same would apply to "the great mass of the uneducated and suppressed, who have every reason to be enemies of culture."[36]

Our data give no evidence that educated and predominantly middle class relativists are anomic, or a "threat" to culture. Although the "great mass" is far less "uneducated and suppressed" today than it was in Freud's time, it would be valuable to investigate the same hypotheses with another sample at a lower educational and economic level.

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[34] Riesman, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

[35] Freud, *op. cit*, p. 69.

[36] *Ibid*, pp. 69 70.

RESEARCH NOTES

WRITERS IN A TOTALITARIAN STATE: CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1945–56[1]

An exploratory study was undertaken to find out in what way the political situation of a totalitarian state affects the professional and literary careers of persons engaged in creative writing. Although no hypothesis was formulated at the outset of the study, it was assumed that the changed conditions of the political situation would make themselves felt in the professional and literary careers of the literati; that is, that the professions and occupations of the writers and the style and content of their writing would reflect to a degree the change in the political climate.

Data were collected on Czech writers who published between May, 1945, and December, 1956. The information obtained includes the entire population of Czech writers[2] with regard to their date of birth, occupation, trade, or profession during the time of the present investigation, and their literary production in published material.

Political developments in Czechoslovakia throw a significant light on the data gathered. During World War II the western part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia) was occupied by Nazi Germany. After May, 1945, Czechoslovakia was found within the interest sphere of the Soviet Union, but a considerable democratic freedom still prevailed. The Communist coup d'état of February, 1948, meant a definite alignment with the socialist camp, the period of most rigid adherence to the Marxist-Stalinist ideology being that between 1950 and 1954. After the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union early in 1956, Czechoslovak literary production became somewhat more varied and the writers more at ease.

FINDINGS

We notice from Table 1 that the younger the writers, the more likely they were to be associated professionally (as a means of livelihood) with mass media of communication, in particular with some form of publishing. The older generations earned their living predominantly in professions or white-collar jobs. The changes in technology and specialization only partially explain this process. The ultimate control of mass media by the new totalitarian state makes a writer "a working member of the society like everyone else." As such, one becomes a writer by becoming a journalist first, a reporter on events of socialist progress. Thus, young men and women with literary skills were welcome to fill the positions created by the needs of modern communication.

The presence of ideological prerequisites and restrictions other than literary abilities alone cuts down the number of young literary cadets for reasons of political, moral, or personal preferences. There are several

[1] Results of this research on Czech writers were partly reported in a paper before the American Sociological Association in New York in 1960. The findings will be reported at greater length in the *Indian Journal of Social Research*

[2] The population of Czech writers was determined by the information contained in *Slovník českých spisovatelů-beletristů, 1945–1956* ("Dictionary of Czech Writers"), ed. Jaroslav Kunc (Prague: State Pedagogical Publishing House, 1957), 483 pp , which lists all writers (poets, novelists, dramatists, movie script writers, translators, and literary critics) who published at least one volume of writing (or anthology, play, script, translation) between May, 1945, and December, 1956, and who were in *good standing politically* Slovak writers were not included in the study as information on them was not available and conditions in Slovakia are somewhat different The population of our writers is biased favorably to the regime. Altogether the number of omissions for political reasons can be assessed to be about fifty; most of these are older and of professional or white-collar occupations and none of them, understandably, wrote (or writes) in the vein of socialist realism.

factors working against those who prefer to write outside of occupational affiliation with mass media. First, manuscripts are not easily accepted without close connections with a periodical publication (or other mass media). Second, the cliques and coteries around each periodical tend to practice "closed shop" policies because of the financial rewards stemming from the monopoly of editorial control. Third, lack of acquaintance with ideological requirements for a piece of writing suitable for publication may dissuade the outsider from attempts at the publishing market. Fourth, the lack of chances to test one's ideological and literary skills and qualifications in mass media discourages the young writer from starting a larger literary project (novel or drama). Finally, membership in the writers' union[3] operates as a selector of talent, winnowing out "security risks" for the regime.

About the publication records of the writers under discussion we can say the following: about 10 per cent of the writers born during the last century and 13 per cent of those born between 1901 and 1910 started to publish only after May, 1945. On the other hand, 16 per cent of the youngest writers published during the German occupation. Among the writers born between 1911–20, 40 per cent had their first publication after May, 1945.

We have classified the writings published after May, 1945, into three ideological categories: socialist realism (SR), progressive and *avant-garde* (Pr), and a residual category summed up as other (O) styles (see Table 2).

The major requirement for the SR writer is that he depict the society as an expression of human progress toward communism; art has to be permeated with optimism and hope for a still brighter future. The heroes must be positive in action and capable leaders, either members of the Party or aspiring to membership. Workers generally are the hero figures whereas peas-

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONS OF 463 CZECH WRITERS PUBLISHING BETWEEN 1945 AND 1956 AS RELATED TO THEIR DATE OF BIRTH

	Mass Media*		Professions†		White Collar‡		Total
Date of Birth	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No
Before 1900	24	20	52	42	47	38	123
1901 10.	39	24	80	50	42	26	161
1911 20 .	40	41	35	36	22	23	97
1921 -30 .	38	46	22	27	22	27	82

* Periodicals, radio and television, film, publishing houses

† Teaching, all levels, medical and legal professions, adult education, propaganda, and cultural activities, theater and film acting, free-lance reporting, the category of housewives is also included here

‡ State administration, all levels; clerical jobs; a few odd jobs included here

TABLE 2

LITERARY ORIENTATION OF 463 CZECH WRITERS PUBLISHING BETWEEN 1945 AND 1956 AS RELATED TO THEIR DATE OF BIRTH

	SR*		Pr*		O*		Total
Date of Birth	No.	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No
Before 1900	31	25	18	15	74	60	123
1901–10 ..	34	21	40	25	87	54	161
1911-20 .	35	36	19	20	43	44	97
1921–30	60	73	14	17	8	10	82

* *SR*, socialist realism, *Pr*, progressive and *avant garde*, *O*, any other literary orientation not included previously. The categories were treated as mutually exclusive and thus a degree of arbitrariness was unavoidable.

[3] After World War II the Syndicate of Czec Writers was in existence in Czechoslovakia; r quirement for membership was three volumes literary publication (novels, collections of poet even some anthologies and translations and pul lished plays were qualifying). After 1948 tl Communist controlled Union of Czechoslova Writers was established. *Freelancing outside th Union was discouraged.*

ants and members of the intelligentsia are on their way toward understanding the historical mission of the working class; the capitalists and kulaks (land owners) are desperados facing extinction. Religion, naturally, represents a cultural lag, to put it mildly. Such prescriptive requirements as these tend to foster a literature in which schematism prevails. Pr literature is characterized by criticism of the social situation within a capitalist society and by castigation of the bourgeois class as responsible for the social situation, but it does not advocate a clearly defined schematic solution. Since such a philosophy of criticism of society was common in much of Czech literature, until World War II, the borderline between SR criticism of society and Pr criticism is not always clear.

Since the Prague coup in 1948, virtually the only channel to literary careers is within the bounds of SR. Three-fourths of the younger generation entering the field of writing fall within this classification. The potentially Pr literature has been completely absorbed by SR. Pr literature reappeared as part of the revisionist movement in 1956 and later; it is not dealt with here, however.

The actual break between generations in ideological matters is that between writers born before 1920 and those born afterward, as Table 2 shows. The increase in works of SR orientation appears to be a direct result of the political change in Czechoslovakia during the past decade or so.

The ideological constraint translates itself into an ever increasing specialization among the literati. We can understand that an acquired and proved, although limited, skill *in one specific area of literary enterprise carries far less risk of political and ideological deviation than* [illegible]

Of course, all this does not mean that the only literature available in Czechoslovakia at present is of the SR variety. If we divide all Czech writers still alive in 1945 into SR and non-SR, we find that only about 30 per cent of them are SR. About 60 per cent of the SR writers born after 1900 are affiliated with mass media, whereas only about 20 per cent of the non-SR writers of the corresponding generation are. Those who are non-SR and who are still able to maintain their names in the bookstores do so by concentrating on anthologies, on re-editing of their earlier works, and on such politically immune topics as children's literature or perhaps a historical novel. Nonetheless, about one-half of all non-SR writers ceased publishing entirely after the coup.

Most interesting for our thesis—namely, that a totalitarian regime affects the occupational and literary careers of writers—is the category of the younger writers. Considering the SR writers born between 1921 and 1930, we find that not all were publishing during the years of strict dogmatism (1950–54), but only about 70 per cent of them. Just about 30 per cent have published more than four volumes of any kind since the end of the last world war. Although four volumes in a decade is not a negligible achievement, it does not compare favorably with the performance of the older writers.

In summary, our study of the professional and occupational careers of the 463 writers publishing between 1945 and 1956 shows that the totalitarian social system has affected writers by encouraging employment in mass media where *specialization in writing is encouraged and* experimenta*tion discouraged and* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ETHNOPHAULISMS AND ETHNOCENTRISM

It seems to be universal for racial and ethnic groups to coin derogatory terms and sayings to refer to other groups. Well over three thousand such terms and sayings are known today,[1] yet there is no systematic analysis of the phenomenon. Although it is frequently mentioned, there is no attempt to discover in it any pattern of generalizations,[2] nor is there even an accepted name for derogatory group nicknames. A. A. Roback has proposed the neologism "ethnophaulism" (derived from Greek roots meaning to disparage an ethnic group) to refer to group insults. Since there is apparently no other available word we will use "ethnophaulism" specifically to mean a racial or ethnic group's derogatory nickname for another.

In view of the universality of ethnophaulisms and their close connection with ethnocentrism and prejudice, this analysis of the data attempts to discover patterns and generalizations that may make the sources and functions of ethnophaulisms understandable. The analysis is focused on the United States since the data from other countries are less systematic and comprehensive. Five generalizations may be made from the analysis.

1. *All racial and ethnic groups use ethnophaulisms to refer to other groups.*—Of American racial and ethnic groups, whites call Negroes "niggers" and Negroes call whites "pales"; the Spanish-speaking are called "spics" and the non-Spanish "gringos." Protestants call Catholics "mackerel-snappers," while Catholics call Protestants "prods." Occidentals call Orientals "yellow," Orientals call Occidentals "foreign devils." Gentiles call Jews "yids," Jews call Gentiles "goys." Whites call Indians "redskins," Indians call whites "palefaces." The English-speaking call the French "frog-eaters," the French call the English-speaking "anglishe" (pejorative of *Anglais*). The English-speaking call Italians "wops," Italians call the English-speaking "inglese" (connoting "an easy mark").

This proposition seems to apply also to all other known groups. Although some languages have not been systematically examined, it is probably safe to say that there is no known group which does not use ethnophaulisms.[3]

2. *There is a close association between the amount of prejudice against an out-group and the number of ethnophaulisms for it.*—This proposition seems valid for the dominant United States ethnic group, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (for the sake of brevity we will use the nickname "Wasp" for this group, from the initial letters of "white Anglo-Saxon Protestants"). Table 1 lists the ethnic groups in order of increasing prejudice entertained by Wasps, according to Bogardus' "Social Distance Scale."[4] The table also gives the number of ethnophaulisms listed in the *Dictionary of American Slang* used by Wasps for each group and shows an almost perfect rank correlation with the degree of prejudice (Kendall's tau = .95). Thus, it seems the greater the hatred of a group, the more ethnophaulisms express and reinforce it. An alternate interpretation would be that the more ethnophaulisms, the greater resulting

[1] Listed in A. A. Roback, *A Dictionary of International Slurs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1944) and in H. Wentworth and S. B. Flexner, *Dictionary of American Slang* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960).

[2] E.g., R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 421–34; and W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1940), par. 15. Wilmoth A. Carter lists nicknames in his "Nicknames and Minority Groups," *Phylon*, V (Third Quarter, 1944), 241–45, but he has not attempted systematic quantitative analysis.

[3] See Roback, *op. cit.*, for lists of ethnophaulisms from more than twenty-three different languages. This would not apply to cultures which have no "slang" or nicknames: their group insults would be part of the "proper" language.

[4] E. S. Bogardus, "Changes in Racial Distance," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, I (December, 1947), 55–62.

prejudice—which then raises the question: Why are more ethnophaulisms used for one group than for another? This may be the old problem of the chicken and the egg. Probably both interpretations are partly correct: a high degree of prejudice leads to the use of more ethnophaulisms and this in turn leads to more prejudice.

Nevertheless, it is not clear why there should be any association between prejudice and ethnophaulisms. One could speculate that greater hostility could be expressed and reinforced simply by repetition of a small number of ethnophaulisms or by using stronger ones. Nevertheless, here the number of ethnophaulisms is the important variable.

3. *When the out-group is a different race, most ethnophaulisms express stereotyped physical differences.*—This proposition seems to apply to the ethnophaulisms for Negroes, but not to those for Orientals. Two-thirds of the fifty-six ethnophaulisms for Negroes refer to stereotypes of physical difference, but only one-third of the eighteen ethnophaulisms for Orientals do so. Perhaps this is because the physical differences between Negroes and Caucasians are usually greater than those between Orientals and Caucasians.

The most common physical difference referred to is skin color (for Negroes: "blue," "blue-gum," "chocolate drop" or "chocolate bar," "dark meat," "darky," "dingie," "domino," "eight-ball," "ink," "lemon," "mocha," "nigger," "shine," "skillet," "scuttle," "seal," "shade," "shadow," "smokey," "smudge," "spade," "stove-lid," and "tar-pot").[5] Other physical ethnophaulisms refer to features of the head: hair (for Negroes, "burrhead," "fuzzy," "kinky-head," "moss," "nap," and "woolly-head"); eye ("slant-eye" or "slopie" for Orientals); nose ("hook-nose" used both by Orientals for Caucasians and by Gentiles for Jews); mouth ("satchel-mouth" and "shad-mouth" for Negroes); or shape of head ("jar-head" for Negroes and "flange-head" for Orientals). There seem to be no common ethnophaulisms for any other parts of the body. Perhaps the explanation is that skin type and head features are the most visible physical differences.

4. *When the out-group is of the same general racial type, most ethnophaulisms express stereotypes of highly visible cultural differences.*—Cultures differ as to food,

TABLE 1

RANK ORDER OF PREJUDICE BY WASPS AGAINST OTHER GROUPS AND NUMBER OF ETHNOPHAULISMS

Racial or Ethnic Group	Rank Order*	No. of Ethnophaulisms
Canadians	1	1
British (English, Scotch, and Irish)	2	3
North Europeans (non German)...	3	4
Germans	4	9
South and East Europeans...	5	9
Jews	6	15
Spanish-speaking	7	10
Oriental	8	18
Negro.	9	56
Total		125

* Ranked by Bogardus' "Social Distance Scale."

language, or accent, common first names, and common occupations. Of the fifty-one ethnophaulisms applied to other Caucasian groups, 59 per cent refer to one of these differences. Twelve refer to food ("spiggoty" from spaghetti; "greaser" from greasy foods; "pepper" from peppery foods; "chili-eater"; "frog-eater"; "porker" sarcastically, from the Jewish prohibition on pork; "kraut," "sausage," and "limburger" for Germans; etc.). Eight refer to the language or accent ("yid" for Yiddish; "hebe" for Hebrew; "spick" from the phrase "No spicka da English"; etc.). Seven are corruptions of common first names ("ikey" and "kike," from the Jewish name Isaac; "abie," from the Jewish

[5] Note the many negative connotations of "black" and "dark" in the English language: blackball, blackguard, blackhearted, blacklist, blackmail, darken (to make gloomy or sadden), darkness (wickedness or evil), etc.

name Abraham; "mick," from the Irish name Michael; "paddy," from the Irish name Patrick). Three are derived from occupations common to the group ("cloak-and-suiter" from the common Jewish occupation of tailoring; "turf-cutter" from the Irish occupation of cutting peat; and "herring-choker" from the Scandinavian occupation of fishing). There are no ethnophaulisms for less visible differences such as family structure, education, or ideology.

5. *The derivations of most ethnophaulisms express some unfavorable stereotype.*—Of the 125 ethnophaulisms used by Wasps and listed in the *Dictionary of American Slang*, 105 (84 per cent) seem derived from unfavorable stereotypes, though in the case of several, the derivations are not obvious. The Negro term for whites, "ofey," is probably pig-latin for "foe."[6] Similarly, "ogfrey" for Frenchmen is pig-latin for "frog" (short for "frog-eater"). The terms "goy" and "goyim" for Gentiles come from ancient Hebrew and mean "uncivilized." "Sheeny" for Jew is probably derived from the German "schin" meaning a petty thief or miser. The ethnophaulism for Germans, "jerry," is from British slang for "chamber pot." "Monk" from monkey and "ring-tail" from "ring-tailed baboon" used for Orientals comes from the common notion that Orientals look like monkeys. The term "boogie" for Negroes may be derived from the Southern slang for syphilis and thus reflect the myth that Negroes are venereally diseased; it is not derived from the type of jazz called "boogie-woogie" because the use of "boogie" to refer to both Negroes and to syphilis is much older than its use as a type of jazz. The epithet "cluck" for Negroes is probably derived from the slang word, "dumb-cluck." "Russian" for Negroes refers to Negroes who are "rushin" up North to get out of work. "Squarehead" for Scandinavians may be based on the slang, "square," meaning dull, old-fashioned, or unsophisticated. "Dingbat" for Italians and for Chinese is derived from slang for vagabond or beggar. "Gook" for any foreigner comes from slang for dirt or slime.

Nevertheless, there are about twenty terms which have become derogatory but seem to be from neutral or even positive sources. The common first names which are the source of several ethnophaulisms mentioned above do not seem to have unfavorable connotations. "Pickaninny" is derived from the Portuguese for "very little"; "jig" and "jigaboo" may be related to the dance called "jig" and the Negro's supposed instinct for dance and rhythm; "wop" for Italians comes from the Spanish "guapo" meaning a tough brave man; "Bohunk" and "hunkie" come from corruptions of "Bohemian" and "Hungarian." None of these appear based on derogatory stereotypes.

Finally, there remain a few ethnophaulisms whose derivations seem to be unknown: "gange" or "kange" for Negroes, "kelt" or "keltch" for whites (Negro use), and "mockie" for Jews. Thus, although most ethnophaulisms used by Wasps seem derived from unfavorable stereotypes, the several contrary cases are a challenge for future research.

The above generalizations fit in well with the theory that labels used in a culture influence the perception and thinking of its members.[7] Thus the Wasp who is raised in a culture where such labels as "nigger" or "boogie" are common would be more likely to respond to a Negro in terms of pejorative stereotypes than if those labels were rare. According to this theory Shakespeare was wrong when he said, "What's in a name? That which we call a rose / By any other name would smell as sweet." It may well be that if a rose were labeled "stinkweed" it would be

[6] The source for these derivations is the *Dictionary of American Slang*.

[7] E.g., G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Garden City, Doubleday & Co., 1958), chap. x, and B. L. Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956).

perceived as smelling less sweet.

In summary, five generalizations relating ethnophaulisms and ethnocentrism are supported by the evidence available from the United States. Further research is needed to determine if they apply to other cultures and, if so, to show why. We may discover that ethnophaulisms are essential for the existence of such forms of ethnocentrism as chauvinism, pejorative stereotypes, scapegoats, segregation, and discrimination.

ERDMAN B. PALMORE

Yale University

NEWS AND NOTES

Errata.—In Marion J. Levy's review of *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* by Neil J. Smelser (LXVI [May, 1961], 630), the word "for" was eliminated from the phrase that should read "begs for the intended pathetic fallacy." We regret that this error, which distorts the book reviewer's meaning, was made in the course of editing.

In the article, "The Self in the Emotionally Disturbed," by William R. Rosengren (LXVI [March, 1961], 454–62), the signs $>$ and $<$ were reversed in Tables 3–7, with the exception of the second sign in Table 3, which should remain $>$. In Tables 4 and 6, the first significance levels in each should read 0.005 rather than 0.01.

American Catholic Sociological Society.—Paul J. Reisse of Marquette University has been appointed editor of the *American Catholic Sociological Review.*

American Mathematical Society.—On January 22–26, 1962, the Society will hold its annual meeting at the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel in Cincinnati, Ohio, in conjunction with the Mathematical Association of America and the Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics.

Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis, Inc.—At the recent annual meeting Harold Kelman, dean of the American Institute for Psychoanalysis presented a paper on "Free Association," focusing on open-system thinking as it contributes to wider and deeper free association in the self-realization process.

Bowling Green State University.—Charles Glenn Swanson has resigned from the Sociology Department after twenty-seven years of service in which ten years were spent as chairman of the Department. Recent appointments to the department include Harry Theodore Groat, who will teach demography and urban ecology, and Joseph E. Kivlin.

University of California, Los Angeles.—New appointments to the staff are: Bernard Berk, lecturer (Ph.D., University of Michigan); Lindsey Churchill, Jr., assistant professor (Ph.D., Harvard University); Henry Landauer, acting instructor (University of California, Berkeley); Samuel J. Surace, acting assistant professor (University of California, Berkeley).

Visiting scholars are: Leo Kuper, visiting professor (University of Natal, Durban, Union of South Africa); C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, visiting professor (director of research, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands); Lewis Yablonsky, visiting associate professor (University of Massachuetts).

Donald R. Cressey is Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge. Other staff members on leave are: Wendell Bell, Oscar Grusky (Fall semester only), and Harold Garfinkel.

Melville Dalton has received two awards for *Men who Manage:* the Publication Award for 1960 given by the Organization Development Council, New York, and the James A. Hamilton Hospital Administrator's Award for 1961 given by the American College of Hospital Administrators.

Oscar Grusky has been awarded a grant by the Division of Research of the Graduate School of Business Administration for continuation of his study of career mobility among professional managers.

Ralph Turner has been elected editor of *Sociometry* and appointed to the Behavioral Science Study Section of the National Institutes of Health.

Melvin Seeman has been named advisory editor to *Sociometry* and to *Social Problems.*

Charles R. Wright has been elected president of the Pacific Chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

Catholic Anthropological Association.—The 1962 convention will be held in April at the Catholic University of America. Allen Spitzer, of St. Louis University, has been elected president. Papers may be sent to Rev. Louis Luzbetak, S.V.D., Divine Word College, Washington 17, D.C.

Center of Alcohol Studies.—Transfer of the Center from Yale University to Rutgers, The

State University, under the name of the Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, has been announced. Selden D. Bacon, director of the Center and professor of Sociology, and Leon A. Greenberg, director of the Laboratory of Applied Biodynamics and associate professor of applied biodynamics will continue to head the "core" personnel which also will move to the New Brunswick location. In addition to research and teaching, the Rutgers Center will document and publish studies dealing with alcohol, including publication of the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. The transfer and operational costs for the next six years will be financed by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

City College of New York.—Recent appointments in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology include F. W. Howton and Edward Rothstein as assistant professors. Howton was formerly at Los Angeles State College and Rothstein was formerly at Dickenson College. New lecturers are Richard Korn (sociology), George C. O'Neill (anthropology), and John A. Gabriel (social work).

Bernard Rosenberg has returned after spending the academic year 1960–61 as Fulbright lecturer in Argentina. Burt Aginsky, Warren Brown, and Martin Haskell are on leaves of absence during the present academic year. Lawrence Podell is spending his sabbatical leave doing research for the Interdepartmental Neighborhood Committee of New York City.

Milton Barron has been re-elected chairman of the Department for a three-year term and will serve on the National Science Foundation Panel for undergraduate awards in 1962.

A recent article by Martin Haskell on juvenile delinquency was awarded the annual prize for the best theoretical statement in social problems by the Society for the Study of Social Problems.

Concord College.—Dean G. Epley has been appointed to the newly created post of director of guidance and counseling and will also serve as professor of sociology and anthropology.

Economic History Association.—Announcement is made of a biennial prize competition for the best unpublished manuscript in the general field of economic history. The award, called the Edwin Francis Gay Memorial Prize in Economic History, will be $1,500 plus payment of any costs that may be required to assure publication of the prize-winning manuscript. The funds will be contributed by the Council on Research in Economic History. Manuscripts—in English only—may be submitted by American and Canadian scholars and ought not to exceed the equivalent of 350 printed pages. Two unsigned copies, accompanied by a signed letter that can be removed should be sent before July 15, 1962, to Professor Ralph W. Hidy, Secretary, Economic History Association, Morgan Hall, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston 63, Massachusetts.

Emory University.—John T. Doby has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Jerry L. L. Miller, who recently completed a study on occupational choices of graduate students under a grant from the Southern Regional Education Board, has been promoted to assistant professor. Gordon E. Cochrane, of Los Angeles Pacific College, is visiting instructor.

Allen D. Albert, Jr., who retired in September, 1961, has been designated Professor Emeritus.

Recent visiting professors have been Raymond B. Stetto, of the Ohio State University and E. William Noland, of the University of North Carolina.

Gerontological Society, Inc.—The fourteenth annual meeting of the Society was held in November at Pittsburgh. The symposia included the following topics: new directions in health maintenance services for older people; developments in job counseling, retraining, and placements services; and approaches to the study of health and aging.

Hamline University.—Amy Russell, formerly of Iowa State University, has been appointed to the Department of Sociology.

Leland Cooper has received a $10,200 grant from the National Science Foundation for archeological research at Late Woodland Indian sites in northern Wisconsin.

Illinois Academy of Criminology.—Officers elected for the 1961–62 term include: Francis

A. Allen, University of Chicago Law School, president; Daniel Glaser, University of Illinois, Charles H. Shireman, University of Chicago, and Morris J. Wexler, attorney at law, vice-presidents; Harvey Treger, United States Probation and Parole Service, secretary; Harold Finestone, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, treasurer, and G. Lewis Penner, Juvenile Protective Association, archivist. Attorney Morris J. Wexler will head the program committee for the coming year.

Membership is open to all persons with interests in the field of criminology. Inquiries regarding meetings, as well as membership, should be sent to Harvey Treger, United States Probation and Parole Service, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago 4, Illinois.

Institut International de Sociologie.—The twentieth Congress of the Institut International will be held in Córdoba, Argentina, September 12–18, 1962. The theme of the congress will be "Sociology of Societies in an Industrial Development" and will focus on theory, methods, and techniques of sociological research, and on the social structure of societies in industrial development. Subtopics are population and migration, stratification and social mobility, urbanization, family, law, politics, and fluctuations of the economy. Sociological research in the economic development of Latin America and a free optional theme (the latter open only for members of the Institut) are the other main foci of the congress. Papers may be in French, English, German, Italian, or Spanish and must be submitted before May 1 to the Congress Organizing Committee (Professor Alfredo Poviña, Trejo 241, Córdoba, Argentina). Further information may be obtained from Poviña, president of the Organizing Committee.

International Social Science Council.—The fifth General Assembly met at UNESCO House in Paris September 12–15, 1961, to discuss "The Social Prerequisites of Industrialization." The papers presented at the Round Table will provide the basis for the forthcoming recommendations to UNESCO and other international organizations by the Council. François Perroux, scientific director of the Round Table, analyzed the impact of the communication of a technique upon the structure of the culture receiving it. René Hoffherr discussed "The Problem of Professional Personnel in French-speaking African Countries," and Claude Levi-Strauss described "sources of resistance to development" in so-called primitive societies in his paper "The Problem of Cultural Discontinuities in the Light of Ethnography and History." Other papers were given by E. Borrial, Cambridge University (transport, energy, water); Benjamin Akzin, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (political choices); E. E. Hagen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (causes of economic growth); and K. A. Busia (Ghana), Institute of Social Studies of The Hague (the role of vernacular languages in communication with reference to tribal societies which are becoming industrial societies). Bert F. Hoselitz, of the University of Chicago, examined the role of incentives in industrialization and directed attention to the cultural complex in which industrialization takes place. Wilbert E. Moore, of Princeton University, developed this emphasis on the human aspects of industrialization.

In the discussion which followed, suggestions were put forward for defining priorities in research in this area. A general report on the Round Table—to be prepared by Francesco Vito (Italy)—will take these suggestions into account.

International Sociological Association.—Members of the Committee on Social Stratification were guests of the Sociological Research Institute of the University of Cologne during its 1961 meeting in Cologne. In addition to reports by members, a group of German sociologists commented on their research on several aspects of stratification in Germany. The report of this meeting will be published as a special issue of the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie.*

University of Kansas.—Ray P. Cuzzort, who was recently promoted to associate professor, and E. Gordon Ericksen are engaged in a demographic analysis of the Negroes of Greater Kansas City. William M. Bass, who has received the Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, has been promoted to assistant professor. He is engaged in analyzing the human skeletal remains from an archeological site at Hasanlu, Iran. C. Dale Johnson has recently received the Ph.D. from the University of

Minnesota and is continuing his research on the typology of contemporary religious leaders.

Joining the faculty in the fall were William N. Stephens, who received a joint appointment as assistant professor in sociology and the Bureau of Child Development; Felix Moos, instructor, who has been a Fulbright Fellow at the University of Tokyo and a University of Maryland lecturer in Japan and Korea, and who will also participate in the East Asian Language and Culture Program for undergraduates; Norman C. Jacobs, who will be assistant professor in the Department and also serve as staff member in the East Asian Studies Program. Jacobs' research is concerned with the development of methods to determine ways of communicating with members of nationality groups which represent non-Western cultures. Ray D Zinser joined the staff as a visiting lecturer in sociology.

E. Jackson Baur is on sabbatical leave, having accepted a teaching Fulbright award to the University of Amsterdam, Holland.

Carlyle S. Smith attended the Pacific Science Congress at University of Hawaii While in Honolulu, he visited with Thor Heyerdahl and others of the 1955–56 Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island, of which Smith was a member He presented a paper to the Congress on Easter Island Archaeology

Charles K. Warriner, with a renewed grant from the General Research Fund, is continuing his study of voluntary associations and other types of organizations.

The Department has received a continuation grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to train nurses with research interests in community and therapeutic settings As a Ph D. program, each participant may qualify for a grant up to $3,000 per annum. Inquiries should be addressed to Charles K. Warriner, program director.

University of Kentucky.—Frank A. Santopolo joined the Department as an extension specialist and associate professor in rural sociology. Previously he was a community development advisor (evaluation) to Pakistan for the International Cooperation Administration Basil Sherlock is an instructor in the Department of Behavioral Science (College of Medicine) and a Russell Sage Resident. Cyrus M. Johnson, a Ph.D. candidate at Duke University, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Jiri T. Kolaja was promoted to associate professor Marion Pearsall has a joint appointment in the Department of Anthropology in addition to her positions in the departments of Behavioral Science and Rural Sociology. E. Grant Youmans has been appointed associate professor of rural sociology He also continues as Social Science Analyst, Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, United States Department of Agriculture

James W Gladden has been granted a year's leave of absence to serve as President of the Blue Ridge Assembly, the conference center of the Southern YMCA

The National Institute of Mental Health has extended a grant for one year to continue a restudy of the Beech Creek neighborhood in the Kentucky mountains. The extension is granted to obtain further depth information on the adjustment of migrants James S Brown and Harry K Schwarzweller are directing the study. Joining them is Joseph J Mangalam Mangalam also received a Rockefeller grant to complete a study on low academic performance in the University of the Panjab, Lahore, Pakistan Joseph and Sylvia Mangalam were invited to Colorado State University as consultants in the orientation and training program of Peace Corps Volunteers for work in Pakistan

Jiri T Kolaja spent the summer in Germany France, and Yugoslavia exploring possibilities for comparative community studies Willis A Sutton convened the first statewide Kentucky Community Development Workers Conference The Department's Bureau of Community Service was the sponsor As an outgrowth of the conference, work is continuing on the formation of a state council on area and community development

The Department in expanding its program in demography has received National Defense Fellowships for the Ph D in Sociology and Rural Sociology with demography as an area of specialization A demographic laboratory has been established as a joint venture between the Department of Sociology and the Department of Behavioral Science

Marquette University—Paul J Reiss has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology to succeed Rudolph Morris who will continue with the department. Arthur Donohue has retired John Snyder, S J Ph D candidate at Columbia, has joined the Depart-

ment as instructor. The Department staff now consists of: Jack Curtis, Bela Kovrig, and Rudolph Morris, professors; Joseph McGee, associate professor; Frank Atelsek and Paul Reiss, assistant professors; Thomas Burch and John Snyder, S.J., instructors; Stephen Borhegyi and Robert Holzhauer, lecturers.

Frank Atelsek is on leave of absence during 1961–62 to serve on the Senate special committee on aging.

Midwest Sociological Society.—Newly elected officers of the Society for 1961–62 are Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota, president, and Marvin J. Taves, University of Minnesota, vice-president. Wayne Wheeler, Kansas City Study of Adult Life, who was formerly secretary-treasurer of the Society, continues as secretary while E. G. McCurtain, University of Omaha, has been appointed by the Executive Committee to the post of Treasurer. New members of the Executive Committee are Alan P. Bates, University of Nebraska; Courtney B. Cleland, North Dakota State University; Edwin A. Christ, University of South Dakota; and Gladys Ishida, Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point.

The Twenty-fifth Anniversary Meeting (twenty-sixth annual meeting) of the Society will be held at the Hotel Savery, Des Moines, Iowa, April 12–14, 1962. Lewis J. McNurlen, Drake University, is chairman of local arrangements.

University of Missouri.—Robert F. G. Spier has returned from the Netherlands, where as a NATO fellow last year he conducted research in the field of technological change. He has received a National Science Foundation grant for the development of teaching aids in physical anthropology. He has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Howard A. Rosencranz, formerly of Michigan State University, has been appointed assistant professor. He will offer courses in social psychology and industrial sociology and will be in charge of the introductory sociology courses. Mrs. Rosencranz has been appointed associate professor in the school of home economics, where she will conduct classes and research in social psychology.

H. Clyde Wilson, who was on the staff of Texas Technological College last year, has been appointed assistant professor. He received his degree in anthropology at UCLA in June. Last summer he was engaged in research in Indian cultures of the Southwest.

Bevode McCall, of Chicago, has been appointed associate professor as a temporary replacement for Robert Habenstein. He has been engaged in consumer and advertising research for private corporations.

Raoul Anderson, Brian McCall, Norman Friedman, and Roy Wright have been appointed instructors in sociology.

Charles E. Lively became Professor Emeritus at the June, 1961, commencement. A recognition dinner was held at the University, October 18, 1961, to honor him. At that time, a book of letters from his friends and former students was presented and the Lively award was announced.

Robert L. McNamara was appointed chairman of the Rural Sociology Department, September 1, 1961.

Professor Herbert L. Lionberger returned to the Department of Rural Sociology after eighteen months in India. He served as research consultant in developing communication and diffusion research aspects of the intensive agricultural developments and family planning programs of the Indian government. These programs were carried on with Ford Foundation grants.

Robert W. Habenstein is at Community Studies, Kansas City, conducting a study of urban kinship systems under an NIMH grant. He will work in collaboration with Allan Coult, who was an instructor in anthropology at Missouri last year. Habenstein is co-author, with Stuart A. Queen and John B. Adams, of *The Family in Various Cultures*, recently published as a second edition of an earlier volume. He was on the teaching staff at UCLA last summer.

C. T. Pihlblad and Robert McNamara have been participating in a planning program for research in aging. A week's conference was held in Minneapolis in July, attended by representatives from several midwestern states. The plans and the conferences have been under the sponsorship of Community Studies, Inc.

Carl H. Chapman has received a National Science Foundation grant to continue his research in the archeology of the Osage Indians. He is currently on leave from the University. Richard Marshall, who received his M.A. de-

gree at the university several years ago, will teach Chapman's classes.

Bruce J. Biddle has received a financial grant from the Office of Naval Research to continue his work in role theory. He is planning a conference of specialists in role theory to be held at the university in March. He and his research associates are completing a two-year study of the public school teacher in Kansas City. He is also completing a monograph, "The Status of Role Theory," for the Office of Education.

The urban sociology textbook by Gist and Halbert, *Urban Society*, has been translated into Portuguese and published in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, by the Fundo de Cultura. A fifth edition of the book is in preparation.

C. T. Pihlblad and Noel P. Gist have been working on research projects in Kansas City, spending part time during the past year on faculty fellowships provided by Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri. Both studies are concerned with various aspects of vocational aspirations and social mobility of Kansas City youth.

National Conference on Social Welfare.—The eighty-ninth Annual Forum of the National Conference will be held May 27–June 1 in New York City. Fedele F. Fauri, dean of the School of Social Work at the University of Michigan and president of the National Conference is program chairman.

National Council on Family Relations.—The 1961 E. W. Burgess Award for Excellence in Family Research for the best family research of article length published in 1959 or 1960 was awarded to Melvin Kohn, of the National Institutes of Mental Health, for his article entitled "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," published in the *American Sociological Review*, June, 1959; for research of monograph length published in 1959 or 1960 to Reuben Hill (University of Minnesota); J. Mayone Stycos (Cornell University); and Kurt Back (Duke University) for "The Family and Population Control," University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

The awards were made at the annual meeting of the National Council, August 23–25, 1961, at the University of Utah. Gerald Leslie, Purdue University, was chairman of the Burgess Award Committee.

National Science Foundation.—The Division of Social Sciences announces that the next closing date for receipt of basic research proposals in the social sciences is February 1, 1962. Proposals received prior to this date will be disposed of approximately four months later. Proposals received after February 1, 1962, will be reviewed following the summer closing date of May 1, 1962. Inquiries should be addressed to the Division of Social Sciences, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C.

University of Nebraska.—Joyce O Hertzler, professor of sociology for thirty-eight years, has become Professor Emeritus. His book, *American Social Institutions*, was published this past summer. Professor Hertzler is currently studying the sociology of language and will maintain an active association with the Department.

Bernard C. Rosen has joined the Department as associate professor Professor Rosen, whose NIMH research grant has been transferred from the University of Connecticut, is continuing work on the origins and functions of achievement motivation in the United States and Brazil Richard Videbeck had a faculty research fellowship this past summer and also was recently promoted to associate professor. Otto Hoiberg is now head of the Youth Wing at the University's Kellogg Center for Continuing Education, but will maintain his association with the Department.

Professor James M. Reinhardt addressed the faculty of the University of Wyoming on "Youth and Modern Culture" recently and is scheduled to address the Homicide Seminar for the Medico-Legal Division of the Harvard Medical College in November Richard Kurtz has had published a series of reports dealing with hospital systems in Nebraska. Other members of the Department include Nicholas Babchuk and Alan P Bates (chairman).

North Dakota State University at Fargo.—Seth Russell, professor of sociology and dean of arts and sciences, has been granted a sabbatical leave effective December 1, 1961, to participate in a project at the Center for the

Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago.

William P. Hawkinson, formerly of the University of Iowa, began duties this fall as associate professor of child development and family life.

An analysis of North Dakota's population growth of the past decade was recently carried in North Dakota State University's *Farm Research*. Roy Cook is the author.

Courtney B. Cleland was recently elected 1961–62 president of the North Dakota Social Science Association, an organization of college teachers and researchers.

Northern Illinois University.—Three independent departments have been formed this year to replace the former Department of Social Sciences (Sociology and Anthropology, Economics, and Political Science). Waldo W. Burchard (theory and sociology of religion) is head of the new Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Other members are Clyde B. Vedder (criminology), James G. Martin (social psychology), Harold E. Smith (family, community), Morris Freilich (cultural anthropology), Barbara A. Kay (criminology, methodology), and David H. Howard (stratification, minorities). The Master of Arts in Sociology is offered as well as one year of post-Master's degree curriculum.

Purdue University.—Dwight W. Culver has been granted a leave of absence to become associate director of the Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education, with headquarters in Minneapolis. Karl G. Zollschan, formerly of Community Studies, Inc., in Kansas City, has been appointed assistant professor to teach theory courses during Culver's absence.

Other recent appointments include Bernice Z. Goldstein (Ph.D., Purdue University) and Eugene D. Selmanoff, both at the rank of instructor. Mrs. Goldstein has just returned from a two-year stay with her family in Japan. In addition to his part-time appointment in this Department, Selmanoff has taken a position as director of a research project dealing with ritualism in nursing practice at Indiana University's School of Medicine in Indianapolis, supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health.

Edward Z. Dager has been elected president of the Indiana Council on Family Relations for 1962–64.

Professor Kaare Svalastoga was a visiting lecturer during the week of September 18. He is head of the Sociological Institute at the University of Copenhagen.

St. Louis University.—Allen Spitzer, associate professor and director of anthropological research, was re-elected president of the Catholic Anthropological Association. He will continue as advisory editor of *Sociological Abstracts*. He and Mrs. Spitzer presented a series of lectures on "The Nurse and Mental Health" at the Jamaica General Trained Nurses Association's Thirteenth Annual Summer School, under the auspices of the West Indies School of Public Health in Kingston, during the past year. The lectures are being published in Jamaica under various titles, including "Social Psychiatry and Anthropology," "The Nurse and the Social Science Approach," and "The Nurse as a Member of the Health Team." While in Jamaica Spitzer made arrangements for field-work opportunities for M A. candidates and candidates in the newly established Ph.D. in Sociology-Anthropology

During the past year, staff members spent a second season of field work among the Florida Seminoles collecting data on the social anthropology of religion.

San Francisco State College.—Charles Allyn, instructor, and Robert Blauner, assistant professor, both from the University of California, have been appointed to the staff. In addition, the Department staff includes Dale Freeman, Don Gibbons, Samuel Johnson, John Kinch, Carlo Lastrucci, George Outland, Frederic Terrien, and Sidney Willhelm.

Donald L. Garrity has received a Ford Foundation grant to study British treatment of youthful offenders at the Home Office, London.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The Society has begun publication of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* in which empirical and theoretical studies of religion, primarily by behavioral scientists, will be presented. Editorial correspondence should be addressed to the editor, Dr. Prentiss Pemberton, 1100 South Goodman Street, Rochester 20, New York.

Tribal Research Institute.—The Institute announces publication of a bi-annual *Bulletin* which will contain articles by eminent anthropologists of India and serve as the "primary organ" on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh. The first issues contain articles on "The Life of Dhurwas of Bastar," "The Changing Tribes of M.P.," and "'Madhya Pradesh Ke Adiwasi'" (Hindi) and are available. Further information can be obtained from the editor, Dr. K. M. Bhouraskar, *Bulletin* of the Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, India.

UNESCO.—The creation of an International Social Science Institute next year in Vienna has been proposed by a working party of experts from eleven European countries who met at UNESCO House in Paris on September 21 and 22, 1961. The institute which would carry out studies involving different branches of the social sciences on an international scale, is intended to bring about constant collaboration by researchers from all European countries. It would organize meetings and exchanges, gather documentation, and publish work executed by national institutes on the basis of its plans and methods. Decisions will be taken at Vienna next year by a general assembly with the task of establishing the statutes, program, and budget of the future institute.

Vanderbilt University.—Edward McDill, on leave 1961-62 with a Social Science Research Council post-doctoral research fellowship, is working in the Department of Social Relations, Johns Hopkins University, on adolescent subcultures.

Wayland J. Hayes participated in a conference on the changing American population organized by the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, in October 1961.

John Mogey, chairman of the Department, attended the sixth International Seminar on Family Research, September 1961, at Opatija, Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Council for Child Welfare invited the seminar to discuss the impact on family structures of rapid industrialization and urbanization.

Emilio Willems was a consultant in a conference on social problems caused by industrialization in Latin America, November 1961. This group met on the invitation of the Rektors of all West German Universities at Munster.

REVIEW ARTICLE

TWO CRITIQUES OF HOMANS' *SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: ITS ELEMENTARY FORMS**

A SOCIOLOGIST'S VIEW

By JAMES A. DAVIS
University of Chicago

In 1950 George Homans published *The Human Group,* one of the handful of sociological works in this century which deserves the term "classic." Using findings from a number of field studies of small groups, he developed a theoretical system to describe the process by which work affects patterns of interaction, which in turn lead to the development of subgroups characterized by positive sentiments and distinctive patterns of behavior and attitudes; how such subgroups develop status orders and mechanisms of social control; and how the inherent ambivalence of reactions to authority molds social structure.

Apparently one of the few people who was dissatisfied with the book was its author, who was worried not about whether the propositions were true but about why they were true. Why should interaction lead to liking? Why should the activities of one subgroup become increasingly differentiated from those of other subgroups? Why should individuals who come close to realizing the norms of the group as a whole receive high rank?

Such "why" questions can ultimately lead up to cosmology or down to biochemistry, but in the immediate vicinity of the original problem there are only two likely possibilities: a group level theory such as "functionalism" or a theory of individual psychology. Those who have read Homans' comments on functionalism in *The Human Group* or Homans and Schneider on *Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes* will have little trouble predicting the direction taken.

Social Behavior is thus a theory of motivation designed to predict the propositions of *The Human Group*. I think it is important to understand the massive challenge of such an enterprise. Of all the areas of the more behavioral social sciences, the theory of motivation is probably in the worst mess today. Logically, the area is booby-trapped with concealed tautologies; empirically, the problems of measurement are horrendous; and conceptually, the area is a battleground of guerrilla warfare between psychologists of the veterinary persuasion and the brawling grandchildren of Sigmund Freud. Sociological theorists usually detour around the problem by taking motivation as "given" or assuming that all these things are learned during something called socialization. It takes a brave man to enter this area, much less to conquer it.

What then is this theory? Chapters ii, iii, and iv present the fundamental concepts and principles of a theory which turns out to be an amalgam of Skinnerian operant conditioning and classical economics, which make a better pair than one might think offhand.

From Skinner come the concepts of operant conditioning, positive and negative reinforcement, and satiation, presented lucidly in chapter ii and, as far as I can tell, straight from Skinner.

Chapters iii and iv add the key economic components of the theory: cost, profit, and exchange plus a final concept which is neither really Skinnerian nor economic but Homansian, "distributive justice." The addition of "cost," defined as "the value of

* *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms.* By George Caspar Homans. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1961. Pp. x+404. $5.50.

the reward obtainable through a unit of alternative activity, forgone in emitting the given one" (one can almost see the great stylist gritting his teeth every time he has to write "emitting") and "profit," defined as "reward minus cost," provide the apparatus for handling individual variations. By and large, Homans assumes that, except for satiation, social rewards have similar motive power for all men. His motivation theory is not a "need" theory like McCelland's or Freud's. Variation between individuals is accounted for by variations among them in their access to alternative sources of reward, satiation, or the reinforcements they elicit.

The idea of exchange makes the system social rather than purely organismic. Homans says, "this book envisages social behavior as an exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons." Under the scheme advanced, such social activity will only continue if it is (relative to the other alternatives open to the parties involved) profitable for both. In capsule, most of the substantive chapters consist of a series of exegeses of research findings attempting to show that the outcomes represent a situation which is mutually profitable to the parties involved. Thus, if you and I are co-workers and I continually ask you for advice and you continually give it, I am seen as exchanging my social approval for your advice, and you are exchanging your advice for my social approval. Hence, by implication I need advice more than I need to appear capable, and you need social approval more than you need to get your work done.

The third major theoretical idea is "distributive justice." Homans says, in effect, that as behavioral situations are repeated, an organism will learn that if it emits *X* behavior in *Y* circumstances and receives *Z* reward, then this comes to constitute an expectation, whose violation produces anger. "Men express anger when they do not get what their past history has taught them to expect." In addition, it is assumed that this expectation is generalized to other people, so that *everyone* expects that when similar people emit similar behavior in similar circumstances, they should receive similar rewards. This second proposition goes two ways, as a postulated need to treat similar people in similar (although not necessarily generous) ways, and as a feeling of relative deprivation if one is not treated according to the expectation. These postulates constitute a non-rational camel's nose in the tent of theory, a sort of moral dimension, which is used later to explain findings which would be at variance with some of the simple hedonistic overtones of the rest of the theory.

Chapters v–xvii proceed to apply this theory to explain the findings of a number of small-group studies. This time they are mostly experimental studies in the group-dynamics tradition rather than field studies, except that Peter Blau's *Dynamics of Bureaucracy* is used throughout the book to illustrate facets of the theory. Among the topics covered are influence and conformity, subgroup rivalry, the distribution of sociometric choices, the relationships between job satisfaction and productivity, relative deprivation, and the now traditional chapter on why leaders should not be pals with the troops. To comment in any detail on the application of the theory to particular studies would make this review somewhat longer than the book. As one would expect, Homans' high skill in interpreting research findings and the genuine power of his theory make much of the text a true elucidation, particularly among the more complex group-dynamics experiments, where one so often concludes only that, although the design was awfully sophisticated, it was not clear what the study was about.

Rather than treating particular analyses, let me try to state some of my more general reactions, beginning with the excellences of the book.

To start with a rather unscientific reaction, one of the major strengths of the volume is that it has the ring of truth. As

one reads along, one keeps saying: "That's it. That's how it really works." I submit that it is impossible, after reading this book, to review what one did in the last 24 hours and not see it as a large collection of small deals. Even if the formal apparatus should be found wanting when some bright graduate student puts it all through the computer, the book has valid things to tell us about how we live and get along with each other. Without the literary affectations of the impressionist school of sociologists or the shrill exhortations of the ex-radicals, this book tells us something about people, which is no mean tribute to a book on sociology.

Second, the book is crawling with ideas. It has epigrams, hypotheses, insights, paradoxes, offhand remarks which would justify entire studies, and although on occasion the homespun philosopher gets the best of the sociologist, there is not a page which isn't stimulating.

Third, it is about time that somebody in sociology admitted that psychology exists. While I am sure that specialists in learning theory will find their Skinner highly diluted and there are dozens of experiments which show that laboratory animals do not behave *quite* that way, to my mind this book represents a greater step forward in unifying the behavioral sciences than many a book with that avowed purpose.

Is the book, then, flawless? I think not, and I have some major reservations at the level of technical methodology.

Although the book is a virtuoso performance in showing the application of a theory to diverse research studies conducted for other purposes, there are some instances where *ad hoc* assumptions, rather spectacular leaps to conclusions, and the use of verbal rather than mathematical reasoning, led me to wonder whether anyone except the author could have drawn these particular conclusions from his theory.

Let me give an example, perhaps chosen unfairly. In chapter xvi, Homans is considering whether *The Human Group*'s proposition that conformity is proportional to status is true or whether Everett Hughes is right in saying that high-status people get away with a lot. After reviewing some studies, Homans comes over to the Hughes position.

The argument is intricate, but all the arguments in the book are intricate, so this one may do for an illustration. To begin with, Homans is considering a judgment situation where a person may conform to the group's position or not and later be shown to be correct or incorrect. Let us consider first the potential profit in *conformity* for high-, middle-, and low-status people who disagree with the group:

A. If the group turns out to be right:

> *High status* . . . he may not lose much, before . . . no damage is done to his status, but he has not improved it either.
>
> *Middle status* . . . his position as an accepted member is confirmed, and it needs confirming more than does that of an upper status member.
>
> *Low status* . . . he does not get very far . . . if in the past a long run of his behavior has been "bad" by the others' standards . . . then one example of "good" behavior will not do much for him.

B. If the group turns out to be wrong:

> *High status* . . . he may not lose much, everyone else will have been wrong, too . . . still, it will do him little good to be wrong with the rest when upper-status people get their position by being different from the rest and better.
>
> *Middle status* . . . he has only been a boob with the rest, who are in no condition to turn on him.
>
> *Low status* . . . (same argument as in *A*).

Now, let us consider potential profit for non-conformity, according to Homans:

C. If the group turns out to be right:

> *High status* . . . he will at least have been "different" and though he will have sacrificed a certain amount of esteem, it is conceivable that he is relatively satiated . . . if he does lose esteem, he will still have a lot left to play with.
>
> *Middle status* . . . he may really hurt him-

self in status, he is not so far from the bottom that a single misstep will not bring him appreciably closer to it.

Low status . . . he has nothing in the way of status to lose because his is at the bottom anyhow.

D. If the group turns out to be wrong:

High status . . . he will have foregone no self-respect, but he will also have increased, as he could have done in no other way, the esteem in which others hold him as a possessor of rare abilities.

Middle status . . . he will indeed gain status; but it will take more than one such achievement to get him to the top . . . (and) his gain in status is at the same time a challenge to someone above him.

Low status . . . he has saved his self-respect.

The principles applied are indeed those of the theory, but there is some question as to whether they have been applied consistently. Selt-respect as a cost in conformity (an alternative foregone) is posited for high- and low-status people, but not for middle-status people. The satiation principle is applied to high-status people (in *C*), but the deprivation obverse is never applied to low-status people. It is assumed that status envy holds back rising middles, but it is not assumed that the envious are waiting to pounce on a high's mistake.

It is assumed that highs are farther from the middle than middles are from the lows in arguing that a drop for highs will not bring them down to the middle, but the drop for the middles would bring them down to the lows. Similarly, if it were assumed that lows have low status rather than zero status, the argument in *C* would turn out, "He will lose all of the little status he has" rather than "He has nothing in the way of status to lose."

I submit that the relationship between status and conformity cannot be deduced from the theory, but follows from a number of implicit *ad hoc* principles, "High-status people are rewarded for being different," "Men are more concerned with proportional changes in status than in absolute ones, but social reactions are in absolute amounts rather than proportional ones," "Middle-status people have greater need for confirming their status," etc., which may be true, but are not part of the theory presented in the beginning chapters.

I am of course belaboring two pages out of a long book where most of the arguments follow a little more inexorably, but other pages are not without analogues. Part of the problem lies in the fact that verbal reasoning is very deceptive, part in the fact that it is humanly impossible to write an entire book of closely reasoned arguments without making a few slips, but more important I think is a logical problem which might be called crypto-Parsonianism.

The two sages of the Charles River, Parsons and Homans, do not see eye to eye on the strategy of theory-building. While to my knowledge Parsons has not commented on Homans' theories, he undoubtedly feels that they are a little narrow and leave out a high proportion of the things with which sociology should be concerned. On the other hand, Homans makes it clear that he much prefers theories which state propositions which could be shown to be true or false empirically, even if such theories are narrow in scope. He says in this book: "Much modern sociological theory seems to me to possess every virtue except that of explaining anything . . . [the theorist] has written the dictionary of a language which has no sentences."

With this in mind, let us look at the theory Homans presents Skinnerian psychology is an operationally defined system which has no intrinsic empirical interpretation. Consider, for instance, reinforcement, the key idea in the whole thing. Reinforcement is defined as any stimulus which affects the probability of recurrence of operant behavior. It is patently tautological to claim that the statement "behavior varies with reinforcement" is a substantive proposition. Rather, such ideas as reinforcement, extinction, satiation, etc.,

serve as (the pun is unavoidable) pigeonholes in which to classify the data. For an experimenter to conclude that giving such-and-such a bird seed is associated with such-and-such a kind of bar pressing after so many hours during which food has been withheld, and thus "under this type of deprivation this bird seed is a reinforcer" is not tautological, but there is nothing about bird seed in the theory. The bird seed comes from experimental studies.

I think that most of the other concepts in the theory—cost, investments, profit, distributive justice, etc.—share this same characteristic of being purely formal concepts with no immediate empirical interpretation.

The point is not to excoriate this sort of theory. It has paid off tremendously in psychology (and to some extent in economics where, however, the existence of money provides a direct meaning to the theoretical propositions which is lacking when they are applied to social problems). Rather, it is necessary to point out that such theories are in many ways like the Parsonian theories Homans rejects. In Parsons there are a large number of specific (although abstract) variables, but few or no statements about their relationships. In Homans' new theory, there are a large number of general statements about relationships, but few or no propositions about the specific variables for which the propositions are true. In neither case can one make predictions about empirical events from the theory alone, which unfortunately is the aim of Homans' book.

What happens is that the real theory, the key propositions which say, "This is a reinforcer" and "That is more valuable than the cost incurred in getting it," are not in the statements in capital letters and italics, but occur in a series of offhand *ad hoc* remarks: "social approval will play somewhat the same part in our social economics as money does in regular economics," "the value some men find in agreement for its own sake and apart from any social approval it may get them," "[in this experiment] integrity was the reward, forgone approval was the cost," "the humorist is seldom held in the highest esteem," "one will fail to resent criticism only when it comes from a man who cannot be a serious rival," and so on in Homans' inimitable fashion.

In summary, I do not believe that the theory presented in this book is a theory of the type which Homans has championed so long and eloquently. Rather, it is a conceptual framework which can be extremely helpful in looking for problems and analyzing empirical situations. In this sense, Homans has now written his *Structure of Social Action* a decade after writing his *Social System*.

Because I happen to believe that the conceptual framework is a very useful one and I believe that the reward from mining out the "real theory" is worth the alternatives foregone in the time necessary to read this book very carefully, I found reading the book extremely profitable, and despite the reservations expressed, I predict that the sociological profession will emit more than a little social approval.

AN ECONOMIST'S VIEW

By KENNETH E. BOULDING
University of Michigan

This intriguing work seems to have two main purposes; first, to develop an elementary theory of the interaction of persons at levels below that of strictly formal organization and, second, to familiarize the reader with the major pieces of empirical sociological study in this field in the past couple of decades or so, with a view to showing that the theory illuminates the results of these studies.

The theory itself is a mixture of the economist's theory of exchange with the psychologist's theory of learning by rewards and punishments. Economic man is crossed with the psychological pigeon to produce what the unkind might call the Economic Pigeon theory of human interaction. This

is deliberately intended, however, to be an elementary theory, in the literal sense of a theory which attempts to account for the basic elements of the situation, and as such it is fully justified. The economist's concept of exchange of commodities is broadened to include all the outputs of one person which become the inputs of another, such as social approval, thanks, status reinforcement, and so on. The behaviorist's concept of animal learning is broadened to include the reaction process by which two, or more, persons provide mutual stimuli for each other, and so contribute, by acts of exchange, to the mutual modification of the behavior of each, so that, instead of the basic dyad being the pigeon and the psychologist, it becomes two persons who may be neither, but who seem to act on each other in much the same way.

As an economist, of course, it is flattering to have my suspicions confirmed that economic exchange is the theoretical substratum of all elementary human interaction. I wish, indeed, that Professor Homans had been even more explicit, and had begun his analysis with an exposition of where economists have in fact left the theory of exchange. Granted that we have not really done much with it since Edgeworth, there is a useful apparatus of indifference curves, contract curves, bargaining paths, Pareto optima, and the like, all of which is highly relevant to Homans' problem, but which he refers to only in passing. Because of this lack of explicit recognition of the economist's contribution there is a failure to make an explicit reconciliation between the economist's man and the psychologist's pigeon, with the result that we have something which may not be anybody's pigeon but which could easily (or maybe not so easily, but at any rate possibly) have been everybody's pigeon. This is reflected in the one attempt at quantitative theory-building (with diagrams) in chapter xiii, which, I must confess as an economist, I found confusing in the extreme; Homans' "satisfaction" is clearly not the economist's "utility," but what it is I find hard to understand. The contrast may be seen by the fact that Homans' satisfaction becomes infinite at the point of satiation, whereas utility merely becomes a finite constant with respect to increase in "reward." My self-examination, casual as it may seem to a social psychologist, does not reveal any inner variable which ever becomes infinite, and I cannot help feeling that Homans' "satisfaction" is a queer mixture of quite incompatible elements.

If I might attempt my own reconciliation between Man and Pigeon, I would say that whereas the economist has devised an excellent apparatus to describe an existing structure of preference, and how various behaviors are the result of various exchange *opportunities*, the economist has never come to grips with the problem of how these preference structures are learned, which in large measure they clearly must be. The economist almost seems to regard utility functions as innate in the individual, like a bird's preference for building the right kind of nest for its species. While it may be fine to regard an oriole's taste for hanging baskets as innate, there is more doubt about the cat's taste for mice, and no doubt at all about a man's taste for Picassos; whatever genetic roots there may be for this preference in the fear of falling and loud noises, these are so completely overlaid by acculturation and learning experience that they can be neglected. For those economists whose ears are attuned to significant silences, therefore, Homans is calling their attention in an outsize whisper to what is the greatest defect of Economic Man—that he never learns anything. Homans contends, of course, that men learn just as well if not better than pigeons, and that they learn mainly through the process of exchange itself in its most general form. This learning, furthermore, is not random; it follows certain dynamic paths which eventually settle down into what he calls a "practical equilibrium." There is no need to be shy about this equilibrium; it is as good as anybody else's equilibrium, and can be theoretical as well as practical. It

may be a little hard to formulate mathematically because of the complexity of the variables, but the concept is just the same as that of any other dynamic equilibrium—that a dynamic process eventually reached a point where Monday produces a Tuesday identical in all respects but date. In the case of human interaction we will find the interaction modifying both the preferences of the parties and their behavior, until the repertory of modification is exhausted and all behavior serves merely to reinforce the existing preferences.

The Homans system would have been strengthened, I believe, not only by a more explicit recognition of the economic model of exchange, but also by the recognition that exchange systems are not the only form of human intercourse. There are, for instance, threat systems which are highly charactistic of personal (and organizational) interaction under some circumstances, and which have properties that are very different from exchange systems. An exchange system starts with *promises* ("if you do something nice to me I will do something nice to you"). It is consummated by an exchange of *goods,* and it is hence a positive-sum game in which both parties benefit. A threat system starts, naturally, with threats: "if you do something bad to me (or do not do something good) I will do something bad to you." If a unilateral threat is successful it is at best a zero-sum game in which there is mere redistribution of assets, and in psychological terms it is certainly negative sum; furthermore, unilateral threats tend to pass into bilateral threat systems, which have the remarkable property that if they are consummated (that is, if the threats have to be carried out) they have failed, and everybody is clearly worse off. Threat systems are not only important in many subcultures, even in our own society, but they are typical of international relations and of much family life; if they reach an equilibrium at all it is a cyclical one of alternating threats and violence, the purpose of violence, of course, (by which I mean the simple carrying out of a threat) being to re-establish the credibility of threats. Another system which Homans also neglects might be called the "love system": this is a system of interaction in which there is increasing identification of the preference structures of one person with another. This again is somewhat different from pure exchange, in which the parties retain their separate identities and interests; in a love system the parties literally "become one." The merger movement in business and federation in states presents a parallel at the organizational level. In a sense love systems are more like negative-threat systems than they are like pure exchange systems; in any case they deserve separate treatment. One would like to see Homans work out the subtle consequences of these systems for larger groups as he has done for exchange systems. Homans is at his best when he is developing the properties of larger groups from the properties of the dyad; if the dyad is inadequately analyzed, however, something will be missed from the theory of the larger group.

The book has a charm of style which is seldom found in works of sociology. In part this may be due to the civilizing influence of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, in the mellow atmosphere of which the absurd taboo on the personal pronoun has finally dissolved. In part one suspects also that Homans, like all good sociologists, is a novelist at heart. I confess I followed the fortunes of Person and Other, with the somewhat sinister Third Man, through the book with something of a literary eye: Person is a slightly unattractive character, rather incompetent and too fond of social approval; Other is a fine chap, though a bit stiff and full of rectitude. There are tantalizing suggestions of an episode in the South Seas (perhaps during the war?), and one ends with the slightly disheartening revelation that our heroes end up as Washington bureaucrats. It is the lacunae in the story, however, that are interesting. There seems to be no sex life, which is strictly against the rules in a mod-

ern novel. There is no kinship, no complex family situations; our heroes, like Economic Man, have no parents, which saves them a lot of psychological difficulties and, no doubt, explains the essential rationality of their behavior, but it deprives their characters of a certain depth and richness. We shall await the sequel (I am sure this is at least a trilogy) with some excitement, in which, we hope, Person gets involved with a she-other. Sociology, at any rate, is revealed as good clean fun.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mathematical Thinking in the Measurement of Behavior. Edited by HERBERT SOLOMON. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. Pp. vii+ 314. $7.50.

In this book Professor Solomon has brought together surveys of research in three areas of social science which do not ordinarily keep close company, namely, small-group research, decision theory, and factor analysis. The headway which mathematical thinking has made in these areas in recent years has brought them together on this occasion. The papers are devoted to explaining both formally and intuitively the mathematical side of these developments and evaluating its contribution to substantive problems in the three fields. Half the book is taken up by a survey of "The Mathematical Study of Small Groups," by James S. Coleman. The remainder consists of a "Survey of Bernoullian Utility Theory," by Ernest W. Adams, and a brief survey of mathematical models in factor analysis, contributed by Solomon. The papers were prepared in 1956 in connection with the Behavioral Models Project of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. A few citations appear to papers published as late as 1958, however, indicating that revisions were incorporated at the time of publication.

In his review of small-group research, Coleman contrasts the rational model-building approach of the more mathematically oriented workers with the empirical approach of those with psychological or sociological orientations. The example of the former is Simon's, and Simon and Guetzkow's formalization of Homans' and Festinger's descriptive models for group interaction. Their approach is to set up, on considerations of plausibility, broad conditions on differential equations which might describe the time dependency of such variables as "interaction," "friendliness," and "activity" in the group. In spite of the very general nature of these conditions, certain qualitative features of the resulting system of differential equations can be specified and interpreted in terms of possible behavior in the group, as, for example, whether or not a state of stable interaction can persist. In the absence of a well-defined metric for the variables, however, the functional form of the differential equations cannot be specified, and the deductions which can be made by this type of model-building are somewhat weak. Coleman has little hope that intuitively defined variables such as "friendliness," "interaction," and "activity" can be suitably metricized, but he is quick to point out that the descriptive statements in the original models by Homans and by Festinger imply the existence of a metric, and any serious attempt to verify them would have to make use of it. Indeed, the problem of metric is not the exclusive concern of the rational model-builders in social science. Even that trusted servant of empiricism, analysis of variance, assumes a well-defined metric when two or more ways of classification are involved. Otherwise, significant interactions are not interpretable.

As a striking contrast to the rational approach, Coleman describes empirical studies of small-group activity where the strategy is to make measurements on many features of group behavior and then attempt to explain whatever regularities appear in the data. He cites as an example data from a study of Bales showing the frequency of participation of persons in discussion groups with three to ten members. When these data are expressed as percentage of total participation and listed in rank order within each size of group, the percentages are seen to change in a regular way as the size of the group increases. One regularity which has received considerable attention is the constancy of the ratio of the percentages adjacent in rank within any one group. This ratio is observed to increase linearly with group size. Although various psychological explanations for these effects have been proposed in the literature, Coleman shows that almost identical regularities appear in data generated by multinomially distributed random variables with cell frequencies $1/n$, where n is the group size. Thus chance, complete lack of cause, is virtually sufficient to explain the data. There seems little reason

to seek a more sophisticated explanation.

The third class of studies which Coleman reviews is rational in inception but, unlike those of Simon and Guetzkow, includes the possibility of realistic empirical verification. It owes its existence largely to work done in Rashevsky's mathematical biology group at the University of Chicago, particularly that of H. G. Landau, Anatole Rappaport, and Alphonso Shimble. These studies are distinctive in that they set out to describe mathematically events in the behavior of groups, not necessarily human, which are observable, qualitative, unambiguous, and of intrinsic interest. Examples are the "peck-order" in chickens, the passing of messages between members of a group, choice of associates by members of a group (i e, sociometric choice), etc. These events determine relationships between all pairs of members in the group, and in their totality form a "net" of relationships which these studies attempt to describe. The mathematical mehods used are basically combinatorial and demand nothing stronger in the way of measurement than counting. Unlike the purely empirical studies, in which there is little guide beforehand to what should be measured, the rational investigation of the combinatorial models fixes attention on certain indexes which are particularly useful in describing the net of relationships and thus determine what should be observed in order to apply the model. For example, in a social group where word-of-mouth communication can be described in terms of a relational net, the rate of propagation of a rumor can be used to deduce the existence of association cliques among the members.

A point not clearly made by Coleman is that these "relational" models, as he calls them, are as pertinent to large-group phenomena as they are to small. In large-group applications, the events relating individual members of the group may not be observed directly, but as in the example of rumor-spread their consequences for the gross state of the group may be deduced and verified by observation. This type of approach has been notably sucessful in the field of epidemiology and population genetics and may be useful to sociology for describing the transmittal of social forms within and between groups. Coleman's review of the work with relational models in small-group research, much of which is difficult to put together from the original sources, should stimulate greater interest in the mathematical study of group behavior.

The survey of Bernoullian utility theory by Ernest W Adams is somewhat wider in scope than the title implies. In addition to the concept of utility as it has developed in economics and been formalized by the econometricians, Adams discusses its application in statistical decision theory and game theory, where it has an essential, but minor, role Like many theories which deal with human behavior, there is sometimes a confusing duality of purpose in utility and decision theory. Sometimes they are "injunctive" theories which formulate a preferred course of action in specified conditions; at other times they are descriptive theories of how human beings will act under these conditions even when they are not explicitly following the injunctive version of the theory This is true in economics where utility may have a role in the theoretical formulation of pricing policy as well as in a descriptive theory of economic choice. A similar duality has also arisen in decision and game theory which, while formulated in the injunctive role, have been taken over by experimental and social psychologists to provide terminology and a standard of comparison to describe choice behavior under conditions of uncertainty

Sociologists will doubtless be most interested in utility theory in the second of these roles and will profit from Adams' review of studies in the literature, through about 1958, which have actually attempted to explain choice behavior in these terms The studies fall into two types One attempts to explain a mass of economic phenomena as in Friedman and Savage's discussion of what we must assume for the function relating utility to money if we are to reconcile gambling and insurance (neither of which generally maximize expected monetary return for the participants) with the Bernoullian assumption that people try to maximize expected utility The other type of study involves direct psychological experimentation with subjects who are presented choices with uncertain outcomes. Unfortunately, neither approach leads to a clear test of the theory. The economic application leads to a plausible picture of the utility curve as generally concave up at the high and low ends and concave down in the middle, but no more formal verification is possible. The psychological applications tend to show that while

some, or even most, of the subjects act in a way which satisfies the theory, there are also some who do not. This leads to the somewhat unsatisfying conclusion that the processes which underlie individual choice behavior are subject to individual differences in a way that makes it necessary to study each individual separately if we indeed wish to predict the behavior of specified individuals.

There is, however, a third type of verification of utility theory, not discussed by Adams, which is weaker, but still of interest. It attempts to predict not individual choice behavior but rather the multivariate distribution of utility for specified alternatives in a defined population of subjects. From this distribution the proportion of subjects choosing given alternatives can be computed and compared with the observed choices of a sample of subjects from the population. This approach is exemplified by the study of Shuford, Jones, and Bock (*Psychometrika*, XXV [1960], 343–56) which shows that the Bernoullian model permits rather accurate predictions of the proportion of subjects choosing among gifts whose receipt is uncertain.

Solomon's survey of mathematical models in factor analysis should interest the sociologist who has encountered centroid factor analysis or principal component analysis in his field, but is not familiar with their historical development in psychology. Although all factor-analytic methods attempt to explain, in some sense, the structure of the correlation matrix of a set of multiple measurements, the method of analysis and the interpretation of the results has been subject to heated controversies. Solomon gives a particularly lucid account of the Spearman-Thomson controversy over the interpretation of the single factor structure of mental tests. Although now largely a matter of history, it remains of interest as a case study of the problems and pitfalls of model-building in behavioral science.

Taken together, the three papers in this book will be valuable for the sociologist or psychologist with quantitative interests who wishes to acquaint himself with a wide range of mathematical applications in social science. It will also be useful as a source of readings for a graduate course in quantitative methods of social research.

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Arms and Insecurity. By Lewis F. Richardson. Edited by Nicolas Rashevsky and Ernesto Trucco. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960. Pp. xxv+307. $10.00.

Statistics of Deadly Quarrels. By Lewis F. Richardson. Edited by Quincy Wright and Carl C. Lienau. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960. Pp. xlvi+373. $12.60.

The value of mathematical models in sociology is amply proven in the works of Lazarsfeld and Gutman, Simon and his associates, and, more recently, in the work of J. S. Coleman, and others. On the other hand, the *extent* to which mathematics can be used to develop theoretical and applied knowledge in sociology will have to be determined in the future. If we had to form our judgment on the bases of Richardson's work, we would be quite pessimistic, for his is not only a poor "case,' but also suggests that some difficulties might be inherent in the whole approach.

The work of the English physicist and mathematician, the late Lewis F. Richardson (1881–1953), is now being published for the first time, though parts of it have appeared before in journal articles. *Arms and Insecurity* is concerned with providing a mathematical model, *Deadly Quarrels* with the application of statistical analysis to a subject that could not be more relevant: the causes of war, the relationship of national security to armament, the association between an arms race and the eruption of war, etc.

Arms and Insecurity develops a mathematical model in which war is viewed as a function of the relationship between the armament budget of one side and that of the other side (or sides). A state of equilibrium exists as long as no side increases its armament expenditure. When one side disrupts the equilibrium, the other (or others) tend to balance it by matched increases in their military outlays. In this way an arms race is generated. When an increase in budget remains unmatched, a power imbalance is created that leads to war unless politicians intervene. The amounts of international trade between countries is viewed as a measure of their "co-operativeness" and hence as offsetting armament expenditure. An "irreversible trend" toward war is created when increases in military expenditure of some countries are large and international trade is small.

In *Deadly Quarrels* Richardson lists three

hundred wars that occurred between 1820 and 1949, as well as other "deadly quarrels" such as banditry, murders, civil riots; the casualties of deadly quarrels range from one to ten million. These quarrels are ordered in subclasses according to the logarithm of the number of their casualties. Richardson then tries to reject the null hypothesis, by building the distribution of war frequencies one would expect, if war were determined by physical opportunities alone; he then compares the actual distribution to the hypothetical one, checking for factors that make for higher or lower predisposition to war. He finds that there is *no* tendency for wars to increase or decrease over time; there are no countries which are responsible for a disproportionate number of wars; and that economic and religious factors hardly account for a significant number of wars. But his report is not limited to negative findings. Randomness is rejected on at least two accounts: war is shown to be "infectious," that is, if country *X* goes to war on country *Y*, the neighboring country *Z* is more likely to engage in war than countries *a*, *b*, and *c*, at some other corner of the earth. Second, groups which are under one government are less likely to fight each other than groups which are not.

While these are the main findings, and the ones the author is most proud of, there are others similar in nature. For instance, there were more casualties from "deadly quarrels" with each more than three thousand dead than from those with less than three thousand dead; nationalism has both prevented and induced wars (that is, prevented within nations, induced among nations), and so on. The following seems to apply to all these statements.

Starting with intrinsic criticism, Richardson just is not as potent a mathematician and statistician as one would like him to be. His equations are made to fit the numbers he deals with by a set of arbitrary coefficients. But he does not make it sufficiently clear that other sets of coefficients could have been provided, thus other equations formulated that would have fitted the data just as well (or better), and that his coefficients—unlike those of the physicist—are merely subjective estimates of the characteristics represented. Moreover, the reservation that his statements are valid, "unless politicians interfere," renders the model useless to the student of purposive behavior. In my mind, it makes their empirical refutation impossible. Nor is it clear where the deterministic nature of armament expenditure and volume of international trade stops and the ability of politicians to control them starts.

On the statistical side, the data—which Richardson himself views as being reliable only on a take-or-give 20 per cent basis—is not accurate enough to validate the claim that an arch is more appropriate than a straight line, if it allows one to engage in the curve-fitting effort at all.

Shifting to extrinsic criticism it must be pointed out that some of the difficulties seem to be inherent in the effort in which Richardson is engaged, rather than in his shortcomings.

What happens is both expected and familiar. In order to formalize the substantive issues he (*a*) eliminates those concepts which have no quantitative expressions or on which data are not available, which make him leave out most relevant variables; (*b*) to measure the remaining concepts he invents indicators which are so partial that the results of his mathematical operations cannot but be irrelevant to the initial problem.

One illustration should suffice. The author wishes to know if armament increases or decreases national security. But since he has no comparable information on armament he compares *expenditure* on arms. (By this standard a nation armed with one hundred missiles each carrying an atomic bomb [which is comparatively inexpensive], is fifty times less armed than a nation which has a fifty times more expensive but conventional army.) Since he has no direct measure of national security, he sees high security as expressed in a low rate of casualties in the following war. He ends up by finding out how much it costs to kill a soldier, while he presumes that his formula deals with armament and national security.

Like some assumptions used by other model-builders, those introduced by Richardson, for example, concerning the co-operative nature of international trade are completely artificial. But unlike other model-builders, the economists who first introduce but then remove the assumption of perfect competition, Richardson sticks to his assumptions. This makes his statements—for example, war is unlikely when international trade is high—quite naive if not simply wrong.

In his statistical endeavor Richardson selects as his central variable the number of casualties per war, a variable we would feel intuitively is of limited relevance to most significant issues. It is certainly necessary and desirable to check on our intuition *if* some other criteria would justify the use of the variable, if, for example, there were a theory on why the number of casualties should be related to other variables studied, but ease of quantification and availability of data are not such criteria. One is, therefore, not surprised that the meaningful questions put to the data by Richardson are answered by "no correlation," and that the associations found are either utterly trivial (neighbor countries are more likely than non-neighbors to be drawn into a war), or tautological (groups sharing a government—e.g., an order-maintaining authority—fight each other less often than those which do not share one). It has been suggested that trivial statements might be wrong, hence have to be checked. We quite agree. But a profession must worry when too much of its resources and manpower are involved in checking the trivial, while the non-trivial—just as much in need of testing—is left unverified. Moreover, methods of research and analysis should be compared in order to find out which ones are more prone to triviality. We may sometimes want to check trivial statements, but our instruments should not force us to do so.

This brings out what is probably the most annoying aspect of this work. Like some other proponents of mathematical models and statistical analysis, Richardson is so sure of the scientific quality and theoretical superiority of his work that he is constantly sneering at intuitive and more qualitative approaches. Unlike Rashevsky, who is aware of the limitations on the usefulness of mathematical and statistical models so far and views their applications as illustrations of a method rather than as "hard" findings, Richardson feels that his models should direct the work of statesmen and political leaders. He actually tried to prevent World War II by sending copies of his essays to several diplomats. Mathematical models may one day be the only form of theorizing in the social sciences as well as the base of all political decisions, but Richardson's work certainly does not encourage the belief that this is likely or that the day is very close.

AMITAI ETZIONI

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Tradition, Values and Socio-Economic Developments. Edited by RALPH BRAIBANTI and JOSEPH J. SPENGLER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961. Pp. viii+305. $6.00.

When Victorian interest in social development was pushed aside by functionalism from its central position in social science, many fundamental problems were left unresolved and have remained so even within the less ambitious field of inquiry which has survived the attack on evolutionism and historicism. We return to these problems nowadays under radically different conditions both in the social sciences and in the world they study: and the interest of this publication from the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center lies not so much in any major new contribution to the subject as in its reflection of the current state of the discussion. It enables us to ask whether the contemporary theory of social change is more advanced than its predecessors.

We inherit two main legacies from the labors of the past. One is the concern of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the idea of progress and with the identification of stages and processes of evolution. The other is the nineteenth-century effort to understand the genesis and dynamics of industrial society. The first inheritance was tied to the colonial and imperial concerns of Europeans in contact with primitive and other technologically inferior peoples. The second was no less restricted by the particular conditions, and especially the class conditions, of indigenous Western industrialization.

Twentieth-century events have joined together and transformed these two sets of conditions, and the earlier restrictions have been replaced by possibilities for the study of social and economic development in a wider historical and comparative context. Moreover the impulse to this type of study is now sustained by what Wilbert Moore refers to as an evolving universal goal—the world-wide spread of

aspirations towards a common minimum level of living (p. 61).

Has the level of the discussion advanced meanwhile? The evidence of this book is not unequivocal. When Mason Wade explains the behavior of French Canadians by the assertion that they are "Gallic realists at heart" (p. 292) or when Melville Herskovits tells us that "we are coming to understand that for the individual the ultimate nature of reality must derive from his precepts, which, in turn, are screened by his culture" (p. 120), one wonders. Sociological discussion, one notices, is rather like society itself—an odd agglomeration of disparate modern and archaic elements, making up at best a ramshackle unity. Sociology lacks the kind of discipline which separated chemistry from alchemy: it is not an *integrated* intellectual movement.

The book illustrates this absence of disciplinary integration by putting together five theoretical papers with four others of a quite different genre. The first set (by Braibanti, Spengler, Moore, Hoselitz, and Herskovits) offers a whole technical language (if one with many confusions of usage and meaning) which the second set of empirical essays (by Qureshi, Montgomery, and Wade) almost completely ignores. This is not to say that all the essays are not excellent of their kind. Spengler, for example, argues his thesis—that rates of political and economic development are partially determined by the content of men's minds—with impressive learning and subtlety. And Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi's sketch of the history of political thought in Islam generally, and Pakistan in particular, is a brilliant one. But the juxtaposition of the two essays here derives more from a common printer than from a common intellectual discipline.

Nevertheless the sum of the evidence indicates positive progress. Hardly any aspect of the relation between social structure and economic growth has failed to find constructive reformulation in recent discussion. Thus the analysis of the role of Protestantism or of the class struggle has been generalized in modern theory. Moore points out that the concept of marginality is now used to identify innovators not only in the case of the puritan sects of Western capitalism but also "young wives in traditional Chinese households, men in some African matriarchal societies, the Indian caste untouchables, the younger sons in a system of male primogeniture," and so on (p. 79). And "economic development entails for a shorter or longer transitional period, competing *systems* of social stratification" (p. 70). Similarly the conception of entrepreneurship has been refined. African and Asian economic development is taking place in a context of political planning and "socialism" which, contrasting strongly with the laissez faire policy of nineteenth-century European industrialism, reveals new possibilities in the relation between politics and innovation. Again, Hoselitz shows that, if the characteristically Western assumption of a basically individualistic society is removed, it appears that membership in an extended family may facilitate rather than hinder entrepreneurship (pp. 111–12)

Many further examples could be taken from this book to show that the sociology of economic and political development represents perhaps the most exciting challenge to contemporary social science.

A H HALSEY

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Cultural Values in Management-Worker Relations: Japan: Gimu in Transition By ARTHUR M. WHITEHILL, JR., and SHIN-ICHI TAKEZAWA. Chapel Hill: School of Business Administration, University of North Carolina, 1961. Pp. xii+113 $2 00

Whitehill, professor in the School of Business Administration at the University of North Carolina, and Takezawa, professor in the School of Social Relations at Rikkyo (St. Paul's) University, Tokyo, present the findings from the first phase of a long-range intercultural study. The findings were obtained in 1959 and 1960 from 283 male workers in five Japanese companies (a large steel company, middle-sized electrical and transformer factories, and small factories making bean paste and sliding doors).

The authors used a theory which relates management-worker role expectations to cultural values. The focus, however, is on the workers and the study consists of a set of questions designed to discover the values of the workers, on the assumption that motivation is related to the satisfaction of those val-

ues. Since the study is to be pursued in Western countries later, the authors posed all the forty questions asked in an East-West comparative model. Each question contains four alternative answers which are intended to express values called "Extreme Eastern" (EE), "Moderate Eastern" (ME), "Moderate Western" (MW), and "Extreme Western" (EW). An example, with the results in percentages, is:

If a worker proves to be undesirable after he has been hired, management should:

(25%) EE. feel a responsibility to provide employment until he retires or dies;
(26%) ME. feel a responsibility to provide employment until he can find another job;
(45%) MW. offer a definite period for improvement, then if still undesirable discharge him;
(4%) EW. feel no responsibility to continue employment of undesirable workers.

The format of the book consists of a serial presentation and discussion of each question, one at a time, telling why it was chosen and the interpretation the authors feel is to be placed on each of the alternatives. Clearly, great care went into the selection and design of each question. The questions deal with worker expectations, worker commitments, fusion of personal and job life, acceptance of traditional status system, impact on union, worker-centered supervision, and formal status and off-job behavior. In addition to the 283 workers, the questionnaire was also administered to sixty members of the Japan Management School's summer session. As expected, their answers were, on the average, closer to the Western end of the cultural continuum.

The authors sum up their findings in terms of the Japanese concept of *gimu*—feelings of shared obligations—which they contrast with individualism. For example, they examine Abegglen's emphasis on the "rule of lifetime commitment" and give it qualified support. They write: "The so-called 'commitment' is more an expectation or intention, although taken very seriously by both [management and workers] parties. It was, in particular, weaker among the young than the old." A similar partial or transitional set of values is reported for worker identification with the company, entrance of the company into personal spheres (workers desire economic benefits such as housing and extra pay for family members but reject company involvement in marriage or religion), and other areas covered by the questionnaire. They find also a movement in the direction of preference for participation in decision-making, not directly, but through representation and the age-old practice of third parties.

The reviewer felt that the authors made two valuable contributions: (1) The picture they give of the content of Japanese values associated with obligatory behavior. (2) The delineation in each question of a continuum of values from extreme Eastern to extreme Western. As such, they provide other cross-cultural researchers with a model of how a comparative framework may be operationalized and made testable in quantitative terms.

Two minor criticisms can be made. The authors' general conclusion stating that Japanese workers are in a transitional state between Eastern and Western patterns is based upon the differences found between choices of young and old workers, and upon the distribution of responses for the whole sample in each question. Yet one cannot be sure that young workers will retain their more radical value positions as they grow older and, hence, may simply be expressing the feelings of young persons which may change as they grow older. In turn, the four alternatives in each question seem to be satisfactory for the Eastern alternatives, but those characterized as Western seemed, at times, to be extreme and more characteristic of the United States of the mid-nineteenth century than of the present. For example, when asked what they would do if offered a job at higher pay, the extreme Western alternative is stated as "accept the offer and quit present company." Yet this ignores the many rigidities the American worker faces in the form of fringe benefits, pensions, and other rewards for seniority which in fact limit potential mobility. Another question, asking what should be the basis for wage increases, offers as the extreme Western alternative that ability only should count and that management "need not consider age and/or length of service."

The second criticism is aimed at the assertion that values are of direct importance for motivation of work behavior. Such an assumption, although plausible, does not necessarily follow from the given premises. Values can, after all, be changed and some values may be antithetical to organizational goals.

One can agree with the authors that management must take account of worker values but it does not follow that these values must simply be accepted and somehow satisfied in each case. Yet one is pleased to see such emphasis on values since much research on motivation pays rather little attention to them.

But these are reservations of secondary importance in what is a carefully conceived and well-executed piece of research which adds substantially to our knowledge of worker values. We can look forward with confidence to the phases of the study in other countries which the authors are now carrying out.

EDWARD GROSS

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The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism. By DAVID E. APTER. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp xvi+498. $10.00

The politics of Buganda in the African country of Uganda have baffled systematizing political scientists no less than colonial rulers and nationalist politicians. During the past decade at least a dozen scholars, brought fortuitously together from a wide range of disciplines, have sought to probe its mysteries. Professor Apter's present contribution is ambitious, informative, substantial, and most valuable. He writes with verve and dash.

On a number of occasions, however, there may be too much dash. His accounts, to take two examples, of the crisis over the deportation of the Kabaka of Buganda in 1953, and of Uganda's political history between 1956 and 1960, are far from authoritative. The crucial determinants in the latter story only appear in a footnote on page 307. The account of the former contains substantial omissions (there is, for instance, no discussion of why the governor should have resisted some of the Kabaka's demands so tenaciously) as well as some actual mistakes (two different Zakes, for instance, are confused on pp. 293-94). Apter categorizes Buganda as a modernizing autocracy. Modernizing, yes; but is autocracy really appropriate here? Surely there should be more recognition throughout of the oligarchical revolution which occurred in 1888 97 The position by the mid-1950's was different only because there had once more been a redistribution of power among (in the time-honored phrase) "Kabaka, chiefs and people." Moreover this way of looking at Buganda tells us very little about the over-all politics of Uganda; it does not explain, for example, the political programs of the kingdoms neighboring Buganda.

For all that there are some excellent insights in this book too. First, in the insistence that the political determinants of new nations have to be sought deep down in the colonial and pre-colonial past Second (and for all the qualifications to be offered) in the useful demarcation between mobilization systems consociational systems, and modernizing autocracies. Third, there is a most stimulating analysis of the successive phases of political perception in a colonial territory Fourth the discussion of "populism" in Buganda in the 1930's and 1940's constitutes a major breakthrough in the understanding of Buganda's affairs and, in view of its suggestiveness for other areas, is perhaps the best of the many good things in the book. And finally there is an excellent discussion of the relationships between authority systems which are hierarchical or pyramidal and value systems which are instrumental or consummatory.

These last three points deserve further comment. In analyzing successive elite interpretations of reality in a moving colonial context Apter distinguishes first those "multiple images" which develop among different participants in the story Gradually these crystallize and "selective recall" takes place followed by what he calls "relative threshold" when perceptual arteries harden and approved mythologies are established From that comes "hortatory realism" when political leaders of all kinds, British as well as African in this instance, exhort people to embrace new objectives This tends to run riot in a period of "political fantasy," but in due course is cut short when it becomes necessary to develop a "practical realism" These are most stimulating concepts.

As for populism in Buganda, and in particular the discussion of the Bataka party and politics in the rural areas, the vital thing is to note the estrangement which takes place, first when bureaucratic chieftainship becomes rigidified (more especially where it had previously been subjected to fluidity and accompanied by a close clientage network), and second when, as in Buganda, that same bureaucracy

is at once highly successful in maintaining the political autonomy of the society but fails to insure its economic autonomy (in this instance by doing little to check the flow of aliens—mostly Indians—into both retail and crop-processing businesses in rural areas). Such estrangement leads to support for those who have different claims to authority—and, as in the case of Buganda, to riots in 1945 and 1949, to strong support after 1953 of the Kabaka (as the instrument to beat down the insensitiveness of the bureaucracy), and (since the bureaucracy continued insensitive) to the fierce boycott of alien entrepreneurs in Buganda in 1959–60. When similar rigidity overtook, at much the same time, the Protestant church, the way was prepared for the fervent evangelical revival movement (an egalitarian protest against hierarchy).

All this touches on the fifth point. Others from quite different angles have come close to seeing the change in Buganda by the mid-nineteenth century from what Apter very perceptively calls a pyramidal-consummatory to an hierarchical-instrumental system. But perhaps one should ask whether a large part of the history of Buganda since then has not been, by one means or another, devoted to readjusting the balance somewhat? And moreover, have not its dramatic moments usually turned upon the judgments of the Baganda on successive occasions of the right way to reconcile their desires to be themselves as well as something better? Since on page 460 Apter quotes Tocqueville on those general ideas which form "the common spring from which all the rest emanates" should we not be making what was happening on this front the starting point? The question to ask is what kind of society have the Baganda wanted for themselves? They have, in truth, had no African "Great Tradition" (as Redfield would have called it) to turn to, while unadulterated westernization is for a variety of reasons unacceptable. The search is therefore on. This is important; for Baganda separatism and Nkrumah's "Ghana" and "African personality" become here variations on the same theme—which is precisely what they are.

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Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan. By McKim Marriott. ("Deccan College Monograph Series," No. 23.) Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1960. Pp. 75.

This short monograph undertakes the systematic explanation of regional similarities and differences in elaboration of the caste system of India and Pakistan in terms of associated features of community structure. Four such features, thought to be determinants of elaborate caste-ranking, are derived first deductively and then inductively on the basis of data from two North Indian communities. Systems of caste-ranking in five major regions of the subcontinent are then described and analyzed comparatively in order to test the hypothesized structural determinants. This section is based on a survey and interpretation of available literature, itself a valuable contribution. Finally, there is a brief discussion of probable areas and circumstances of origin of caste in India as suggested by the presence and antiquity of the determinative factors. The conclusion here is that multiple origins under similar conditions are most likely.

Marriott has undertaken a difficult and potentially useful task. If progress is to be made in understanding the nature and functioning of caste systems and of Indian society, such comparative work is essential. Unfortunately the results of this study fall short of its promise.

"Caste-ranking" is defined as a "body of collective opinion concerning the hierarchical placement of ethnic groups." Elaboration of caste-ranking, "the extent to which numerous ranks may be consensually distinguished among ethnic groups" (p. 3), depends upon the number of discrete ranks into which "a given number" of ethnic groups is placed by public opinion. A major weakness in the argument is that the operational definition of this key concept is not made clear. In communities with the same number of ethnic groups the one with the greatest consensus on the largest number of ranks has the most elaborate system of caste-ranking. This is reasonable but of little utility for comparison since few communities have the same number of ethnic groups. Moreover the relative

weighting of consensus and number of ranks is not discussed, although these two must vary to a large extent independently. The "numerical index of elaboration of caste ranking" (p. 9) is a statistic of dubious utility. It is a function only of the maximum number of distinctions in rank and the proportion of the population which does in fact make the maximum number of distinctions. A community in which 10 per cent of the population distinguishes thirty-six ranks and 90 per cent distinguishes thirty-five ranks would receive the same index as one in which 10 per cent distinguishes thirty-six ranks and 90 per cent distinguishes only two, or shows no consensus at all.

If the definition of elaboration is interpreted to mean the ratio of ranks to ethnic groups, comparison can easily be made, but this results in an entirely different scale of relative elaboration in the five regions than that presented by Marriott (p. 58), and it ignores the comparative number of ranks involved.

Such problems as the handling of differential magnitude in rank differences within and between systems and divergent but internally consistent views of the same hierarchy by members of differently placed groups within it are not discussed.

It is hypothesized and "provisionally proven" that elaboration of caste-ranking is "shaped and determined" by the extent to which the following features of community structure are present: (1) numerous ethnic groups in the community; (2) members of these groups "interact with members of other groups in a clearly stratified order" (p. 4); (3) "their interactions as individuals must not deviate widely from the stratified order of interaction among their respective castes taken as wholes" (p. 4); (4) members of the local hierarchy are isolated from hierarchies elsewhere which are inconsistent with it.

The five regions are rated in order of decreasing elaboration and the four determinants are shown to correlate with this order almost perfectly. Part of the explanation may be that the determinants are not distinct from the condition they determine. This is most conspicuous in the case of the first one, for most of the ethnic groups are described as castes and hence by definition each is ranked relative to the others. The remaining determinants are also somewhat redundant and seem far from independent of one another. The comment, "there remains a possibility that to some extent the observed, co-variant, and presumably determinant structural features are themselves effects of that same elaboration of caste ranking which they have been presumed to cause" (p. 58), appears to be an understatement.

The monograph has useful information and stimulating ideas but is weakened by the pervasive circularity of its main argument and by the ambiguity in definition of the variable under investigation.

GERALD D. BERREMAN

University of California, Berkeley

Campesinos de los Andes: Estudio sociológico de Saucío ("Peasants of the Andes: A Sociological Study of the Town of Saucío"). By ORLANDO FALS BORDA. ("Monográfias Sociológicas," No. 7.) Bogotá. Editorial Iqueima, 1960. Pp. xxvi + 340.

Saucío is a peasant hamlet three hours drive from Bogotá. Its people are Spanish-speaking mestizos who have evolved a stable way of life through a merger of cultural traditions from their double ancestry: Chibcha Indians and Spanish conquerors. There are seventy-seven households scattered about a small valley whose major product is potatoes (supplemented by wheat, barley, some vegetables, and, especially on the one large hacienda that lies within the community, livestock).

Fals Borda has combined the methods of history, cultural anthropology, and rural sociology to obtain a detailed picture of the community. He describes the ownership of land (as it is, and how it got that way) and shows how it determines the standard of living of the various families. He tells of antiquated farming practices, sometimes modified by a few new procedures (such as chemical fertilizer). He outlines the family structure (essentially nuclear) and discusses the effects of out-migration as a stabilizer of population (an average of 1.2 members per household have left the community, unable to secure a living from the "tired" farms). He shows how a common tradition plus certain institutions—

politics, religion, kinship, and interaction in the neighborhood beer store—maintain social solidarity, albeit a solidarity of factions and tensions.

Finally, Fals Borda details the life-history cycle, and its resulting personality type: conservative, fatalistic, individualistic, suspicious, quarrelsome. He interprets this institutionalized set of responses as a protective device that emerged from a history of exploitation and feuding on the part of elites from outside the community.

The predominant tone of the book is one of objective description. Fals Borda writes as a disciplined ethnographer: the material is ample, the writing clear, and the result convincing. Indeed, the result is impressive, for the field work (but not the analysis) was done before Fals Borda had received graduate professional training, and was accomplished on a "part-time" basis while he lived in the community but worked outside it.

However, from time to time we get flashes of personal involvement that reveal a purpose beyond description: Fals Borda wants to convince the governing elite in Colombia that his peasant countrymen are not racially stupid and indolent but are culturally conservative in ways that permit progress if it is properly introduced and stimulated.

His own subsequent activities in the Ministry of Agriculture and as leader of the new Faculty of Sociology in the National University of Colombia provide further evidence of the correctness of his views as well as of the possibilities of using the results of empirical social science to guide social change. But let us note this sad fact: This work was published in English six years ago but, given the realities of Colombian life, it took five years (and outside financial support) to get the book published in Spanish so that the elite could read its warning, symbolized by this quotation from Mordecai: "Think not that in the king's palace you will escape. . . . For if you keep silence at such a time as this, relief and deliverance will rise from another quarter."

JOSEPH A. KAHL
Washington University, St. Louis

Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution. By LEO HUBERMAN and PAUL M. SWEEZY. 2d ed. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961. Pp. xii +208. $3.50.

The Cuban Revolution may turn out to be one of the pivotal events for the history of this hemisphere, and for this reason it should be of more than usual interest to all of us. In addition, it provides a dramatic case study for the sociologist concerned with the analysis of social change. Two economists, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, have provided the first and only approximation to a scholarly analysis of this fast-moving social transformation just south of Florida. C. Wright Mills has conveyed greetings from the Cuban revolutionary, but where are the sociologists who claim an interest in collective behavior, revolutions, and sweeping change? Here is a revolution, and not in China.

Part I, "Background of the Revolution," provides some background data on soil, climate, fuel, mineral resources, population, income, education, and housing in pre-revolutionary Cuba. The sugar economy and the role of United States government and private investors in that economy are described briefly.

Part II, "Making the Revolution," takes up the history of the 26th of July Movement from the first abortive assault on Fort Moncada in 1953 to the unconditional surrender of the last of the Batista forces to Fidel Castro on January 2, 1959. There is much useful information on the trial and speech ("History Will Absolve Me") by Castro, the guerrilla training under Colonel Alberto Bayo in Mexico, the ill-fated invasion of Cuba in 1956, the arrival of Castro and his eleven survivors in the Sierra Maestra, and the steady growth of the rebel army between December 25, 1956, and January 2, 1959.

The third part of the book, "The Revolution in Power," deals with the structure and programs of the revolutionary regime. The transformation of the Cuban economy by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) in 1959 is described and analyzed in detail. There are brief discussions of revolutionary justice, the role of the Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular), and longer discussions of the nature of the economic system emerging in Cuba (is it socialist?) and the problem of commercial and diplomatic relations with the United States and the U.S.S.R. The first twelve chapters were written after a

trip to Cuba in March, 1960. The final chapter, which appears in the second edition only, reports on the dramatic changes that took place between June and October of 1960; the period of the "economic war" between Cuba and the United States.

There is material here for a variety of specialists. The student of social movements will find useful and suggestive material in Part II. Fidel Castro has emerged as a charismatic leader of world-wide significance. Students of revolutionary process and of rapid economic change in underdeveloped societies have here another case study with which to test their generalizations.

Huberman and Sweezy give us a Marxian interpretation. For the most part their Marxian categories and postulates seem useful. They make loose predictions, of which most have been supported by subsequent events. Would a structural-functionalist do as well for us on the Cuban scene? I think not, although how can we say for certain until one of them makes the attempt?

This is the best book on Cuba so far. Nevertheless, there are difficulties and shortcomings. The authors try to sit on journalistic and scholarly stools at one and the same time. They admit they are trying just this. All things considered, the compromise that results is useful, although I would have preferred more scholarship. For the most part the Marxian categories aid rather than hinder interpretation but there are times when they seem gratuitous, for example, "It would be hard to find a better illustration of the dialectical principle of the interpenetration of opposites" (p. 197). Finally, the work of such men as Crane Brinton on revolutions could have been used with profit. Few though they may be, there are insights to be found outside the Marxian tradition.

MERVYN L. CADWALLADER

San Jose State College

Problèmes d'Amérique Latine, Vol II: *Signal d'une troisième voie?* ("The Problems of Latin America: Portent of a Third Way?") By GEORGES FRIEDMANN. Paris. Gallimard. 1961. Pp. 138. New fr. 7.50.

Georges Friedmann, known to American sociologists mainly as a sociologist of industry, has for some time been chairman of the Latin American School of Social Sciences. In that capacity he has made the acquaintance of the social scientists of Latin America and has had a hand in the planning of research and the training of young social scientists. He is also well traveled and has made himself a reporter of social, economic and political conditions. The present small book is that of the reporter, but of the reporter who not only presents his story, but raises questions concerning the future.

The first section, "Between Fidel and Uncle Sam," deals with the reactions of Latin America to the struggle between Castro and the United States. The balance might have swung to President Kennedy had he not fallen victim to the plan to support the invasion of Cuba. That invasion appears to have turned the young president who was to have become the restorer of democracy into a reincarnation of the Ugly American in most of Latin America.

The second section presents facts on the present miserable state of the large Indian population of Mexico. The connection lies in the probability that in the struggle between the West and the Soviet world the winner in Latin America may be the side which most quickly and effectively does something for the poverty-stricken masses. I gather that Friedmann believes that the West will win only if it gives support to Latin American attempts to find their own way out of their difficulties, some "third way" that is neither that of colonial capitalism or of becoming Soviet satellites.

The book is not a sociological study, but it can be useful to sociologists who take seriously the business of understanding social change in Latin American and other underdeveloped countries.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

Brandeis University

Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations. Edited by MASON WADE. Toronto. University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp xxv+427. $8.50

Canadian Dualism is made up of twenty essays on French-English relations in contemporary Canada, grouped under four general

headings—"Abstract Factors," "Material Factors," "Forms of Associations," and "Outside Quebec." Thirteen authors wrote in English and seven in French. Contributors represent a wide range of occupations and disciplines, and, as some articles were not expressly written for the volume, their quality is uneven and much is repetitive.

Bi-culturalism, with its dualism of language, culture, law, traditions, and religion, tends to develop a bifocal brand of myths, history, and sacred symbols. The publication of J. C. Falardeau's *Essais sur le Québec contemporain* in 1953 indicated the amount of work being done in these areas by Canadian scholars. Although *Canadian Dualism* does not carry this work forward to any great extent, it presents several broad historical pieces, two good demographic studies, two useful essays on trade unionism in Quebec, and, more important, several articles which present new interpretations of history. Philippe Garigue offers an alternative model to Hughes' classical analysis of French Canada, George Stanley suggests a rather different perspective on French-English relations in Western Canada, but Pierre Trudeau contributes the most provocative essay in the book. His opening sentences read "Historically, French Canadians have not really believed in Democracy for themselves; and English Canadians have not really wanted it for others. Such are the foundations upon which our two ethnic groups have absurdly pretended to be building democratic forms of government."

Sociologists will have several reservations about the book. The approach is general and traditional, under such subheadings as "Law," "Religion," "Philosophy," and "Politics," rather than under analytical categories such as division of labor, conformity, or management of tension. Many of the essays lean heavily upon interpretations of history. At some points the reader cannot help but wonder if one arbitrary but traditional interpretation of history is being replaced by another in an effort to explain a present situation whose nature is not understood. The book's structure accentuates this problem as each topic is treated by an English and a French author, each of whom tends to outline an ideology and then justify it with an appeal to data of history and social science. Within this context, the work of Nathan Keyfitz, Jacques Henripin, J. H. Dales, and George Theriault has a refreshing present concrete reality, based upon statistical indexes which may be appraised and evaluated.

The book straddles a period of rapid change in Canadian affairs. The bulk of the material was written before the deaths of two Quebec premiers, the defeat of the Union Nationale Government in Quebec and the Liberal Government in Canada and important decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada. Aside from the antiquarian air, some doubt is raised as to the long-term validity of the documentation in those essays which depend heavily on political and legal events.

Despite these reservations the book offers the American sociologist a useful collection of general descriptive and often provocative essays on bi-culturalism in Canada, as well as a sampling of good sociological studies.

REX A. LUCAS

Second Commonwealth Study Conference

The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects. By LEWIS MUMFORD. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961. Pp. xi+657. $11.50.

One of our most severe social critics has published another volume about a topic for which he is justly known. Its reception among sociologists is likely to elicit, among different readers, both the interest which Mumford's views of cities usually arouses and ill-concealed boredom at familiar Mumford refrains.

In his earlier *Culture of Cities*, Mumford included some useful historical materials. He has now expanded those to an eighteen-chapter book, covering the whole trajectory of Western urban history right down to today's "Megapolis" and "Suburbia—and Beyond" Mumford warned us in his previous volume that cities were in a mess and predicted (mostly accurately) some dire outcomes unless certain rational steps were taken (by and large they were not). Now he has enlarged his critique so that the possible demise of cities is linked with the entire downfall (or blowup) of civilization. The views of cities which he developed early in his life have been integrated seamlessly with his later more general critique of twentieth-century society.

Hence his extensive historical review of urbanism is avowedly a search for the meaning

of the city, so that the future can be shaped by knowledge. "If we would lay a new foundation for urban life, we must understand the historic nature of the city. . . . Without a long running start in history, we shall not have the momentum needed, in our own consciousness, to take a sufficiently bold leap into the future" (p. 3). And the city's meaning? By page 561 he is ready to answer, spurning its previous role as a national or imperial center and emphasizing "its far more important potential role, as world center. Blindly moving to fulfill this essential but still unrealized role. . . . Its new mission is to hand on to the smallest urban unit the cultural resources that make for world unity and cooperation." Thus he welds his own familiar urban imagery—largely a composite of love of the city's civilizational aspects, hate of its demoralizing aspects, along with some nostalgic yearning for the moral and aesthetic virtues of rural and village existence—he welds this imagery with his abhorrence of nationalism, of cold and hot wars alike, and places the imagery at the service of his vision of a better world.

Near the book's close he quotes Henry James on London: "The human race is better represented there than anywhere else." That is, bad as the city may be, it's the best we have, and our hope for the future. Although not everyone shares these strikingly antithetical views of cities-as-a-genus, Mumford does speak eloquently even for those who share only some of these views. We shall not all receive kindly his way of reading urban history; but his narrative is useful, his style as always is lively, and his photographs with interpretative text are often fascinating. An annotated bibliography which was a feature of the older volume has been enlarged

ANSELM STRAUSS

University of California Medical Center

Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilizations. By PHILIP BAGBY. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. ix+244. $5.00.

Shortly after this book was first printed in England Philip Bagby died suddenly at the age of forty. His career in the analytic philosophy of history was thus cut short at a time when, to judge from this book, he had managed to think through and map out the foundations and part of a superstructure of concepts for what he considered a workable, empirical science of history. Considering that Bagby came to this task, in a formal sense, in 1949, after a career in our foreign service, his accomplishment is certainly impressive, if not utterly convincing.

American sociologists familiar with the work of the late Howard Becker and others in the logic of historical sociology will find several familiar themes here harmonized with more recent work in the analytic philosophy of history and some not so recent thinking in cultural anthropology. Bagby explicitly sets aside the conceptualizations of sociologists and social anthropologists as too static, elaborate, or unresolved to promote his objectives. He does not, however, exhibit any great familiarity with that literature despite passing references to Weber, Merton, Parsons, etc. His major reference to Weber, in this connection, indicates appreciation, but also an observation that American sociology has not continued this tradition to any significant extent. One can only speculate on his possible reaction to those few works, such as Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills' *Character and Social Structure*, or Bendix's *Work and Authority in Industry*, most congruent with the comparative procedures he recommends

The bulk of this essay is devoted to (1) a brief discussion of the word "history," philosophies of history, and how histories have actually been written; (2) a more extended analysis (for his own purposes) of such familiar concepts as culture, society, civilization, culture trait, culture complex, "a culture," "a civilization," a subculture, and what he terms a super-culture; (3) particularly rewarding chapters on the logic of explanation in culture and history; and, finally, (4) an unhappily brief, but provocative effort at applying his scheme to a range of historical examples.

This book is addressed to historians and not primarily to sociologists or even cultural anthropologists. As such it is part of that continuing dialogue on the question, "Is a science of history (social change) possible?" In his strong affirmative answer Bagby goes beyond the usual refutations of extreme idiographic positions, particularly those of Croce and Collingwood, on the one hand, and the prophetic

intentions of Toynbee, Spengler, and others, on the other. He endeavors to sift out the scientifically permanent elements from the transient in these earlier efforts by means of a set of criteria derived from cultural anthropology, refined sufficiently to be acceptable to the modern philosophy of science. Bagby did not claim to have met with complete success in this undertaking. There is an air of self-critical optimism, a lucid and succinct style of exposition, as he develops his argument from the initial statement of his position, the systematic formulation of his refreshingly spare conceptual scheme for description and explanation, to his brief efforts at application to historical data.

There was a time when it seemed necessary to make a distinction between historical sociologists and scientific historians based upon their contrasting objectives and extent of explicit conceptual awareness. Bagby's book, it seems to me, provides an intellectual meeting ground where historians, concerned with less private art and more public science, and sociologists, willing to sacrifice considerable precision to hopefully fruitful collaboration with their data-rich historian colleagues, can communicate. Honest intellectual concern with a common undertaking dictates the reduction of that expensive, academic parochialism, which seems to remain with us.

JOHN T. FLINT

University of Kentucky

Income-Security Values at Different Levels of Frustration. By YRJÖ LITTUNEN. ("Transactions of the Westermarck Society," Vol. IV, No. 4.) Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959. Pp. 99.

This little monograph is in between sociology and psychology and has something to offer those interested in economics and politics, as well. It is a valuable addendum to studies relating frustration to aggression, although the work of Dollard and associates is not cited. Littunen's thesis is simply that in moderation frustration can be a valuable experience; it is a source of motivation for "normal" behavior. Maximum striving for goals is likely among those who have experienced mild frustration, but will be less energetic among those who have been either not sufficiently or too severely frustrated.

To test this hypothesis, he has studied the degree to which 174 Finnish college graduates value high income and job security in their choice of occupation, and the relation between these values and previous experience of economic deprivation (frustration). Each variable is measured in a straightforward manner with a Guttman scale of satisfactory reproducibility. The data generally support Littunen's hypothesis, although he repeatedly manipulates ordinal data as if they were cardinal. From inspection of his tables it does not appear that this error is crucial; correctly handled, the data would yield substantially the same results.

Littunen's attempt to go beyond his data and begin the conversion of his hypothesis of optimal frustration into a theory leaves this reviewer with some feelings of frustration Five subhypotheses are offered, but their interrelations and implications are not adequately explored. Had the author gone on to carry out the construction of an axiomatic theory, taking these five propositions as postulates, the lacuna should have become apparent. Two of his subhypotheses amount to saying that people give up trying if life is too easy or too hard, which begs the question: how is it that frustration is so nearly optimal for so many of us?

WILLIAM R. CATTON, JR.

University of Washington

August 26, 1961

To the Editor:

I wholly concur with Professor Robert Bierstedt when he says in his review of *Émile Durkheim, 1858–1917,* which I edited for The Ohio State University Press: "One regrets only that Harry Alpert is missing from the list of contributors" (this *Journal,* LXVII [July, 1961], 97). I did in fact invite Professor Alpert to contribute, but at the time, unfortunately, he was too heavily committed to other work to accept my invitation. Thank you for bringing this to the attention of the readers of this *Journal.*

KURT H. WOLFF

Brandeis University

CURRENT BOOKS

AARON, DANIEL. *Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xiv+329. $1 95 (paper). Emerson, Parker, George, Bellamy, Lloyd, Howells, Theodore Roosevelt, and Brooks Adams discussed as "precursors," "prophetic agitators," and "latter-day progressives."

ARMSTRONG, JOHN A. *The Politics of Totalitarianism: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1934 to the Present.* New York: Random House, 1961. Pp xvi+458 $7 50.

ASHFORD, DOUGLAS. *Political Change in Morocco.* ("Princeton Oriental Studies Social Sciences," No. 3.) Princeton, N J: Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp xi+432. $8 50 Description of Moroccan politics at the time of independence and of changes during the next three years

ASSOCIATION FOR THE AID OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN. *Behavioral Approaches to Accident Research.* New York: Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, 1961. Pp. viii+178. $1 50 (paper). Papers and discussions by social scientists and others from a conference held in 1960.

BARRETT, DONALD N (ed.). *Values in America.* Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961. Pp viii+182. $4 50. Eleven papers from a discussion held at the University of Notre Dame, including chapters on education, economic life, religion, and mass communications in the United States.

BECKER, HOWARD S, GREER, BLANCHE, HUGHES, EVERETT C, and STRAUSS, ANSELM L. *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. Pp xiv+456 $10.00. A study of student culture in the University of Kansas Medical School based on interviews and on observations in classes, wards, and laboratories.

BERGER, PETER L. *The Precarious Vision: A Sociologist Looks at Social Fictions and Christian Faith.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. 238. $3 95. A sociologist's discussion of Christianity's involvement in the fictions and role-playing which are said to characterize modern society.

BLISHEN, BERNARD R, JONES, FRANK E., NAEGELE, KASPAR D, and PORTER, JOHN (eds.). *Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. Pp. viii+622. $7.70. A collection of research in sociology, anthropology, and other fields intended as a survey of Canadian society, with sections on population, kinship, work, politics, religion, stratification, cultural variations, and deviance.

BOLLENS, JOHN C. (ed). *Exploring the Metropolitan Community.* Berkeley. University of California Press, 1961 Pp xvii+492. $7 50. The findings and methods of a series of studies in the St. Louis area, including chapters on population, the area's economy, institutions of government, political participation, and the attitudes of citizenry.

BORING, EDWIN G *Psychologist at Large: An Autobiography and Selected Essays.* New York: Basic Books, 1961. Pp. 371. $6 50. Papers on diverse topics, with the author's autobiography.

BRAMSON, LEON *The Political Context of Sociology* Princeton, N J · Princeton University Press, 1961 Pp. xi+164. $4 00. History and analysis of values in sociological theory and research.

BUCHLER, JUSTUS *The Concept of Method* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961 Pp. viii+180. $4 00. An analysis of what it means to be methodic by a philosopher of science.

BURKE, EDMUND, and PAINE, THOMAS. *Reflections on the Revolution in France* and *The Rights of Man* Garden City, N Y · Doubleday & Co, 1961 Pp. 515 $1 45 (paper).

CANTRIL, HADLEY *Human Nature and Political Systems* New Brunswick, N J · Rutgers University Press, 1961. Pp viii+112. $3 00 Three essays on psychological response to political problems originally presented as lectures at the University of Puget Sound

CARRIER, HERVÉ *Le Sociologue canadien Léon Gérin 1863 1951 · Sa vie, son œuvre, ses méthodes de recherche* ("The Canadian Sociologist, Léon Gérin 1863–1951· His Life, Work, and Research Methods") ("Cahiers de L'Institut Social Populaire," No. 5) Montreal· Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1960. Pp. 153. $2 00 (paper) On the founder of Canadian sociology, who brought the approach of Frederic LePlay to Canada.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN OF NEW YORK, INC, AND RESEARCH CENTER, NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. *Research and Potential Application of Research in Probation, Parole, and Delinquency Prediction* New York: Citizens' Committee and Research Center, 1961. Pp. 77. (Paper.) Three papers and a summary from a conference held in 1960.

COWEN, D. V. *The Foundations of Freedom: With Special Reference to Southern Africa.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. viii+258. $7 00. A philosophy of government and an analysis of the possibilities for imple-

menting it in the multiracial societies of southern Africa, by a South African professor of law.

COX, PHILIP W. L., and MERCER, BLAINE E. *Education in Democracy: Social Foundations of Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961. Pp. xviii+570. $6.95. A discussion of the role of educational institutions in American society, with a supplement containing questions for the student.

CUMMING, ELAINE, and HENRY, WILLIAM E. *Growing Old: The Process of Disengagement.* New York: Basic Books, 1961. Pp. xvi+293. $6.75. A study of changing roles, emotions, perceptions, and self-images of people facing retirement, based on data from a survey in Kansas City.

CUVILLIER, ARMAND. *Sociologie et Problèmes Actuels.* 2d ed. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1961. Pp. 230. (Paper.) Second enlarged edition of a book of essays on various topics in sociology and in the history of social thought; an essay on current trends in French sociology is included

DELF, GEORGE. *Jomo Kenyatta: Towards Truth about "The Light of Kenya."* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. 214. $3.95. The life and career of the Kenya political leader.

DIVISION OF RESEARCH, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. *Contributions to Scientific Research in Management.* Los Angeles: University of California, 1961. Pp. ix+172. $2.50. Twelve papers from a conference held in 1959.

EATON, JOSEPH W., and POLK, KENNETH. *Measuring Delinquency: A Study of Probation Department Referrals.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. Pp. xv+102. $7.00. Based on the records of a county probation department in California, and intended to demonstrate some types of research that can be done with routine public records.

ELLIS, EDWARD ROBB, and ALLEN, GEORGE N. *Traitor Within: Our Suicide Problem.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. xiv+237. $3.95. Popular discussion of suicide.

ESKOLA, ANTTI. *Social Influence and Power in Two-Person Groups.* ("Transactions of the Westermarck Society," Vol. VI.) Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1961. Pp. 153. (Paper.) A survey of previous research and a report on the empirical studies, designed to make both methodological and substantive contributions.

ETZIONI, AMITAI. *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations: On Power, Involvement, and Their Correlates.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. Pp. xx+366. $8.50. The concept of compliance is related to various facets of organizations.

EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY, FACT-FINDING MISSION TO THE U.S.A. *Management, Organization and Methods in the American Iron and Steel Industry.* Luxembourg: European Coal and Steel Community, 1961. Pp. x+364. Belgian Fr. 150 (paper). English translation of the final report of a fact-finding team which the European Coal and Steel Community sent to the U.S. in 1957.

EVANS, M. STANTON. *Revolt on the Campus.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1961. Pp. vi+248. $4.50. Sympathetic discussion of conservative movements on college campuses by a journalist.

FALS BORDA, ORLANDO. *Campesinos de los Andes: Estudio sociológico de Saucío* ("Peasants of the Andes: A Sociological Study of the Town of Saucío"). Translated from English. ("Monográfias Sociologicas," No. 7.) Bogotá: Editorial Iqucima, 1961. Pp. xxiii+340. (Paper.) Revised Spanish edition of a work first published in English in 1955, with sections on social organization and on culture and personality in the region studied.

FIGA-TALAMANCA, MARIO. *Roma: Popolazione e Territorio dal 1860 al 1960* ("Rome: Population and Territory from 1860 to 1960"). Rome: Ufficio di Statistica e Censimento, 1960. Pp viii+432. Lire 5,000 (paper). Census data.

FINET, P. (ed.). *Évolution des salaires et politique dans les industries de la Communauté, 1945–1956* ("Evolution of Wages and Wage Policy in Industries within the European Iron and Steel Community, 1945–1956"). Luxembourg: Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de L'Acier, 1960. Pp. 340. (Paper.) Presentation and analysis of data on industrial wages in six nations.

FISHER, F. J. (ed.). *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England: In Honour of R. H. Tawney.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961. Pp. 235. $5.50. Ten essays on various topics in the history of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

FOGARTY, MICHAEL. *The Just Wage.* London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd., 1961. Pp. 309. 30s. Discussion of data on the fixing of pay in contemporary Britain which lead the author to conclude that actual practices approximate the pre-capitalist theory of the just wage.

FREIDSON, ELIOT. *Patients' Views of Medical Practice: A Study of Subscribers to a Prepaid Medical Plan in the Bronx.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1961. Pp. 268. $3.75. Structural and social-psychological factors involved in patient selection of the different types of medical practice are studied through questionnaires and interviews.

FROMM, ERICH. *May Man Prevail? An Inquiry into the Facts and Fictions of Foreign Policy.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. xi+252. $4.50. Analysis of contemporary

thinking about international politics; discussions of the Soviet Union, China, and Germany; proposals for bringing about disarmament and a Soviet-American *modus vivendi.*

FURNEAUX, W. D. *The Chosen Few: An Examination of Some Aspects of University Selection in Britain.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xxvi+245. $4.00. Statistical analysis and discussion of organizational and socioeconomic factors in university selection.

GASTER, THEODOR H. *The New Golden Bough: A New Abridgment of the Classic Work by Sir James George Frazer.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. xx+425. $1.95 (paper). A new abridgement of the classic work on magic and religion, eliminating certain sections not held to be sound, and including notes which lead the reader to recent works on various topics dealt with.

GASTER, THEODOR H. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. 515. $1.45 (paper). Revised edition of a work first published in 1950.

GEDDES, W. R. *Nine Dayak Nights.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xxxi+144. $1.85 (paper). The work, play, village and family life, songs, and legends of the Dayaks, a tribe on the island of Borneo.

GINDELL, MURRAY, and ZETTERBERG, HANS L. *A Sociological Almanac for the United States.* New York: Bedminster Press, 1961. Pp. viii+88. A collection of tables which present information on art, politics, religion, economics, science, and other areas of American society, plus suggestions for how the volume may be used.

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GHOSH, STANLEY. *Embers in Cathay.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. 236. $4.50. Popular discussion of minorities in Communist China.

GLAZER, NATHAN. *The Social Basis of American Communism.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961. Pp. 244. $5.50. Study of the social and national origins of members of the American Communist party.

GLIDEWELL, JOHN C. (ed.). *Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior.* Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1961. Pp. xx+253. $8.50. Thirteen essays on theory and research ranging from the origin of defense mechanisms to research strategies.

GREENE, FELIX. *Awakened China: The Country Americans Don't Know.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. 425. $5.95. Eyewitness reports by a journalist who traveled in Communist China.

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GUIGNEBERT, CHARLES. *Ancient, Medieval and Modern Christianity: The Evolution of a Religion.* New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1961. Pp. xxxii+507. $7.50. Reprint of a work by a French historian which was first published in English in 1927 under the title *Christianity, Past and Present.*

GUSTAFSON, JAMES M. *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: The Church as a Human Community.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. Pp. xi+141. $3.50. A sociological approach to the Christian church by a faculty member of the Yale Divinity School.

HABERMAS, JÜRGEN, FRIEDEBURG, LUDWIG VON, OEHLER, CHRISTOPH, and WELTZ, FRIEDRICH. *Student und Politik: Eine soziologische Untersuchung zum politischen Bewusstsein Frankfurter Studenten* ("Students and Politics: A Sociological Study of the Political Awareness of University Students in Frankfurt"). Neuwied am Rhein: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1961. Pp. 359. Sociological data from a sample of Frankfurt students and from other sources, with an essay on the concept of political participation.

HALE, LESLIE. *Hanged in Error.* Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961. Pp. 160. $0.85 (paper). The story of eleven erroneous death sentences, told by a member of Parliament.

HALMOS, PAUL (ed.). *The Teaching of Sociology to Students of Education and Social Work.* ("The Sociological Review Monograph," No. 4.) Keele: University College of North Staffordshire, 1961. Pp. 133. Six papers and comments on them from a recent conference in Great Britain.

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HANDLIN, OSCAR and MARY. *The Dimensions of Liberty.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. Pp. 204. $3.75. The historical development of American conception of liberty.

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HARVEY, O. J., HUNT, DAVID E., and SCHRODER, HAROLD M. *Conceptual Systems and Personality Organization.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1961. Pp. xii+375. $7.50. A theoretical framework combining cognitive and dynamic approaches to personality.

HEILBRONER, ROBERT L. *The Future as History.* New York: Grove Press, 1961. Pp. 217. $1.75 (paper). Reprint of a work first published in 1959.

HIEBSCH, HANS, SMIRNOV, A. A. LEONTIEV, A. N., POSNANSKI, N. F., KOSTIUK, G. S., and SHNIRMAN, A. L. *Soviet Psychology: A Symposium.* (Translations of papers by Soviet Psychologists.) New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. Pp. 109. $3.75. Seven papers by Soviet psychologists which outline the dominant trends of psychology in the Soviet Union.

HILLMAN, JAMES. *Emotion: A Comprehensive Phenomenology of Theories and their Meaning for Therapy.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1961. Pp. x+318. $6.00.

HOROWITZ, IRVING LOUIS. *Radicalism and the Revolt against Reason: The Social Theories of Georges Sorel with a Translation of His Essay on the Decomposition of Marxism.* New York: Humanities Press, 1961. Pp. viii+264. $6.00. Analysis of the intellectual and social climate molding Sorel's thought.

HSU, FRANCIS L. (ed.). *Psychological Anthropology: Approaches to Culture and Personality.* Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1961. Pp. viii+520. $7.95. Fifteen essays with bibliography and photographs.

HUGHES, JOHN. *The New Face of Africa: South of the Sahara.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961. Pp. 296. $5.00. Current trends in several African nations by the Africa correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor.*

HUSAIN, S. ABID. *The National Culture of India.* New York: Asia Publishing House, 1961. Pp. xi+237. $7.25. General historical treatment of Indian culture, stressing its unity and continuity.

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JAHODA, GUSTAV. *White Man: A Study of the Attitudes of Africans to Europeans in Ghana before Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press (under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations), 1961. Pp. xii+144. $3.40. Ghanaian attitudes to Europeans as expressed by school children, adults, workers, and members of the Legislative Assembly, based largely on case histories.

JONES, ERNEST. *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud.* Ed. and abr. LIONEL TRILLING and STEVEN MARCUS. New York: Basic Books, 1961. Pp. xvi+541. $7.50. Abridgement of the contemporary classic three-volume work on Freud.

JOSEPH, JOHN. *The Nestorians and Their Muslim Neighbors: A Study of Western Influence on Their Relations.* Princeton, N J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp. xv+281. $6 00. Western influences since the early nineteenth century on the Nestorians, a Christian community in the Near East which has been surrounded by Muslims for thirteen hundred years.

KATZ, JACOB. *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times.* ("Scripta Judaica," III) New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xv+200. $3.40. The history of ideas relevant to relations between Christians and Jews from the tenth through the eighteenth centuries.

KEE, ROBERT. *Refugee World.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. viii+153. $2 40 Primarily about refugees in Germany and Austria.

KELLNER, WOLFGANG. *Der moderne soziale Konflikt: Seine Ursache und seine Überwindung im Beitrieb* ("Modern Social Conflict: Its Origins and its Prevention in the Work Establishment"). Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1961. Pp. viii+252. DM. 26 50. General analysis of contemporary industrial conflict, with a chapter on social conflicts in earlier historical periods.

KERNODLE, R. WAYNE (ed.). *Values, Decisions and the American Economy.* Williamsburg, Va. College of William and Mary, 1961. Pp. 92. (Paper.) Six papers on current problems.

KIRWIN, HARRY W. (ed.). *The Search for Democracy: A Documentary Record of the American*

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KLOSE, OLAF, JACOBY, EDUARD GEORG, and FISCHER, IRMA. *Ferdinand Tonnies, Friedrich Paulsen, Briefwechsel, 1876–1908* ("Correspondence between Ferdinand Tonnies and Friedrich Paulsen, 1876–1908"). Kiel: Ferdinand Hirt, 1961 Pp. xx+422 Sociable exchanges and intellectual discussions between fellow professors.

KLUCKHOHN, FLORENCE, and STRODTBECK, FRED. *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co, 1961. Pp. xiv+437. $7 75 Some theoretical, methodological, and empirical results of the Harvard "Value Project"

KOESTLER, ARTHUR, and ROLPH, C. H *Hanged by the Neck*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961. Pp. 143. $0 85 (paper). An attack on capital punishment.

KRAMER, JUDITH R, and LEVENTMAN, SEYMOUR. *Children of the Gilded Ghetto: Conflict Resolutions of Three Generations of American Jews* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961 Pp. xviii+228. $5 00. Analysis of changes in the social structure of an urban Jewish community, based on two hundred interviews, historical records, and the reports of informants

KRUPP, SHERMAN. *Pattern in Organization Analysis: A Critical Examination* Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1961. Pp xiv+201. $5 00. Analysis of theoretical themes in different behavioral science theories and in economies

KUENZLI, ALFRED E (ed) *Reconstruction in Religion: A Symposium* Boston: Beacon Press, 1961 Pp. xvi+251. $3 95. Fourteen papers on religion by authors who are concerned with values, ethics, personality, population problems, freedom, and economic growth, but not with the supernatural.

KYLE-KEITH, RICHARD. *The High Price of Pornography*. Washington, D C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961. Pp. vii+230. $4 50 General discussion of pornography in various media, censorship, crime, and related issues.

LAWRENCE, PAUL R, *et al Organizational Behavior and Administration: Cases, Concepts, and Research Findings*. Homewood, Ill.: Richard D Irwin, Inc, 1961. Pp. xxv+910. $7 95 A collection of case studies of business firms and other articles intended for businessmen and for use as a text in schools of business.

LEE, ALFRED MCCLUNG, and LEE, ELIZABETH BRIANT. *Marriage and the Family*. ("College Outline Series," No. 87.) New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961. Pp. xxix+297. $2 25 (paper). Summary and synthesis of research of others and of authors.

LEMESNIL, FRANÇOIS. *Les Relations humaines dans l'enterprise et la condition salariale* ("Human Relations in Industry and the Situation of Wage Workers"). Paris: Éditions Ouvrières, 1961 Pp. 135. New Fr. 4 50 (paper). An analysis of the application of human relations techniques in the context of conflicting goals within the industrial enterprise.

LEWIS, SIR AUBREY *Agents of Cultural Advance*. ("L. T Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lecture," No 30). New York Oxford University Press, 1961 Pp 29 $0 85 (paper) Lecture by a psychiatrist.

LIPSET, SEYMOUR MARTIN, and LOWENTHAL, LEO (eds). *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed* Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1961 Pp xiii+466 $7 50 Eighteen papers on various problems in the work of David Riesman, and one paper by Riesman and Nathan Glazer

LUTZ, BURKART, and WILLENER, ALFRED *Niveau de mécanisation et mode de remunération* ("Level of Mechanization and Method of Remuneration") Luxembourg Communaute Européenne du Charbon et de L'Acier, 1960 Pp. 149 (Paper) Report of research on the iron industries of six nations belonging to the European Coal and Steel Community

MCARTHUR, NORMA *Introducing Population Statistics*. New York Oxford University Press, 1961 Pp xiv+137 $4 00 A handbook for the use of demographic researchers in the South Pacific.

MCCLELLAND, DAVID C *The Achieving Society*. Princeton, N J: D Van Nostrand Co, 1961 Pp xv+512 $7 95 Exploration of the determinants and effects of need achievement in history, laboratory, survey, and theory

MCGRATH, EARL J *Memo to a College Faculty Member* New York Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961 Pp ix+54 $1 75 (paper). Report on a study of curriculum and costs at fourteen independent liberal arts colleges

MARRIOTT, MCKIM *Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan* ("Deccan College Monograph Series," No 23) Poona Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1960 Pp 75 (Paper) An examination of the ways in which the degree of elaboration of caste ranking is affected by variations in community structure

MAYER, ADRIAN C *Peasants in the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Indian Rural Society* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961 Pp xiii+202 $6 00 Ethnography in the British tradition.

MAYER, KURT B, and GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY *The First Two Years: Problems of Small Firm Growth and Survival* ("Small Business Research Series," No. 2) Washington, D C: Government Printing Office, 1961. Pp x+233. $1 00 (paper). Data and discussion

MENDEL, ARTHUR P. *Dilemmas of Progress in Tsarist Russia: Legal Marxism and Legal Pop-*

ulism. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. Pp. viii+310. $7.00. Analysis of the birth of Russian Marxism and of rival ideological currents in relation to economic development in Russia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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MULLER, HERBERT J. *The Loom of History.* New York: New American Library, 1961. Pp. xii+495. $0.95 (paper). Reprint of a general history of Asia Minor which was first published in 1958.

NEAL, HARRY EDWARD. *The Hallelujah Army.* Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1961. Pp. xiii+261. $4.95. Popular history of the Salvation Army.

OSTERBIND, CARTER C. (ed.). *Aging: A Regional Appraisal.* ("Institute of Gerontology Series," Vol. X.) Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961. Pp. xi+169. $3.00 (paper). Fourteen papers from a conference held in March, 1961.

PARSONS, TALCOTT, SHILS, EDWARD, NAEGELE, KASPAR D, and PITTS, JESSE R. *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory,* 2 vols. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. Pp. xxv+1480. $24.95. Selections from the writings of eighty-six nineteenth- and twentieth-century thinkers, including sociologists, psychologists, historians, anthropologists, and others, with general introductory essays by Parsons and by Naegele, an epilogue by Shils, and forewords to the various sections by the four editors.

PEACOCK, ALAN T, and WISEMAN, JACK. *The Growth of Public Expenditure in the United Kingdom.* ("National Bureau of Economic Research General Series," No. 72.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp. xxxi+213. $5.00. Data, analysis, and discussion of theories, with emphasis on the period since 1890.

PRICE, C. A. (ed.). *The Study of Immigrants in Australia.* Canberra: Australian National University, 1961. Pp. vii+216. (Paper.) Papers and discussion from a conference held in 1960.

RAJADHON, RHYA ANUMAN. *Life and Ritual in Old Siam.* New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1961. Pp. 191. $4.50 (paper). Three ethnographic studies translated from the Thai, entitled "The Life of the Farmer," "Popular Buddhism in Thailand," and "Customs Connected with Birth and the Rearing of Children."

REIK, THEODOR. *The Compulsion To Confess: On the Psychoanalysis of Crime and Punishment.* New York: Grove Press, 1961. Pp. xii+493. $2.95 (paper). Paper edition of a wor first published in 1959.

REINHARD, MARCEL, and ARMENGAUD, ANDRI *Histoire générale de la population mondial* ("General History of World Population") Paris: Éditions Montchrestien, 1961. Pp. v+597. New Fr. 50 00 (paper). From prehistori times to the present day, with emphasis on th nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

RIESMAN, DAVID, with GLAZER, NATHAN, an DENNEY, REUEL. *The Lonely Crowd: A Stud of the Changing American Character.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961. Pp xlix+315. $1.25 (paper). Reprint of 1950 classic.

ROTH, NORMAN R. *Reaching the Hard-To-Reach: A Report of the Huntington-Gifford Project on Hard-To-Reach Youth.* Syracuse, N.Y: Huntington Family Centers, Inc., 1961. Pp. vii+167 $2 00 (paper). Report on the history, proceedings, and findings of the project.

SANDERSON, IVAN T. *Abominable Snowmen: Legend Come to Life: The Story of Sub-Humans on Five Continents from the Early Ice Age until Today.* Philadelphia: Chilton Co, 1961 Pp. xv+505. $7.50.

SAUVY, ALFRED. *Fertility and Survival: Population Problems From Malthus to Mao Tse-Tung.* New York: Criterion Books Inc, 1961. Pp. 232. $7.50. Analysis of overpopulation in historical perspective, with suggested solutions to the problem; first published in French in 1958.

SCHNEIDER, DAVID M., and GOUGH, KATHLEEN (eds). *Matrilineal Kinship.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961. Pp. xx+761. $11.75. Seventeen papers on different types of matrilineal systems and on the workings of such systems in nine societies.

SEIDENBERG, RODERICK. *Anatomy of the Future.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Pp. 173. $3.50. Where we came from (the predominance of instinct over intelligence) and where we are heading (the predominance of intelligence over instinct).

SHEFFERMAN, NATHAN W. (with DALE KRAMER). *The Man in the Middle.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. x+292. $4.50. Behind the scenes stories of labor-management relations, by the former head of a large labor-relations firm whose business collapsed at the time of the McClelland committee hearings.

SHIPLEY, JOSEPH T. *The Mentally Disturbed Teacher.* Philadelphia: Chilton Co, 1961. Pp. vii+404. $5.00.

SHOTWELL, LOUISA R. *The Harvesters: The Story of the Migrant People.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. 242. $3.95. Account of the situation of migrant agricultural workers in the United States.

SILVERMAN, ABNER D. *Selected Aspects of Administration of Publicly Owned Housing: Great Britain, Netherlands, and Sweden.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961. Pp. xi+238. $0.70 (paper). Report of a study tour by a government official.

SPENGLER, JOSEPH J. (ed.). *Natural Resources and Economic Growth.* New York: Resources for the Future, Inc, 1961. Pp. x+306. $3.50 (paper). Eleven papers and comments from a conference held in April, 1960.

SPOONER, F. P. *South African Predicament: The Economics of Apartheid.* New York: Frederick A Praeger, Inc, 1961. Pp 288 $5 00. The history, politics, and culture of South Africa, with an analysis of the economic consequence of *apartheid* and a plea for a multiracial society, by a South African executive.

STEINBERG, S. H. (ed.). *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1961–1962.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1961. Pp. xxviii+1684 $9.50. A compendium of information on the nations of the world and on international organizations.

STETLER, HENRY G. *Attitudes toward Racial Integration in Connecticut.* Hartford: Commission on Civil Rights of the State of Connecticut, 1961. Pp. x+50. (Paper.) The findings of a survey carried out in six metropolitan areas in Connecticut.

SZASZ, THOMAS S *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct.* New York: Harper & Bros, 1961 Pp. xiii+337. $7 50. Discussion by a psychiatrist of the ways in which psychiatrists and the public have been extending the concept of "illness" in recent decades so as to cover even more types of behavior, with a plea that patients accept moral responsibility for their own actions.

TEXTOR, ROBERT B. *From Peasant to Pedicab Driver: A Social Study of Northeastern Thai Farmers Who Periodically Migrated to Bangkok and Became Pedicab Drivers* ("Cultural Report Series," No. 9) New Haven, Conn.: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 1961. Pp viii+83 (Paper.) Based in part on questionnaire data.

THOMPSON, VICTOR A. *Modern Organization* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961. Pp. viii+198. A discussion of contemporary bureaucracies which argues that technical and instrumental forms of specialization are increasingly superimposed upon hierarchies of authority.

TOCH, HANS (ed.). *Legal and Criminal Psychology.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc, 1961. Pp. xviii+426. $6 00 A collection of papers by practitioners and social scientists designed for use as a general text by students, laymen and specialists.

TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE RESEARCH COMMITTEE. *Planning Research: A Register of Research of Interest to Those Concerned with Town and Country Planning.* London: Town Planning Institute, 1961. Pp. xvi+158. 18s. 6d. (paper). An annotated bibliography of works relevant to town and country planning.

TRIVEDI, HARSHAD R. *The Mers of Saurashtra: An Exposition of Their Social Structure and Organization.* Baroda, India: M S University of Baroda, 1961. Pp 114 Rs. 6/75 Description of the village structure, lineage system, kinship organization, religion, and interpersonal relations of an agricultural caste in Northwestern India

TUCKER, ROBERT C *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. Pp. 265. $5 50 A reinterpretation of Marx, emphasizing the significance of his earlier writings and his ties to Kant, Hegel, and Feuerbach

TUMIN, MELVIN M *An Inventory and Appraisal of Research on American Anti-Semitism* New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961. Pp. v+185 $2 75 (paper)

UNESCO. *International Organization in the Social Sciences* Rev. ed ("Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences," No 13) New York Columbia University Press, 1961 Pp 145 $1 50 (paper). A summary description of the structure and activities of non-governmental organizations which are specialized in the social sciences and in consultative relationship with UNESCO

VAUSSARD, MAURICE *De Pétrarque a Mussolini: Evolution du sentiment nationaliste Italien* ("From Petrarch to Mussolini The Evolution of Italian Nationalist Sentiment") Paris Librairie Armand Colin, 1961 Pp 303 New Fr 15 50 (paper) General history of Italian nationalism since the Renaissance, with emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

VINCENT, CLARK E *Unmarried Mothers* Glencoe, Ill. Free Press, 1961 Pp x+308 $6 00 Attitudes and social characteristics of unwed mothers, based on surveys and other data

VOORHIS, JERRY. *American Cooperatives Where They Come From, What They Do, Where They Are Going* New York. Harper & Bros, 1961 Pp xi+226 $4 75 Fact and philosophy

WADDINGTON, C H *The Ethical Animal* New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961. Pp 231 $5 00 Discussion by a biologist of the ethical implications of current biological knowledge

WALKER, BARBARA K, and WARREN S (eds) *Nigerian Folk Tales.* New Brunswick, N J · Rutgers University Press, 1961 Pp x+113 $4 00 Tales on demon-lovers, fertility, tricksters, and other topics.

WALLACE, ANTHONY F C *Culture and Personality* New York: Random House, 1961. Pp. x+213 $1.95 (paper). General synthesis and review of studies in the field

WARD, JOHN WILLIAM (ed). *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States: Letters on*

North America by Michael Chevalier. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. Pp. xviii+419. $1.45 (paper). Observations and comments on the United States by a French engineer who traveled in America in the early 1830's.

WATT, W. MONTGOMERY. *Islam and the Integration of Society.* Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1961. Pp. ix+293. $6.50. Social factors in the historical development of Islamic society.

WEINBERG, ABRAHAM. *Migration and Belonging: A Study of Mental Health and Personal Adjustment in Israel.* Introduction by LOUIS GUTTMAN. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961. Pp. xxii+402. A sociopsychiatric study of the relations between mental health and personal adjustments, especially among immigrants in Israel, based on data from depth interviews and from written questionnaires.

WHITE, THEODORE H. *The Making of the President, 1960.* New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961. Pp. ix+400. $6 95. The story of the latest presidential campaign by a journalist, with information not previously available in other sources

WHITE, WINSTON. *Beyond Conformity.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. Pp. 230. $5.00. An argument with criticisms of American society said to be current among intellectuals, with sections on "The Content of Intellectual Ideology," "An Alternative View," and "The Role of Intellectuals."

WHYTE, WILLIAM FOOTE. *Men at Work.* Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, and Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1961. Pp. x+593. $7.95. A systematic attempt to provide case materials, analysis, and theoretical integration of the internal operations of work groups in industry.

WILSON, BRYAN R. *Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of the Elim Tabernacle, Christian Science, and Christadelphians.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961. Pp. 397. $5 75. A study of the teachings, organization, social attitudes, and membership of three contemporary British sects, based on participant observation in each of the three.

YOUNG, JAMES H. *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation.* Princeton, N J. Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp. xii+282 $6 00.

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POWERLESSNESS AND POLITICAL NEGATIVISM: A STUDY OF DEFEATED LOCAL REFERENDUMS[1]

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ABSTRACT

Research on local referendums shows a consistent pattern of negative voting among the socially and economically deprived segments of the population. The research reported here tests the hypothesis that referendums may serve as institutional outlets for protest, that voting against local issues may be an expression of political protest on the part of the powerless and ordinarily apathetic members of the community. The findings from a study of defeated school-bond issues in two communities show a consistent relationship between powerlessness and negative votes in those cases where a feeling of powerlessness took the form of alienation from certain symbols of power in the community. This relationship holds independently of economic self-interest and related variables. Evidence suggests that voting down local issues does not represent an organized, class-conscious opposition, but a type of mass protest, a convergence of the individual assessments of the powerless who have projected into available symbols the fears and suspicions growing out of their alienated existence.

Studies of mass movements and political extremism document what radical critics have long asserted, namely, that the weakest support for democratic political institution is found among persons who are in positions marginal to centers of power in their societies. Thus, in the United States and western Europe, so-called antidemocratic or authoritarian political alternatives tend to be chosen by the small businessman, the poor farmer, the unskilled worker, rather than by the big businessman, the wealthy farmer, and the skilled worker.[2]

Political extremism on the part of persons in low socioeconomic positions may indicate either lack of social control or, given such control, popular discontent. The first case implies weak commitment to existing norms, possibly reflecting ignorance and confusion and, with this, susceptibility to political manipulation of whatever sort. This is essentially a problem of inadequate socialization or of *de facto* political institutions which are inadequately comprehensive, resulting in a kind of political anomie. By contrast, the second case, popular dis-

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, New York City, August, 1960. For other reports on the same study see Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," *Social Forces*, XXXVIII (Spring, 1960), 190–95; John E. Horton, "The Angry Voter: A Study in Political Alienation" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, June, 1960).

[2] William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 183–223. For other relevant information on the social and psychological characteristics of the supporters of mass movements and political extremism see Seymour M. Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1960); Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958); Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer* (New York: New American Library, 1958); Hadley Cantril, *The Politics of Despair* (New York: Basic Books, 1958).

content, may involve commitment to existing norms but implies frustration of efforts to be politically effective within the framework of those norms. This, too, involves inadequately comprehensive political institutions. It implies however, not only the fact of marginality but also awareness and evaluation of it. This form of discontent has often been subsumed under the concept of alienation: one is alienated from what is believed to be an appropriate state; that is, one feels alienated from the dominant powers not simply because of being peripheral to their activities but because this powerlessness is regarded as in some sense illegitimate. This type of discontent is probably most acute in societies where many persons have been socialized to the value of equality and find themselves living in circumstances of practiced inequality. Whenever and wherever there are differences in station, and treatment accorded to different stations cannot be culturally justified, then there is potential alienation.[3]

Another set of hypotheses emerges from the literature on the politics of the powerless; these suggest that their political and social isolation and their perspectives and discontent influence not only their apparent rejection of the status quo but also the kinds of solutions they are likely to accept whenever alternatives are presented. Two points are implied here and are important to our understanding of the politics of protest:

1. The perspectives of the powerless are especially relevant to their political behavior insofar as they are more likely to turn politics into a "phobic" sector (that is, to project their personal fears and discontents into politics) than are the better educated citizens, who are less removed from, and consequently more restrained by, political convention.[4]

2. The kinds of perspectives which color the political action of the powerless are of a particular negative character, negative at least in terms of the norms of the dominant powers.

In Western democracies this negativism may typically be expressed in what Lipset has noted as the predisposition of persons in low socioeconomic positions to accept what he calls authoritarian solutions to their problems.[5] Given their lack of education, and consequently their limited perspectives, given a disposition to perceive the world as the province of the powerful and powerless, given an inability to practice the middle-class virtue of deferred gratification, which is a basis for political patience and compromise, persons of low socioeconomic status are presumably swayed

[3] Alienation and anomie describe essentially the same constellation of factors leading to political extremism. The differences between the concepts may lie less in the phenomena observed than in the perspectives of the observer. The concept of alienation has its roots in the radicalism of Marx; it always implies discontent within and with the social order. To be alienated is to be powerless and estranged in a world of powerful forces. The opposite of alienation is freedom, autonomous existence. Using alienation in this way, Marx can criticize the existing society in terms of historical or ethical truths which transcend it. The values surrounding anomie are decidedly more conservative. At least in the works of Durkheim, the opposite (the ideal state) of anomie seems to be social order founded on acceptance of and submission to authority. The anomic individual may feel powerless, but the observer interprets his powerlessness to be the result of weak social control or lack of constraint The theoretical focus is on the conditions of social order which are imposed from outside of the individual and are supra-individual; in Marx's works the focus is on the individual; order emerges spontaneously when individuals are free, when they are authority and not alienated in their submission to external authority.

In this paper the core meaning of alienation as powerlessness and discontent is preserved, but the radical implications have been neutralized or ignored insofar as the concept is defined from the subjective viewpoint of the powerless (the observed) and not from an absolute standard of freedom asserted by the observer.

[4] For a discussion of "phobic" politics see David Riesman, *Faces in the Crowd: Individual Studies in Character and Politics* (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 35.

[5] Terms like "authoritarian" and "antidemocratic" are evaluations as much as descriptions of the perspectives and probable direction of political action taken by members of the working

by the demagogue who cries conspiracy and promises an immediate solution to powerlessness and status deprivation in a threatening world.[6] Or, as Reinhard Bendix has put it in writing of radical politics in Germany:

> But the impetus to radicalization among the German masses arose in the first instance among those who were just entering political life It is probably characteristic of many nonvoters to regard political participation as "useless" to believe that politics will only benefit the crooks anyway, and to profess a lack of concern with public affairs Such people are likely to vote only under extreme provocation, and they are likely to support a party which proposes to clean the Augean stables and to establish an entirely new order [7]

Such interpretations of the support for the "authoritarian" political movements of the twentieth century point to a reservoir of discontent among the usually inarticulate and seemingly powerless masses, a discontent which may explode into radical protest whenever the powerless exercise their power. In this manner, projection of fears and discontent and rejection of authority may undermine democratic institutions or, falling short of this, may at least thwart the proximate objectives of democratic leadership. Hannah Arendt has clearly drawn out some of the implications of this point of view:

> The success of totalitarian movements among the masses meant the end of two illusions of democratically ruled countries in general and of European nation-states and their party systems in particular. The first was that the people in its majority had taken an active part in government and that each individual was in sympathy with one's own or somebody else's party. On the contrary, the movements showed that the politically neutral and indifferent masses could easily be the majority in a democratically ruled country that therefore a democracy could function according to rules recognized by only a minority The second democratic illusion exploded by the totalitarian movements was that these politically indifferent masses did not matter that they were truly neutral and constituted no more than the inarticulate backward setting for the political life of the nation Now they made apparent what no other organ of public opinion had ever been able to show namely that democratic government had rested as much on silent approbation and tolerance of the indifferent and inarticulate sections of the people as on the articulate and visible institutions and organizations of the country [8]

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES AND FINDINGS

In the analyses discussed above students of mass movements have tended to focus on national politics yet the logic of the conceptual analysis clearly may apply at several levels of social order If the postulated reservoir of discontent does exist, then it should manifest itself whenever and wherever the politically powerless enter politics The research reported here examines this interpretation of protest in the context of the American community, a political arena analogous to the nation but differing in this important respect: community politics provides a ready-made institutional channel for the expression of protest -the referendum. Voting against referendums may be more than a rejection of a particular fluoridation or school-building program; it may be, in addition, an expression of general discontent on the part of the politically alienated

In our analyses we attempt to explain several possible related facts: voter turnout

class From the viewpoint of theorists who seem to equate democracy with the stability of the existing political order, working-class perspectives are indeed antidemocratic Other more radical interpreters who explicitly question the legitimacy of existing political institutions on the basis of standards which transcend them, and who are primarily concerned with social change, might well label the same perspectives of the working class as "progressive" or even "prodemocratic" insofar as such perspectives when translated into action could undermine a political order which is clearly undemocratic.

[6] Lipset, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–130.

[7] "Social Stratification and Political Power," in Bendix and S Lipset (eds), *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe, Ill Free Press, 1957), pp 606–7

[8] *Op. cit.*, p 312.

is generally higher for defeated than for passed referendums; defeat shows a consistent pattern of negative voting among the socially and economically deprived segments of the population, segments which usually contribute disproportionately to the non-voters. Given our theoretical perspective, we would argue that this pattern of voting against local issues may be an indication of the protest of the powerless and ordinarily apathetic members of a community.[9]

The data for the study consist of interviews with nearly four hundred voters in two upstate New York communities. These data were collected in March, 1957, and March, 1958, shortly after the communities voted on and defeated school-bond proposals. Opinion was sampled in geographical areas which roughly divide the population according to differences in socioeconomic status. In one town, the school district was divided into tracts, and at least five interviews were gathered in each tract. In the other town, a number of interviews were gathered proportionate to the total number of eligible voters in each election district. No more systematic attempt was made to obtain a random and a representative sample, and the sample cannot be so considered.

Several possible related characteristics of the school-bond campaigns suggest impressionistically that the politics of protest were operating in these communities:

1. In both towns defeat of the school-bond proposal was associated with the increased turnout among persons of low income and education. (Moreover, there was a decrease in turnout, especially in the most negative areas—low socioeconomic areas—when in one town the proposal was passed in slightly modified form on a second vote two months after the first referendum. The second town has faced a continually high level of opposition.)

2. Each campaign was pervaded by an atmosphere of controversy generalized beyond the specific issues and directed against the experts and the local leaders; this atmosphere was provoked and perpetuated by the attacks of self-appointed opposition leaders—perhaps local counterparts of the demagogic leaders of mass movements—who in their opposition to the political leaders of the community professed representing the interests of "the people," Both communities saw the appearance of an opposing organization of small businessmen, the taxpayers' association; in one town—a company town—a trade union opposed the issue on the argument of unnecessary expense in times of economic trouble and excessive influence of the town's major firm. These vocal opposition groups were perhaps instrumental in arousing the interest of normally apathetic citizens.

3. During the period of community conflict there was the paradoxical phenomenon of heightened but often undirected power consciousness among persons in low positions, whose perspectives, a disposition to see the world in a certain way, seemed to color their reactions to the issue and the direction and extent of their political action.

In this paper we are specifically reporting on two points: (1) The existence of a feeling of powerlessness among the socially and economically deprived and the conditions under which such powerlessness was a factor in voting against local issues; and (2) the nature of the power consciousness of the powerless.

[9] That defeat is generally associated with high turnout is one conclusion of a nationwide survey of 1,512 bond and tax elections held from 1948 through 1959 (see Richard F. Carter and William G Savard, *Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections* ["Cooperative Research Monograph," No 5, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961)]). A similar trend has been reported and analyzed for fluoridation and other controversial community issues (see James F. Coleman, *Community Conflict* [Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1957]). For the argument that "no" voters and non-voters have similar characteristics see C R Bush and P. J. Deutschmann, *The Inter-relationships of Attitudes toward Schools and Voting Behavior in a School Bond Election* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, August, 1955).

POWERLESSNESS, POWER CONSCIOUSNESS, AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

We had hypothesized that during times of community conflict there would be a high level of power consciousness among persons who felt powerless in the community and who, because of their lack of wealth and education, were judged by us to be powerless. In both communities there were available symbols of power on which to attach general discontents; in one town the symbol of power was the university, in the other, the corporation. Most persons recognized these symbols as important powers in their community; however, our analysis suggests that only persons who felt powerless were likely to see threatening powers in the environment. At least, they were more likely than the politically powerful to be mistrustful of public officials and experts, to believe that the community was dominated by special interests, and to criticize and belittle education and other values central to the leaders of their community.[10]

The indexes of the hypothesized levels of power consciousness were constructed in terms of the particular power structure in each community. For the university town these levels are: (1) a feeling of powerlessness, (2) identification of the university and school board as major powers, (3) criticism of education. In the company town the levels of power consciousness are: (1) a feeling of powerlessness, (2) identification of the company and school board as central powers, (3) identification with a vocal opposition group, the company union, and the working class, (4) knowledge about the political stand taken by this group.

In comparing the samples the first two levels in each community were combined into one index labeled "political alienation."[11] Political alienation in turn is hy-

[10] The following are two examples of the dimension of mistrust and criticism of the values of the powerful which related consistently to low socioeconomic position and alienation.

Mistrust of Public Officials: This is a four-item scale constructed according to the Guttman technique. Listed here are the negative (mistrustful) responses ordered from most to least extreme. The most mistrustful agreed with all the statements, the least agreed with the "weakest" or disagreed with all of them.

1. People who go into public office are usually out for all they can get.
2. Elected officials become tools of special interests, no matter what.
3. Local officials soon lose touch with the people who elected them.
4. If people knew what was really going on in high places, it would blow the lid off things.

(Coefficient of reproducibility for these items .9[illegible], error ratio, .57.)

Criticism of Education (for Ithaca sample only). This is a two-item score; each item was weighted equally. Listed here are the critical responses.

Agree or Don't Know:

1. Education is generally overrated in terms of what it can do for the individual.
2. There is too much concern these days over school facilities and not enough over the three R's.

[11] The measure of political alienation combines into one score powerlessness and consciousness of potentially menacing power. The measure of powerlessness used in both populations is a two-item score. Each item was given equal weight. The items are:

I. People have different ideas [illegible] fit into community affairs. Would you say that you are:
   1. A person who [illegible] decisions
   2. A person who is active but not one of the decision makers
   3. Just an ordinary person in the community
   4. Not a part of the [illegible]

II. Agree, disagree, or don't know:
   It doesn't matter which party wins the elections, the interests of [illegible] don't count.

The powerless were judged to be those who placed themselves in one of the last two categories of Item I and who agreed to Item II.

Awareness of Power: For analysis of the Corning data responses to two well-known symbols of power relevant to the bond issue were combined into a score of power perception. The most power conscious agreed to both of the following questions:

1. Corning Glass and Ingersoll-Rand run the show in this area.
2. The school board is just as much a special interest group as any other group in town.

Two symbols of power were judged most relevant

pothesized to be one level of political consciousness which, in its more developed form, includes class consciousness as well as negative attitudes toward out-group powers. In the university town the most negatively politically conscious would be those persons who felt alienated in a town dominated by the university and who were critical of education. This may conceivably be an operational definition of *ressentiment*.[12] In the company town, where opposition had class leadership, the most negatively politically conscious would be those who felt alienated from the community powers and, in addition, identified with the working class and the company union.

with 68 per cent unfavorable among those who both deemed themselves powerless and identified one or more powers in the community (Table 1).

Tables 2 and 3 illustrate the effect on political attitudes of presumably higher levels of political consciousness: criticism of education and identification with an opposition group. Thus, in the university town, 74 per cent were unfavorable toward the issue among those who felt alienated and critical of education; this compares with 16 per cent among those who felt neither alienated nor critical of the values of the powerful. A similar relationship held in the company town: attitudes toward the

TABLE 1

POWER CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE POWERLESS AND THE POLITICALLY POWERFUL WHO WERE UNFAVORABLE OR VERY UNFAVORABLE TOWARD A SCHOOL-BOND ISSUE

(Percentages Which Were Unfavorable or Very Unfavorable to the Issue)

	The Powerless		The Politically Powerful	
	Identified One or More Powers	Identified None	Identified One or More Powers	Identified None
University town ..	68% (44)*	†	44% (100)	25% (52)
Company town.	88% (96)	56% (50)	53% (17)	31% (36)

* Numbers within parentheses in this and the following tables are number of cases used as percentage base

† Less than ten cases

As hypothesized, each increase in power consciousness was associated with a corresponding increase in negative attitudes toward the proposal—attitudes which were translated into negative votes. For example, in their relationship to political action, the factors of powerlessness and awareness of power show an independent and cumulative relationship. Thus, in the university town, 25 per cent held an unfavorable attitude on the issue among those who were politically active and identified no one seat of power in the community. This compares

for the Ithaca population. The power conscious agreed to both of the following statements.

1. The University people run the show in Ithaca.
2. The school board is just as much a special interest group as any other group in town.

[12] The resentful are powerless persons who react to their situation by criticizing the values of the powerful, values which they do not have but secretly crave (see Max Scheler, *Ressentiment* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961]).

school-bond issue appeared to be a function of the extent and direction of power consciousness.

TABLE 2

POLITICAL ALIENATION AND CRITICISM OF VALUE OF EDUCATION OF THOSE IN UNIVERSITY TOWN WHO WERE UNFAVORABLE OR VERY UNFAVORABLE TO SCHOOL-BOND ISSUE

	Not Alienated*	Alienated*
Critical of education .	49% (83)	74% (57)
Not critical of education	16% (50)	25% (12)

* In this and in all subsequent cases the "alienated" are those persons who scored high on powerlessness and identification of out group powers

Such political consciousness was an independent force in political action; at least political negativism (voting "down" the issue) cannot be reduced to a simple theory of economic self-interest. Respondents often mentioned costs as the reason for opposition to the bond issue; yet, when one

controls for social position (an index of more than political alienation), alienation still has an effect on the direction of political attitudes (Table 4). Clearly, political alienation may be correlated with low socioeconomic position, but where it is not, level of political consciousness not economic interest is the better predictor of political attitudes.

POWER CONSCIOUSNESS AND POLITICAL ACTION

Although it is a factor in crystallization of negative or positive attitudes toward the issue, power consciousness was not consistently related to political action, the decision to vote. Feelings of alienation and hostility toward local powers were translated into action only to the degree that such alienation was of concern to the citizen because he was by intention or act committed to living in the community (Table 5). Alienation from the community powers may have been sufficient for the development of negative attitudes but not a sufficient incentive for voting against the plans of the powerful. One had to care about his alienation; apparently the individual who had

TABLE 3

POLITICAL ALIENATION AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THOSE IN COMPANY TOWN WHO WERE UNFAVORABLE OR VERY UNFAVORABLE TO BOND ISSUE

	Not Alienated		Alienated	
	Middle or Upper Class*	Working or Lower Class	Middle or Upper Class	Working or Lower Class
Believed working class against issue	41% (54)	67% (24)	82% (34)	90% (52)
Believed working class for issue, divided, or did not know	50% (10)	13% (8)	83% (6)	67% ([illegible])

* [illegible]

TABLE 4

POLITICAL ALIENATION, SOCIAL POSITION, AND ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO WERE UNFAVORABLE OR VERY UNFAVORABLE TO BOND ISSUE

	Alienated	Not Alienated
[illegible]		
University town		
High status	55% (11)	32% (38)
Middle status	50% (24)	32% (56)
Low status	74% (35)	49% (41)
Company town *		
High status	100% (4)	28% (18)
Middle status	93% (30)	56% (25)
Low status	87% (45)	54% (13)
Occupation of Head of Household		
University town		
Managerial or professional	43% (16)	24% (55)
White collar	43% (14)	50% (13)
Service, farm, labor	76% (29)	52% (81)
Company town		
Managerial or professional	83% (18)	37% (43)
White collar	53% (15)	63% (8)
Service, farm, or labor	94% (70)	47% (45)
Education		
University town		
College	54% (13)	26% (72)
Less than college	68% (57)	52% (60)
Company town		
College	77% (17)	34% (50)
Less than college	88% (84)	57% (46)

* The number is smaller here because socioeconomic status ratings were not available for all respondents. Other discrepancies in total numbers reflect lack of information on some social positional variables.

economic and social commitments in the community cared the most. According to our findings the best indicator of involvement in the community was home ownership. In other words, it was the taxpayer who translated attitudes into action, but it was not economic interest alone, it was alienation which determined the direction of his vote. Both alienated and non-alienated taxpayers went to the polls; however, the non-alienated taxpayer voted "yes" and the alienated taxpayer "no."

NATURE OF THE PROTEST OF THE POWERLESS

The evidence thus supports the contention that, among the powerless who were power conscious, voting against the referendums may have been an expression of political protest, a vote against the local powers-that-be. But what was the nature of this protest? Was it a class-conscious protest in the Marxian sense of the term, a power consciousness based on political knowledge and identification of self-interest with class interest?

Some of the components of class consciousness were present: the most alienated were more likely to identify a threatened "we" (the union leaders, the working class) as well as some threatening "they." Moreover, there were potential leaders for the threatened "we" (the taxpayers' association and, in one town, the labor union). Nevertheless, other evidence leads to the hypothesis that the protest of the powerless resembled not so much class-conscious protest, as a kind of mass protest, that is, a protest of persons weakly tied to any group.[13] The following observations favored this interpretation: although the alienated identified certain threatening powers in their environment, they had no precise knowledge of the bond issue, no

[13] For the viewpoint that certain extreme political movements are supported less by the class-conscious than by persons who lack group consciousness of any kind, see, among others, Arendt, *op. cit.*, pp. 305–40; Bendix, *op. cit.*, pp. 596–607.

TABLE 5

COMMITMENT TO LIVING IN COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL-BOND ISSUE

	Taxpayers		Not Taxpayers	
	Voting	Voters Voting "No"	Voting	Voters Voting "No"
University town:				
Alienated	85% (52)	70% (44)	41% (17)	45% (7)
Not alienated	90% (103)	18% (93)	62% (26)	19% (16)
Company town:				
Alienated	82% (45)	84% (37)	68% (57)	74% (39)
Not alienated	91% (56)	37% (51)	91% (40)	57% (37)

TABLE 6

ALIENATION, EDUCATION,* AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF MAJOR POWER AND INTEREST GROUPS IN THE COMPANY TOWN

	Alienated		Not Alienated	
	High School or Less ($N=61$)	More Than High School ($N=18$)	High School or Less ($N=30$)	More Than High School ($N=27$)
Percentage who could not name any members of the school board	56	22	23	15
Percentage who could not identify the composition of the Taxpayers' League or who gave no answer	75	50	60	30
Percentage who were unable to name prominent men or women in the community or who gave no answer	70	44	50	22

* Education is introduced in the table to show the independent and cumulative relationship between education, alienation, and political knowledge.

accurate knowledge of the local power structure, nor of the specific social positions of the powers involved (Table 6). Second, there was no convincing evidence to show that the alienated identified self-interest with class interest, or felt strongly attached to the leadership of the taxpayers' association or labor unions. Most interesting of all in terms of the question of class consciousness and economic interest, the alienated of the corporation-dominated community were as pessimistic about the role of the labor union in public affairs as were the less alienated and more affluent members of the community (Table 7): this in spite of the fact that the union was openly promoting the economic interests of the workers and publicly taking a stand opposed to the corporation's presumed support of the issue.

Yet, if the alienated had few political facts and identified little with persons who championed their economic interests, they were nevertheless undeniably suspicious of politics, and this political suspicion was a part of a broader and more pervasive cynicism. Alienation and low socioeconomic positions were found to be related both to each other and to a cluster of attitudes, a world view, which seemed to underlie the particular political response of the underdog. Certain recurring themes in this world view and, consequently, in the political style of the powerless were: the feeling that the world is a threatening place inhabited by the powerful and the powerless; suspicion of outsiders and of people in general; pessimism about the future; despair; and the tendency to debunk education and other values necessary for success in a competitive society.

This finding is consistent with previous research which suggests that persons in low socioeconomic positions tend to see the world as a threatening place and, in normatively unstructured situations, that this predisposition influences their specific response to religious, racial, and political issues.[14] What we are hypothesizing on the basis of these relationships is that voting down local issues may be in part a type of mass protest, a convergence of the individual assessments and actions of the powerless who have turned politics into a "phobic" sector by projecting into available political symbols the fears and suspicions growing out of the alienated conditions of their existence.

This power consciousness of the powerless was founded less on accurate political knowledge than on an existential guess. It apparently did not represent the rational awareness of the class-conscious, although it could develop into such, but rather the diffuse power consciousness of a mass tied neither to the working classes nor to the ruling classes of the community; it was a type of power consciousness founded on social reality, social reality as lived and perceived by the alienated and projected onto the political world.

TABLE 7

ALIENATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD LABOR UNIONS

Statement	Per cent Agreeing	
"The unions should have more say about local issues"		
Alienated	23%	(102)
Not alienated	12%	(95)
"Laws governing labor unions should be stricter today"		
Alienated	62%	(91)
Not alienated	62%	(94)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES
AND
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

[14] Among others see Samuel Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955).

SOCIALIZATION, COMMAND OF PERFORMANCE, AND MENTAL ILLNESS

ERNEST BECKER

ABSTRACT

There seems to be every interest in pursuing, for theoretical purposes, a purely sociological view of behavioral malfunction A sociological view would stress the importance of man's unique "psychological organ"—the ego -and the anxiety-buffering function which the ego fulfils. It would stress the fact that the individual, in order to act in society, must perform within social ritual rules for interaction. Socialization, in this light, is seen as the training and fashioning of a performer; one who will be able, by fictional performance, to sustain the cultural plot with a maximum of meaningful conviction and a minimum of anxiety-inducing bungling.

The essentials for a sociological understanding of behavioral malfunction presented here underline a crucial but simple consideration which has not been sufficiently stressed in discussions of mental illness.[1] It is clear that whatever the origin of malfunction—in biological substrata or in conventional social definition of desirable norm—there are individuals who will not meet the behavioral requirements of their fellows. But in addition to this consideration, there is a less obvious one, namely, that to a self-reflexive, symbol-using animal, the *purely symbolic, social definition of normative behavior is as crucial to action* as is instinctive patterning to any lower organism. The basis for this conclusion is common knowledge to the clinician. However, recapitulation of several crucial features of man's uniqueness in the animal kingdom is warranted in the present context inasmuch as these features become, as we shall review below, the central problem in negotiating social action.

[1] See, e g , D. P. Ausubel, "Personality Disorder Is Disease," *American Psychologist*, XVI, No 2 (February, 1961), 69–74; O. H. Mowrer, "'Sin,' the Lesser of Two Evils," *American Psychologist*, XV (1960), 301 4; T. S. Szasz, "The Myth of Mental Illness," *American Psychologist*, XV (1960), 113–18, and his *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc, 1961). See also my forthcoming *The Birth and Death of Meaning: A Perspective in Psychiatric Anthropology* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe).

THE PECULIARITY OF HUMAN ACTION

Freud's genius has been credited with many discoveries, notably the dynamic unconscious and the importance of infantile sexuality, with the multifarious effects of these on human behavior. But it is becoming increasingly obvious—or should be—that a comprehensive theory of human behavior will draw upon those discoveries of Freud which figure less prominently in clinical matters and which are of more general import. I am referring specifically to the genesis of the self and the ego, and to the fact of the Oedipal transition—a transition from biological proximal relationship to a succoring figure, to a distanced, symbolic relationship to the internalized values of that figure. These two general, universal developmental trends are crucial in the humanization of Homo sapiens. It is important to underscore that they are based upon one continuous thread: the change from a stimulus-response reaction to primitive anxiety, to an ego-controlled reaction.[2] The latter interposes a series of complex mechanisms between anxiety and the organism, which we have come to know as the self-system.[3] The bootstraps, so to speak, by which man lifts himself above the other animals are

[2] S. Freud, *The Problem of Anxiety* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co , 1936).

[3] H S. Sullivan, *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry* (New Yoik: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953).

those which enable him to handle primitive animal annihilation-anxiety with a durative defense. The self-system is an anxiety-buffering motor that is always idling.

Now it is well known that this unique development in the animal kingdom is possible for only one reason: the development of language, which permits a self-referential existence. As the infant learns "mine-me-I" in that order, he fixes himself in a space-time world populated by named, identifiable objects. Sullivan referred to the self-system as largely a series of linguistic tricks by which the human conciliates his environment—allays his anxiety, that is. Thus, self-reflexivity and anxiety avoidance are two sides of the same coin. They create symbolic action possibilities by making the world safe for a symbolic, self-reflexive animal.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW

Sociologists have tended to focus their attention, not on the individual, intrapsychic aspects of the defensive operations of this animal, but rather on the fact that a symbolic animal must be fashioned from the symbols inculcated by other animals. Society co-operates in its instrumental dominance over the natural environment by a joint allegiance to a shared symbolic system of meaning. If the behavioral world of the self-reflexive animal is based on a pronominal "I," then the "I" must be separated from the "not-I." In other words, the motivational goals, and the proper actions for reaching those goals, must be jointly defined as more desirable than other alternatives.[4] The animal must have in brief, a feeling of primary value in a world of meaningful objects. Culture, in this sense, is a symbolic fiction without which the psychological animal could not act. The basis of this fiction is a pattern of values which gives vital meaning and permits action.

[4] A. I. Hallowell, *Culture and Experience* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955).

The problem of human behavior in social terms is nothing short of prodigious: How to bring the acutely anxiety-sensitive animals to act together, without endangering the fragile self-system of each. How, in other words, to confront a multitude of individuals with each other, and still permit them all the conviction (the fiction) *that each is an object of primary value in a world of meaningful objects*. In the social encounter, the indispensable internal sentiment of warm self-value that serves as an anxiety buffer is exposed to possible undermining by the very same sentiments of all others. We miss the point completely when we consider "face" an idle preoccupation of a decrepit Chinese culture. The apt term "face" refers to the turning outward for public view, and possible mishandling, of the anxiety-buffering self-esteem, so laboriously fashioned in the process of humanization. Social interaction, in other words, is a potential anarchy of psychological destruction.

When we say that an individual is properly socialized, we mean simply that the process of formation of the self-system has been secure enough to enable him to sustain interaction with someone other than the agents of his immediate socialization. If he can do this, society provides him with a conventional code of rules for interaction, by which to sustain his own face and to protect the face of others. The intricacies of this code have been masterfully detailed by Erving Goffman, in a series of landmarking writings.[5] With his two central concepts of deference and demeanor, he has shown how society provides for and even maximizes the primary sense of self-value that the individual brings with him to social encounters.

[5] "On Face Work, an Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction," *Psychiatry*, XVIII (1955), 213–31, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, No. 3 (1956), 473–502, and *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* ("Doubleday Anchor Book" [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959])

DEFENSIVE NEEDS VERSUS REQUIREMENTS OF SOCIAL ACTION

The problem, from a social point of view, is to respect the privacy and integrity of the individual and, at the very same time, to include him in social interaction. Society does this by a series of conventions which Goffman includes under two main headings: deferential rituals of avoidance and deferential rituals of presentation. The body privacy, separateness, and the integral self of the individual must be accorded a degree of avoidance behavior. Avoidance implies that everyone has the right to keep others at a certain distance and recognizes that the self is personal. Presentation, on the other hand, implies that everyone has the right to engage others, *if it is done properly;* the self is recognized as social. Thus, all the conventions of salutation, farewell, quick formal smiles of acknowledgment, facile compliments, brief adjustments of another's tie or brushing his clothing, and so on, are presentation rituals which engage his self in social intercourse.[6]

When we are slighted by a "snub" we are simply protesting that someone did not acknowledge the social existence of our self. The "Hi" makes "electric" contact and fuses two discrete selves into a social unity. The problem of deference is an extremely touchy one, precisely because self-esteem is at stake. We must exercise a social claim on each other and yet not seem to manipulate. The simple act of engaging someone by offering him a seat is fraught with possibilities of bungling. Rituals of farewell are delicately sensitive, because here the self is being released from a social situation. The release must be gentle, and not an ejection into isolation. An Italian watching his friends pull away in a train will remain on the platform waving a handkerchief in farewell until they are well out of sight—one must not coarsely break off the social fusion of selves; the magic melding must be sustained until it becomes a thinnest thread. The members of a group long accustomed to being together develop subtle cues for taking leave and will melt apart at a slight signal, perhaps undetectable to an observer.

The further problem is that the gestures of presentation which engage the individuals in social intercourse must not encroach too much on their private selves; "a peculiar tension must be maintained"[7] between avoidance and presentation rituals. The individual, in sum, must be assured that if he intrusts his fallible face to society, it will take good care of it for him: "A social relationship . . . can be seen as a way in which the person is more than ordinarily forced to trust his self-image and face to the tact and good conduct of others."[8] If this all seems axiomatic, its simplicity is deceptive. It is only when we consider the complement to deference, the phenomenon of demeanor, that the fictional fabric of social life becomes transparently clear. Demeanor refers to the problem of social action from the point of view of the individual. Demeanor means proper deportment, dress, bearing—in a word, self-regard. The individual is tasked to respect and maintain a sense of self. For an individual to have a sense of self—and this is of fundamental importance—means sustaining a named, identifiable locus of symbolic causality, which can be counted on to communicate within the social conventions. Demeanor is the *obligation to have a self,* so that there is something *socially transactable.* But the self-contained locus of communication must behave in an expected manner, so that his inclusion within the larger plot is a matter of facility. Otherwise, people would endanger themselves in

[6] The details of these rituals are infinite, and nowhere better conceptualized than by Goffman. Each society, of course, has its own conventions for laying social claim to the personal self. In traditional Japan, for example, the self had to be available to society at almost all times—to close one's door during the day was a community offense.

[7] Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," *op. cit*, p 488.

[8] Goffman, "On Face-Work, an Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction," *op. cit*, p 227.

undertaking interaction with someone who does not present a socially viable self. They would expose their fragile self-esteem to an entirely capricious monstrosity.

Crucial to our understanding of the delicately staged plot of social actors within a social fiction of learned meanings, goals, and values is this: An individual who engages us by manifesting the proper deference must have an equally appropriate sense of demeanor to make the deference socially meaningful—he must present a credible stage personality. If our interlocutor does not have proper self-regard, he threatens us at the very core of our artificial action. It is fundamental to the implicit rules of social life that there must be no hint or revelation of the *unbelievably flimsy basis* for our impassioned life-and-death actions: the revelation that the self is merely an attitude of self-regard and a learned set of arbitrary conventions designed to facilitate symbolic action. The hopeful enjoinder that upholds the social fiction is: "Let us all protect each other by sincere demeanor and convincing presentations, so that we can carry on the business of living." The self-esteem of plural numbers of anxiety-prone animals must be protected so that symbolic action can continue. Not only must it be protected, it must in fact be enhanced by an intricate web of rituals for delicate handling of the self. Man must make provision for the utmost sensitivity in social intercourse. This fine social sensitivity is, as Goffman observes, largely what we mean when we speak of "universal human nature." That marvelous performer, Goethe, who even in his old age radiated an aura of indomitable selfhood, and that there was a "courtesy of the heart which is akin to love." The courtesy is the delicate handling of other selves. The love is the control of one's self so that social life can go on.

The culture protects social action in two ways. By providing a strict code of social ritual, it makes available an adaptational device designed to prevent the contamination of social intercourse with private data. The more or less "proper" thing to say in each situation is provided. At the same time, it protects the on-going action situation by ablating the irrelevancies of private data. The socially awkward person is one who is not "successfully" socialized from roughly two points of view. (1) His reaction-sensitivity prevents effective communication, and the forward motion of social action in a situation. (2) He has not learned to use with facility the social ritual rules for interaction. We can ask of an individual in this context: "How much 're-action-sensitivity' is present in his social presentation of face (of his positive-self valuation)?" "To what extent do his needs and susceptibilities risk contaminating the smooth flow of face-saving ritual that the culture needs in order to function?"[9]

THE LINGUISTIC BASIS OF POWER

It is perhaps in the manipulation of the conversational gambits of politeness that we see best the importance to the individual of learning to use the ritual rules for interaction. It is not widely enough recognized that easy handling of the verbal context of action gives the possibility *of direct exercise of power over others*. The individual who uses with facility "I'm *terribly* sorry," "*Good* show!" "*Good* to see you!" and so on, *creates the context of action* for his interlocutor, by his confident manipulation of the conventional ritual verbiage. The parent's enjoinder "Say 'thank you' to the man" is not an inculcation of obsequiousness so much as it is a training in control. It is now up to "the man" to frame an appropriate response, or to end the social situation gracefully. The proper formula delivered defines the situation for the other and is the most direct means of power. The newly liberated slave's reluctance to relinquish his lifelong pattern of obsequious formulas of deference does not derive

[9] For example, a schizophrenic may be overperceptive, unable to shut out irrelevant definitions of the interaction situation. Thus, by his inordinate sensitivity to his interlocutor's genitals, for example, he upsets a comfortably singly defined situation with his own private data.

from his "degenerate character." Rather, the formulas are his only tools for confident manipulation of the interpersonal situation—proven methods of control for which substitutes are not easily learned. Furthermore, as mentioned above, by verbally setting the tone for action by the proper ritual formula, we permit complementary action by our interlocutor. Not only do we permit it, we compel it, if mutual face is to be sustained. Thus, the subordinate not only calls the tune for his superior, but by doing his part in permitting action to continue, he infuses the situation with meaning. Finally, since action within shared meaning provides the only framework for the continual social validation of the actors, we can understand that deference is the means we have of enhancing one another.[10] The ability to use its formulas with facility actually means the power to manipulate others by providing the symbolic context for their action.[11]

Conversely, this power has a central role in the creation of the self. The simplest definition of identity is the experience of one's self as the subject and agent of one's powers.[12] Thus, the person who has not been able to exercise his powers has little experience of self, therefore, little identity. Now, using the deference-demeanor model, we can see how identity and self-experience are *socially created:* only by *exercising demeanor* and *experiencing deference* does the person fashion and renew himself by purposeful action in meaningful contexts. Thus, loneliness is not only a suspension in self-acquaintance, it is a suspension in the very fashioning of identity, because, cut off from one's fellows, one cannot exercise demeanor or experience deference. Therefore, he cannot experience his own powers and come to know himself as agent of them. In this sense, identity is simply the measure of power and participation of the individual in the joint cultural staging of self-enhancing ceremony. One might say that everyone should be a talented *metteur en scène* to get along in social life. But he who is so need-disposition sensitive that he fails to learn to manipulate the ritual rules in his early peer contacts is seriously handicapped in building a strong identity: he never feeds his own power and self-acquaintance with the proper staging of demeanor, as well as with the fuel of deference from his fellows.

It is important to realize that the delicate balance of avoidance and presentation rituals is not an easy one to manipulate. And, in order to have any skill at it at all. one needs a clear definition of the situation It is precisely this that is obscured by poor socialization. A clear definition of the situation demands an apprehension of one's private self, a sensitivity to needs and expectancies in the interaction, and last but not least, a sure cognizance of self-other discreteness. Thus, in simplest terms, we might say that the basis for social ineptitude is the failure to form an adequate phenomenological self. A feeling of primary value, separation, and de-identification of self from the succoring figure, sure possession of one's body—these have all to be under the individual's control if he is at all to get started in the complicated game of role-playing. Otherwise, we have the familiar gaucheries of an overdoing of avoidance ritual, as, for example, by not allowing oneself to be touched when it is quite in order; or overdoing of presentation ritual by overpersonal manipulations and attentions. (Cf. manic kissing and overly intimate compliments, and so on, so upsetting to his interlocutors. "Oh, there's the doctor who was *so* nice to me! Look everyone, there's the most wonderful doctor in the world; Oh I love him, I do love him,

[10] Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," *op. cit*, p. 493.

[11] The manic seems to make a frantic bid for this power. But his exaggerated manipulations of the verbal proprieties are shown to be unnatural by the discomfort they create—in place of the comfort they are supposed to create. Only the manic himself is bemusedly comfortable; and in a social context this discrepancy defines his deviance.

[12] E. Fromm, *The Sane Society* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955).

he is so super-wonderful. Here let me straighten your glasses, so you can look as handsome as you are wonderful.")

The notorious attribution to children of "cruelty" is simply a recognition that they have not yet learned to use the face-preserving and mutually enhancing social conventions. When a child first steps out into the peer group, the selves of others are not yet recognized except as something to be overcome rather than used. ("Cripple!" "fatty!" "four-eyes!") One still basks in the parental omnipotence and has no need as yet to be socially sustained and created. Actually, the early peer group contacts are crucial in learning the social rituals. One result of role-taking practice is sensitivity in sustaining a constant presentation of self against a variably responsive background. Thus, the child learns to sustain his own sense of value even in the face of negative responses. He learns whose evaluation to discount, who is overly private; he sees others making improperly personal gambits in the social situation. We all remember, hopefully, at least one such person with whom we could compare ourselves favorably in early peer interaction, and feel "properly social" at a very early age. For example, there was always one "sore loser" who filled us with a sense of social righteousness. Furthermore, in early peer contacts, the child may learn that he is justified in refusing a negative response as emanating solely from another's private evaluation, not from his own *improperly presented self:* "Wasn't *I* right?" is a plea for reassurance that one is sustaining the social fiction with proper demeanor. By thus mastering early unjust evaluations in the early peer group, the child learns to sustain a steady self-valuation, without resorting to bolstering paranoid responses. He learns a realistic appraisal of the other's unwarranted privatization of the social context.

In the last analysis, *power over others* consists in presenting an infallible self and in commanding dexterous performance of deference. The power of the "natural leader" resides perhaps in such fortunate socialization that a convincing self is invariably put forth, with sharp separation of personal and reality needs. By putting forth a convincing self, the actor obliges others to a more careful deference. The strong self forces others to make an effort at performance that may often be beyond their means. Thus, the aura of his infallibility is enforced as their performance stumbles or becomes painfully effortful. In this sense, everyone is a potential ***metteur en scène*** who fashions the plot and provides the cues for proper performance by others.[13] Some are more fortunately endowed to set implicitly the tone for the performance by presenting a model self and an unshakable command of the script.[14]

SOCIALIZATION AS TRAINING IN COMMAND OF PERFORMANCE

Socialization, then, is a preparation for *social performance* of the individual actor. Using this scheme (deference-demeanor) we might ask two key sociological questions of this individual preparation, questions familiar to the clinician:

"With what behavioral style has the in-

[13] Witness man's enormous expenditure of time in self torture over having failed to say just the right thing at a particular point in conversation "If only I had said *this*!" "If *only* I had said that." The implication in this galling preoccupation is that it was at *this* point that one could have exercised majestic control over the interaction.

[14] To follow along with the film analogy, One explanation for "involutional" depression lies simply in the fact that an individual can realistically appraise his life as having fallen far short of hoped for goals, and give up in the face of a bad job (cf. E. Bibring, "The Mechanism of Depression," in P. Greenacre [ed.], *Affective Disorders* [New York: International Universities Press, 1953]). If a sixty-year span be calculated imaginatively as a fictional saga of sixty minutes, one can imagine the depressed ***metteur en scène*** who after forty minutes (forty years) of plot sees the whole thing as botched. He simply cannot pin a happy ending within twenty minutes on a forty-minute background which does not support the ending with any credulity. Therefore, the fictional meaning of the whole plot is undermined, and he can give it up as an insurmountable assignment by depressive withdrawal.

dividual *learned* to get his self-rights respected?" How, in other words, has the child obtained appreciation from significant adults of his discrete social self? The manner of obtaining respect for self would be his basic method of comportment, or demeanor. The other important question has to do with determining his basic pattern of orientation to deference: "How has he learned to react to the hierarchialized status of others?" In other words, what kind of cognizance does he have of the plot, the fiction of social action in which he will be expected to perform? These two sets of questions are separated for conceptual purposes; actually they are part of the same judgment: *How has the actor been trained as a performer?* The social judgment of the individual can be phrased in stark terms of his rule-following ability.

Transference, understood sociologically, is simply rule-following ability as it is constricted within a narrow stylistic range. The artificial crystallization of this stylistic range is what takes place in psychoanalytic therapy. By analyzing it, the analyst hopes to permit performance over a broader range: he presents the patient "with the possibility of a greater number of choices."[15]

The individual we term schizophrenic may well be one who has never learned the simple bases for the possession of real power over his fellows by aptly wielding the verbal armament of social ritual. In Bateson's double-bind theory of schizophrenia, the individual is prevented, by ambiguities and inconsistencies of the environment, from forming a firmly oriented and consistently recognized self. From the outset, therefore, he does not have the wherewithal to play the ritual game on social terms. He has nothing that he can consistently present to confront the potential threats and uncertainties of the environment (except perhaps a certain "unanchored" symbolic dexterity to be satisfied in library halls; or, if illiterate, in shamanistic fantasies). The young schizophrenic may often provide the best example of failure to handle even the simple greeting. With a self-esteem brittle to the core, the threat of an encounter can be overwhelming. One schizophrenic at the beginning of his army career quickly signaled his "queerness" to other soldiers. He learned that a simple greeting used by all never failed to elicit a friendly response. He followed others around, even to the latrine, repeating the greeting again and again. Another learned, perhaps for the first time, a sure ritual of presentation, a reliable way to engage another in social intercourse, without eliciting a hostile response: one had only to offer a cigarette. But even this act has its appropriateness, and the others quickly became embarrassed by his incessant offerings of handfuls of cigarettes, often at inappropriate times.

One cannot overemphasize the fact that the basic pattern of deference-demeanor in a society is the necessary social nutrient for the continuing creation of the personal significance of the social actors—a sort of public mana in which everyone is rejuvenated and supplied. There is a continuing affirmation of meaning in deference-demeanor social transactions which, although purely on a fictional-symbolic level of dis-

[15] In this context, it is worth mentioning the usual fascination of youth for the theater. Goethe, it will be remembered, thought of acting as an indispensable preparation for adult life (Wilhelm Meister). Theatrical acting is a vicarious freedom of acting *control* of a situation. Especially noteworthy of our attention here is that this control is gained merely *by properly saying the right things* Perfect acting is a unique exercise in omnipotence; by infallible wielding of deference and demeanor, the actor is at one and the same time indisputed director. Those of us who have never performed theatrically have perhaps experienced the sheer power-control aspects of language in learning a foreign tongue. Facility in speaking a foreign language partakes somewhat of a kindred experience in psychotherapy: the individual may find that he is capable of utterances which usher others into appropriate complementary action; but which utterances, because they are new (and in a foreign tongue) he at first experiences as unreal and somewhat ego-alien. It is then that he can best "watch himself perform" and see in action the power aspects of language. When the utterances are finally reduced to habit, the self-critical and the acting individual becomes more fused One's first sojourn abroad may be a quasi-psychotherapeutic exercise in freedom and power.

course, seems vital to the very organization of the self. This symbolic sustenance, in other words, seems a *sine qua non* for creating and maintaining an integral symbolic animal. This idea in itself is certainly not new, but its consequences have still not been followed through broadly enough in psychiatry, nor with the requisite theoretical relentlessness: that we cogitate this whole problem on the organism's purely symbolic level of functioning.

Using his idea of deference and demeanor within the framework of a socially self-sustaining fiction, Goffman makes a bold attack upon the label "mental illness." It would refer, simply, to those individuals "who are the least ready to project a sustainable self."[16] Those, in other words, who most directly undermine the mutually sustaining fiction of social ceremonial and who thus prevent the peculiar type of self-justifying action necessary to the continual anxiety-buffering needs of the human animal. It is these individuals who frustrate, by their ineptitude, the best efforts of the other *metteurs en scène* to make the show go on. "One of the bases upon which mental hospitals throughout the world segregate their patients is degree of easily apparent 'mental illness.' By and large this means that patients are graded according to the degree to which they violate ceremonial rules of social intercourse."[17] However, it would be wrong to be misled by words like "cermonial" into thinking that failure to perform is anything but a vitally serious matter to a symbolic animal. Whether we use the word "fictional" to describe the anxiety-buffering self-system that is created by artificial linguistic symbols, or "ceremonial" to subsume the social means of protecting this fragile self-system, it is plain that we are not talking about inconsequential matters. These fictions are not superfluous creations that could be "put aside" so that the "more serious" business of life could continue. The flesh-and-blood action of lower animals is no more infused with seriousness than is the ethereal, shadowy, symbolic conduct with which man organizes his dominion over nature. We may deal with flimsier coin, but like the abstractness of high finance, the business is perhaps even the more serious for it.

CONCLUSION

The view that social life is a symbolic, fictional nutrient for a self-reflexive, symbolic animal represents one direct, theoretical approach to the problems of behavioral malfunction. Seen from the individual point of view, this problem presents itself in terms of the individual's ability to sustain a self of positive value in a world of meaning and to act according to the social conventions for sustaining and reinforcing that meaning by mutual support. When we realize that the action world of a symbolic animal is fictional and continually fabricated, nourished, and validated, this does not diminish the importance of that world to the behavior of Homo sapiens. There remains the problem of individuals who *cannot follow* the social ritual rules. Questions to which behavioral specialists should be sensitized are: "In what ways is the manner in which this individual has learned to handle anxiety a hindrance in his performance of the ceremonial that permits sustenance of the social fiction of shared meaning?" "What are the rules for performance which society itself projects?" Alertness to questions such as these would lead to a more sensitive understanding of the variations in performance ability of the individual actors, and (as in existing research) the reasons for that variation. Finally, and not least important, it would contribute to a greater flexibility of appraisal of the conditions for social becoming in an open democratic society.[18]

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[16] Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," *op. cit.*, p. 497.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] E. Becker, "The Relevance to Psychiatry of Recent Research in Anthropology," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, Spring, 1962.

GREGARIOUSNESS, GROUP MEMBERSHIP, AND THE FLOW OF INFORMATION[1]

WILLIAM ERBE

ABSTRACT

The influence of gregariousness (the range of social contacts) and integration in an informal group (indexed by self-defined membership) on the diffusion of information are compared with data from a national sample of graduate students. The information advantage of highly gregarious individuals is found to be explained primarily by the fact that they are more likely to be group members Information is found to be more diffused in highly cohesive departments (characterized by the presence of many groups), especially among non-integrated students, thus indicating the importance of the relative density of group interaction in the flow of information. The importance of group interaction is attributed to (1) the number and heterogeneity of sources of information available in a group and (2) the continuity of group relations.

Research in the field of mass communications in recent years has paid increasing attention to the importance of interpersonal networks of communication in the diffusion of information. Concepts such as "gregariousness" and "integration" have been used in describing the flow of information and influence; sometimes almost interchangeably, without due consideration to nominal definitions of these terms, and the differing implications that these variables might have for communications research.

Here, we will examine some of the ways in which gregariousness, or the range of social contacts, and integration, or membership in informal groups, influence the probability that the individual will be informed on given issues. In addition, we shall compare the effect of group membership in populations where many groups exist to the effect in populations where there is low group density, to show a contextual effect in the existence of a relatively large amount of group interaction in a population. Our hypotheses will be tested with data from a large national sample of graduate students.

Gregariousness has been treated as the social variable of reference in one major communication study: *Personal Influence*.[2] This study, motivated by the discovery of opinion leadership in Erie County,[3] was an attempt to specify the influence of ordinary persons to high-status persons, celebrities, party leaders, and the like. Gregariousness, defined as "the extent of social contacts," was found to be related to opinion leadership in the areas of marketing, fashion, and movie-going, and to be a more important predictor of opinion leaderships in the public affairs area than status in the life-cycle or socioeconomic status.[4]

[1] Expanded and revised version of a paper read at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association, Tucson, Arizona, April 13, 1961 The data are taken from the National Opinion Research Center's Survey 415, which was sponsored jointly by the National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council, The American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council. The study was directed by James A. Davis. The author is indebted to James A Davis and Charles Wright for critical reading and commentary on this paper.

[2] Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955).

[3] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York Columbia University Press, 1948).

[4] The index of gregariousness was constructed from the answers to two items in the questionnaire. First, the respondents were asked: "How many people are there with whom you are friendly and talk with often, who are not and never have been your neighbor?" It was thought that this answer gave the analysts a measure of "the magnitude of the individual's sphere of intimate, informal relationships beyond the immediate en-

Most subsequent communication studies which have taken account of social variables have attempted to deal with the intensity as well as the extent of social relationships. The focus of empirical attention has shifted to the spread of innovation or the diffusion of information, thus emphasizing the flow of communication content in addition to, or instead of, influence on individual decision-making. Studies of the spread of the use of new drugs among physicians by Coleman, Katz, and Menzel show a definite relationship between clique integration and adoption of a new drug. The findings suggest that innovation tends to flow along the lines of interpersonal relations, and that physicians adopt a new drug simultaneously with other physicians with whom they are in close personal contact.[5]

A study by DeFleur and Larsen, *The Flow of Information*, has shown the importance of the family as a communication network. Using leaflet material dropped over Western cities as their original communication, they are able to show the operation of the two-step flow of communication, with the family as an important oral link between perception of the original message by a relatively small proportion of the population and its general dissemination to the mass of the community.[6]

Perhaps more directly comparable to the data we shall present here are the findings of Lipset, Trow, and Coleman with respect to formal and informal participation in the social life of printers by members of the International Typographical Union. The authors found that active members of printers' clubs, as opposed to non-active members and non-members, were more likely to be correctly informed about the stand of the two parties contesting for union leadership on the clause of the Taft-Hartley Act which requires the signing of a non-Communist affidavit. Active club members were also more likely to become informed about the issues that separated the two internal parties than non-active members or non-members. In addition to this, individuals who were high on the authors' "index of informal social relations" were more likely to become informed on internal issues that divided the parties. The authors conclude that "regardless of the manifest purposes of those who take part in the formal or informal activities of the occupational community, these activities do play an important role in increasing the knowledge of and involvement in union politics of previously inactive or relatively uninterested printers."[7]

There would seem to be a sufficient accumulation of studies to show that social relationships are important factors in the flow of information, but very little evidence on what kinds of social relationships make what kinds of difference. The fact that gregariousness and group membership have not been treated simultaneously poses our first problem, the comparison of the effect on the distribution of information of hav-

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visions of the household." The second question asked about the respondents' membership in voluntary associations. The individuals who possessed both the traits of having more than the median number of friends and of belonging to one or more voluntary associations were classified "high gregarious." Those who neither belonged to a voluntary organization nor had the median number of friends were classified "low gregarious." All others who answered both questions were put in the "medium" category (cf. Katz and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–28).

[5] Herbert Menzel and Elihu Katz, "Social Relations and Innovation in the Medical Profession: The Epidemiology of a New Drug," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (3d ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958), pp. 532–45, and James Coleman, Elihu Katz, and Herbert Menzel, "The Diffusion of an Innovation among Physicians," *Sociometry*, XX (1957), 253–70.

[6] Melvin L. DeFleur and Otto N. Larsen, *The Flow of Information* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), chap. viii.

[7] Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), p. 88.

ing a wide number of speaking acquaintances in a given population with that of being integrated into a day-to-day informal group. We can make an analytical distinction between these two attributes, although, as we shall show, there is a fairly large overlap between these types of persons; there are many individuals who are just "sociable." But we are familiar with persons who are gregarious, but not integrated; we speak of such a person as one who has "many acquaintances but few friends." On the other hand, we refer to individuals who are group members, but who do not know many people, as the "cliquish type."

The design of the Personal Influence study emphasized gregariousness, having a relatively large number of personal contacts "beyond the environs of the household," as an important factor in opinion leadership. It may very well be that gregariousness is highly associated with *leadership,* for informal group studies have shown the leader of a group to have more contacts outside the group than have the rank and file members.[8] The latter studies, of the International Typographical Union and of drug adoption among physicians, have emphasized group membership and the part that it plays in the diffusion of information and innovation. These studies are more in the tradition of the literature on primary groups which emphasizes the importance of the group in molding the view of the world and sanctioning the actions of the individual members.

However, gregariousness and group membership might be differentially related to the possession of information, and we might set up alternative theories about the operation of these social variables. A theory that emphasized the importance of gregariousness would assert that the more people one knows, even on a casual basis, the more one is likely to be exposed to oral communications of all kinds and therefore the more likely to be informed. A theory that stressed integration would hold that only in a group which maintained an interest in certain topics would the likelihood of informed and purposeful communication about those topics be maximized, and thus membership in an interested group is the more likely to provide one with information. Furthermore, integration breaks down what Festinger and his associates have called "restraining forces" against communication.[9] Individuals communicate to other persons with whom they have intimate and continuous contact with less reserve than is used with dealing with more casual acquaintances. Finally, an integration theory would emphasize the importance of social support: in cases where objective evidence is lacking, one is more dependent on the opinions of associates.[10]

The difference in importance of gregariousness and group membership would be shown most quickly by comparing the two extreme types mentioned above. If gregariousness were the most important social determinant of the acquisition of information, the cliquish person would have no advantage over his non-integrated counterpart. On the other hand, if group membership were the crucial social variable in the diffusion of information, we should expect the highly gregarious but non-integrated person, the "gadabout," to have no special advantage.

Festinger and his associates have compared the knowledge of the content of a rumor, in a housing development, of persons who claim a large and unspecified number of friends, persons who present a shorter and more specific number of friends, and persons who claimed no friends at all in the area. The authors found that indi-

[8] William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), chap. vi.

[9] Leon Festinger *et al.*, "A Study of a Rumor: Its Origin and Spread," *Human Relations,* I (1948), 464–86.

[10] Coleman, Katz, and Menzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–69.

viduals who have the smaller but more definite number of friends are more likely to know "what is going on" than persons who say they have "a hundred friends" in the village, and that both of these groups are more likely to be "informed" than the self-designated isolates.[11] The rumor study presented the sets of gregarious and integrated individuals as mutually exclusive categories. Assuming the reliability of this type of answer, as we shall be forced to do below, we know that the respondents who claim large numbers of friends are highly gregarious, and the authors make the assumption (because of the absence of specific names from their response) that they are not group members, but we have no positive testimony from the respondents on this question. We assume that the individuals who turned in shorter lists, but who named specific friends, are integrated with those persons, and that those who presented neither names nor numbers are neither gregarious nor integrated. We do not know, from the data, whether the individuals who claim many unnamed friends are including in this group a lesser number of really intimate contacts, nor whether individuals who confined their responses to the list of their most immediate friends have also a large reservoir of more casual contacts. Our data on graduate students indicate that gregariousness and integration are highly associated, and that an event attributable to intensive and limited personal relationships might very well be the result of extensive and more superficial relationships.

The study at hand concerns American graduate students and a subject in which they are most vitally concerned: money. The data are taken from a study of a national sample of graduate students, conducted in autumn, 1958, by the National Opinion Research Center, the central subject of which was the current financial situation of the American graduate student and his attitudes toward his financial status. We shall use the sample of graduate students to test our counter-hypotheses about the relative effect of gregariousness with the other graduate students versus integration with an informal group of fellow students, in providing the graduate student with information about financial opportunities.

The National Opinion Research Center's sample of graduate students is a two-stage stratified cluster sample of the enrolment of American graduate schools in autumn, 1958. The sample is confined to students in departments which offer the Ph.D. in the "traditional arts and sciences," which means that strictly professional departments and schools of medicine, law, education, etc., are excluded, along with quasi-professional and applied areas such as art, pharmacy and rural sociology. The first step in the sampling was to draw twenty-five schools from the universe of graduate schools offering the Ph.D. in the traditional arts and sciences. Once the universities had been drawn, a quota was assigned to each school and a sample the size of the quota was drawn by random methods from the total enrolment of students studying for advanced degrees in the traditional arts and sciences in the university. The sample of schools and students was drawn in such a way that every student currently enrolled in a department falling in the sample universe had an equal probability of being drawn. The total sample size was set at 3,000, and questionnaires were collected from 2,842 respondents, for a completion rate of nearly 95 per cent.

Gregariousness with other graduate students was measured in the following way: each respondent was asked to indicate the number of students in his department whom he knew "well enough to stop and chat with on the street for a few minutes." We had obtained information from the respective universities on the total enrolment in the student's department. For each size

[11] Festinger *et al*, "A Study of Rumor," *op cit*, pp 478–79.

department, a distribution was generated and quartiled, the student being classified according to the quartile of students known in which he fell, for departments the size of the department in which he was enrolled.[12] Persons in the first quartile of students known, for each size of department, were classified "high gregarious"; those who fell in the fourth quartile were classified "low gregarious." In addition, students who claimed to know no other students in the department were classified "non-gregarious." They are grouped with the low-gregarious individuals in the following tables.

Each student is classified as being integrated or non-integrated on the basis of his yes-or-no answer to the question: "Do you belong to a group of students which maintains informal contacts outside the classroom?" Group members are self-designated. The size of the sampling interval of a national sample made the gathering of sociometric data impractical.

TABLE 1

GREGARIOUSNESS AND INTEGRATION

Gregariousness	Percentage Integrated	No.
High (first quartile) . . .	68	(597)
High medium (second quartile)	58	(688)
Low medium (third quartile) . .	45	(669)
Low (fourth quartile).	22	(678)

Table 1 shows the association between gregariousness and integration. We observe that the two variables are highly related. The explanation of this relationship lies beyond the scope of this paper, but two alternative theories might be briefly stated. The first theory holds that gregarious behavior is an expression of a gregarious attitude, the attribute of "sociability" referred to earlier in the paper, and that sociable people who have a great many dyad contacts are more likely to find persons so congenial to themselves as to motivate them to form more permanent social attachments with them. An alternative theory would explain gregariousness in terms of integration; people who have repeated contacts with certain others are more likely to expand the circle of their acquaintance through meetings with friends of their friends from other social environments. At any rate, we may expect that any information or opinion item that correlates with one of these variables will, in all likelihood, correlate with the other.[13]

The items of information which we will use to compare the effects of integration and gregariousness pertain to graduate finances. The first set of questions concerns the kinds of financial aids available to the students in the respondent's department. The respondents were asked: "What is your impression of the chances for graduate students in your department and in your stage of study getting the following?"

1. Teaching assistantships
2. Research assistantships
3. Scholarships and fellowships for tuition "plus"
4. Scholarships and fellowships for full tuition only
5. Scholarships and fellowships for part tuition
6. Part-time jobs of a non-academic type
7. Part-time teaching in night-school or near-by institutions

The second set of responses we shall consider belongs perhaps more in the domain of opinion than of information, although the testimony of graduate students about what might be going on in their department should be classified as extremely informed opinion. The respondents were asked: "From what you know,

[12] Gregariousness is controlled for departmental size, since the number of other students known in the department varies with the size of enrolment in the department Since neither individual integration nor departmental cohesiveness is related to department size, neither is controlled.

[13] This finding also raises the possibility that previous findings in communication studies which show the importance of either gregariousness or group membership show also the importance of the other.

to what extent do the following criteria influence the allocation of stipends in your department?"

1 Grades
2 Faculty's personal impressions
3 Financial need

For each one of these items the graduate students were presented with a set of precoded answers, ranging from "good" to "not so good" for the financial-aid questions; from "very important" to "not important" for the allocation criteria items. In each case, one of the precoded answers was "no idea," and it is this latter category which interests us. A person who circles the "no idea" response for any of these items is admitting a complete lack of information, correct or incorrect; he is unable to say whether the chances for getting this kind of financial aid are good or bad, whether these criteria for the allocation of stipends are important or not important.[14]

On the hypothesis that both gregariousness and integration favor the collection of information, we should predict that persons who are highly gregarious and persons who are integrated will be less likely to answer "no idea" to these items than persons who are not so gregarious and not integrated. Table 2 shows the relationship between gregariousness and the possession of information in these matters In most of the cases the difference between the most and least gregarious students is about 14 per cent; the exceptions are the questions concerning scholarships just equal to tuition and fees and part-time teaching work, where the difference is 9 per cent, and the questions on part-tuition scholarships and part-time non-academic work, where gregariousness has no effect. The table shows little or no difference between the two upper quartiles, with the third level of gregariousness falling about midway between the most and least gregarious.

Table 3 shows the probability of being uninformed about the same items when group integration is controlled. Again, we note the average difference for response which shows the effect to be about 14 per cent, with the exception of full-tuition scholarships, where the difference is reduced to 8 per cent. As was the case with respect to gregariousness, the questions concerning part-tuition scholarships and part-time non-academic work fail to show the social effect. One response appears to be affected by gregariousness, but not by integration; this is the question on the availability of part-time teaching jobs.

Two of the ten items fail to show the effect of either of the interpersonal vari-

[14] Terminology such as "information" or "knowledgeability" is used in connection with these items, although no attempt is made here to verify the correctness of respondents' replies Indeed, the virtue of using the "no idea" category is that objective verification is made unnecessary It must be stressed that "no idea" is not "no answer" to the question The non-respondents have been left out of the percentaging operations in the tables that accompany this work Thus, the respondents we are working with here admit to being uninformed about these items In view of the known tendency of survey respondents to express themselves on questions about which they know little or nothing, we do not believe that the number of uninformed is exaggerated by this procedure Those readers who believe, however, that the status of being "informed" should be accorded only to respondents who give right answers to questions of fact may look upon this as a report of the influence of social variables on "opinion" rather than on "information" We have no objection to this transformation, indeed, the similarity of this research to the Festinger rumor study was suggested above, but we do point out that the dependent variable is cognitive opinion as opposed to normative opinion The graduate departments have never been classified as to whether the chances for financial aid in their department are in fact "good" or "bad," and of course there is no way of verifying the criteria for the allocation of stipends in the department In general, we find that various subgroups among the graduate students who are relatively optimistic about their chances for getting financial aid do in fact possess stipends in higher proportions The positive and negative responses to the items perhaps reflect the personal chances of the individual with more accuracy than the relative generosity of the department

ables, and we might speculate on the reasons. In the case of the part-tuition scholarships, it may be that their scarcity makes them unlikely topics of conversation; only 110 respondents (less than 4 per cent of the sample) have such stipends. Scholarships and fellowships which just equal tuition and fees are more common, but not as common as the "tuition plus" stipend, which may also account for the attenuation of the social effect on response concerning the tuition-only scholarship.

On the other hand, more than a thousand of the respondents work some hours on part-time jobs outside the department, so that there is no accounting for the

TABLE 2

INABILITY TO ANSWER TEN INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONS, BY GREGARIOUSNESS*

(Percentage Unable To Estimate)

	GREGARIOUSNESS			
	High	High Medium	Low Medium	Low
Availability of:				
Teaching assistantships	6 (588)	8 (680)	13 (676)	20 (689)
Research assistantships	11 (584)	14 (670)	18 (663)	25 (687)
Scholarships and fellowships for tuition "plus"	12 (586)	14 (677)	20 (673)	27 (690)
Scholarships and fellowships for full tuition only	21 (580)	22 (671)	25 (670)	30 (685)
Scholarships and fellowships for part tuition	27 (574)	25 (660)	27 (659)	31 (677)
Part-time non-academic jobs	25 (585)	27 (676)	28 (667)	29 (681)
Part-time teaching jobs	31 (583)	34 (673)	39 (664)	40 (679)
Importance for allocation of stipends of:				
Grades	14 (590)	17 (684)	19 (677)	26 (692)
Faculty personal impressions	18 (589)	21 (682)	24 (673)	33 (687)
Financial need	24 (587)	33 (678)	31 (670)	39 (683)

* Numbers in parentheses here and in tables that follow represent percentage base; numbers change from item to item because of different rates of non response

TABLE 3

INABILITY TO ANSWER TEN INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONS, BY INTEGRATION

(Percentage Unable To Estimate)

	INTEGRATION	
	Integrated	Non-integrated
Availability of:		
Teaching assistantships	4 (1,294)	18 (1,383)
Research assistantships	9 (1,268)	23 (1,368)
Scholarships and fellowships for tuition "plus"	10 (1,283)	25 (1,387)
Scholarships and fellowships for full tuition only	20 (1,273)	28 (1,375)
Scholarships and fellowships for part tuition	26 (1,254)	28 (1,360)
Part-time non-academic jobs	28 (1,285)	26 (1,375)
Part-time teaching jobs	35 (1,278)	37 (1,373)
Importance for allocation of stipends of:		
Grades	12 (1,296)	24 (1,392)
Faculty personal impressions	16 (1,294)	30 (1,382)
Financial need	25 (1,287)	37 (1,375)

failure of the question on part-time non-academic work to associate with either variable on these grounds. The other non-departmental information item concerning part-time teaching jobs is associated with gregariousness but not with integration. These two responses about non-departmental opportunities will be considered in detail below, in connection with Table 5, where specifications will be made of the relationship between integration and ability to answer these questions.

tion effect remains constant, while the effect of gregariousness virtually disappears among the integrated, and is attenuated among the non-integrated. In seven of the eight comparisons, the likelihood of possessing information is equal to or greater among those who are at the lowest level of gregariousness, but integrated, than for those at the highest level of gregariousness, but not integrated. The sole exception is in the case of the question on part-time teaching, which was not

TABLE 4

GREGARIOUSNESS, INTEGRATION, AND INABILITY TO ANSWER EIGHT SELECTED INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONS

(Percentage Unable To Estimate)

Gregariousness	Availability of: Assistantships: Teaching	Assistantships: Research	Scholarships: Tuition Plus"	Scholarships: Tuition Only	Part-Time Work Teaching	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Integrated								
High	3 (398)	7 (394)	8 (395)	19 (390)	30 (393)	12 (399)	14 (390)	21 (397)
High medium	5 (399)	9 (393)	10 (393)	20 (391)	34 (393)	12 ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	28 (396)
Low medium	5 (296)	11 (290)	13 (294)	20 (292)	40 (294)	13 ([illegible])	17 (295)	[illegible] (294)
Low	7 (149)	10 (149)	9 (148)	20 (147)	41 (145)	15 (149)	22 (149)	33 (148)
Non-integrated								
High	14 (185)	18 (185)	20 (186)	24 (185)	34 (185)	17 (186)	28 (185)	30 (185)
High medium	13 (275)	21 (271)	18 (277)	24 (273)	34 (274)	23 (279)	28 (277)	30 (275)
Low medium	17 (363)	23 (356)	25 (362)	29 (361)	36 (364)	24 (362)	28 (362)	37 (361)
Low	23 (506)	28 (503)	31 (507)	31 (503)	39 (501)	27 (500)	34 (505)	40 (501)

We will compare the effect of gregariousness with integration on the probability of being informed about these matters by cross-tabulating the percentage of those uninformed against the two variables simultaneously. If the gregariousness effect tends to disappear, we may say that informal group membership is conducive to the possession of information, but not gregariousness; if the integration effect disappears, we may say the opposite. The effects of the two variables are compared in Table 4, where we have omitted the two responses which are not associated with the variables. Here we see that the integra-

associated with integration at the zero order. Thus, comparing the two extreme analytical types, the information advantage appears to accrue to the cliquish person, as opposed to the "gadabout," thus replicating the finding of Festinger and his associates in the rumor study. The only gregariousness effect retained by this cross-tabulation is a slight and not unexpected tendency for the disparity between the integrated and the unintegrated to be slightly less among the high gregarious than among the low gregarious.

Sociologists generally define a group as "a number of persons in continuous inter-

action." We suggest that interaction, as such, is not the most important determinant of the strategic position of group members in the flow of information in graduate departments. Interaction is, of course, necessary to the accumulation of information which characterizes group members, but it is not sufficient cause for that accumulation, for persons who engage in extensive interaction with other students in the department are more likely to be "stumped" by questions about conditions in the department than persons who do not have such extensive contacts, but who are members of groups. We submit that the key to the understanding of the advantageous position of group members with respect to the possession of such information lies in the *number* of group members and in the *continuity* of their interaction.

We say their number because, using the imagery of Simmel,[15] every group represents the covergence of a set of social circles: the individual circles of contacts, or role sets, of the members. Every student group is composed of heterogeneous elements: some of the students are integrated with the faculty, other group members have extensive contacts among the student body of the department; some of the members have contacts with faculty and students in other schools, while still other group members may know persons of the administrative staff who have access to special kinds of information. The common knowledge of every member of the group represents a pooling of this information, which is based on resources superior to those of even the most gregarious of individuals.[16] Dyad contacts bring together only two sets of social circles—those of ego and alter. Group participation brings together as many sets of contacts as there are group members. The extent of the difference between the pools of information being tapped is appreciated more if one recalls that each member of a group brings his own set of social contacts to the interaction situation, and that each of these contacts has in turn his own set, so that the difference in size of the resource population tends to grow exponentially as the size of the group is increased. Of course, there may be considerable overlap between the contacts of group members; the more diverse and heterogeneous the contacts of group members, the greater increment in possession of information might be expected. Generally, however, we may expect a group—provided it is larger than a dyad itself—to mobilize a greater informant population than would a casual acquaintanceship.

Although numbers in interaction are the life of a social group, its very special nature lies in the continuity of that interaction, for all populations—even such a sequestered aggregate as a graduate department—are in a state of constant change and realignment. Interruptions and distractions have a tendency to reduce the information levels of integrated and non-integrated alike. We shall

[15] Georg Simmel, *The Web of Group Affiliations*, trans. Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955). See translator's note, p. 125 The image is more fully developed in the German text (cf. Simmel, "Die Kreuzung sozialer Kreise," in *Soziologie* [Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1922], pp. 305–44). The translator's comment that "a literal translation of this phrase, 'the intersection of social circles,' is almost meaningless" is perhaps hasty, in the light of the development of set theory in modern algebra. It seems to this writer that Simmel was groping for (and just about making contact with) a conception of the individual representing an intersection of traits derived from association with a unique union of social sets (groups). This article follows this imagery in that it pictures the combined information resources of individuals in interaction as the union of information potential of all the groups with which they are associated.

[16] In connection with the explanation presented here and in the following paragraph, cf. Marjorie E. Shaw, "A Comparison of Individuals and Small Groups in the Rational Solution of Complex Problems," in Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 564–75, and Herbert Gurnee, "A Comparison of Collective and Individual Judgments of Fact," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XXI (1937), 106–12.

illustrate this point with a cross-tabulation of the effect of integration and seniority, number of years the student has been enrolled in the department (Table 5). In this table, we observe (from the base numbers in the parentheses) that seniority and integration are associated. Not surprisingly, there is a tendency for the proportion integrated to grow from the first through the fourth years of graduate study; however, the proportion integrated drops below 50 per cent among students who have been enrolled in the department more than four years. We also note that seniority does tend to confer an advantage with respect to information, but (1) its effect is not as important as that of integration and (2) the effect tends to disappear among those who have been enrolled in the department more than one year, among both integrated and non-integrated students, and even to reverse slightly in some cases among the students who have been enrolled more than four years.

We attribute this finding to the fact that students who have been enrolled in graduate departments for a long time usually have dropped out somewhere along the way to do something else. The departmental careers of such students contain discontinuities, and they have gotten out of touch with what is happening in the department. The price of keeping in touch is interaction several hours per week, every week—with other persons in the department, comparing notes, noting the appearance of new opportunities and the closure of old opportunities, correcting erroneous impressions, confirming informed hunches. It is the constant flow of ostensibly petty and trivial details which keeps the integrated student more current on departmental developments.

TABLE 5

YEAR OF GRADUATE STUDY IN DEPARTMENT, INTEGRATION, AND INABILITY TO ANSWER NINE SELECTED INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONS

(Percentage Unable To Estimate)

YEAR IN DEPARTMENT	AVAILABILITY OF						[illegible]		
	Assistantships		Scholarships		Part-Time Work				
	Teaching	Research	Tuition "Plus"	Tuition Only	Non-academic	Teaching	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Integrated									
First	7 (447)	14 (441)	12 (446)	18 (444)	31 (446)	41 (442)	17 (447)	[illegible]	51 (445)
Second	2 (332)	6 (325)	11 (329)	20 (326)	29 (329)	37 (326)	9 (335)	12 [illegible]	21 (334)
Third-fourth	3 (342)	6 (337)	9 (340)	21 (339)	28 (341)	50 (340)	9 (342)	11 (342)	21 (337)
Fifth and later	5 (166)	7 (165)	8 (161)	20 (157)	22 (162)	25 (165)	15 (165)	16 (166)	25 (165)
Non-integrated									
First	20 (550)	28 (557)	28 (550)	30 (553)	26 (553)	41 (555)	27 [illegible]	57 (550)	43 (557)
Second	15 (295)	18 (289)	21 (297)	24 (295)	24 (294)	34 (293)	30 [illegible]	24 (291)	56 (292)
Third-fourth	15 (300)	17 (295)	20 (300)	24 (298)	25 (299)	32 (296)	19 (300)	[illegible] (302)	52 (298)
Fifth and later	19 (203)	26 (201)	29 (203)	32 (202)	30 (202)	35 (203)	25 (204)	27 (203)	54 (200)

The response to the two items about non-departmental financial opportunities does not follow the general pattern of Table 5. In the case of information about part-time non-academic and teaching jobs we observe (1) that the senior students are more likely to be informed (except in the case of non-integrated students with respect to non-academic work), (2) that the group membership effect does not appear (in fact reverses in the case of non-academic jobs) except among the most senior graduate stu-

dents, at which stage the familiar association does appear. It will be remembered that information about part-time non-academic jobs is associated with neither of the social variables at the zero order, and that information about part-time teaching is associated with gregariousness, but not with group membership.

The reappearance of the integration effect among the students with the longest tenure in the department is probably related to the discontinuities in their graduate careers mentioned above. When a graduate student drops course registration entirely, it is common for him to become either a full-time assistant in some activity of the department or, if such employment be unavailable, to seek employment outside the department. Thus, the older graduate students have more experience with and interest in non-departmental opportunities. They are able to contribute more because of their experience and they are motivated to contribute more because the topic is seen as more relevant to the interests of their fellow group members. The chances for financial help from the department become attenuated after several years of enrolment, also, and this motivates them to seek as well as to pass on information about these opportunities, while the students in later cohorts are still anticipating and getting financial help from within the department.[17] The younger students are thus less involved in the non-departmental financial aid situation, and such communication is less likely to enter the agenda of interaction in their groups.

The foregoing assumptions about relevancy might also explain the slight advantage that first- and second-year non-integrated students appear to have concerning information about part-time non-academic jobs. Integrated students are more informe about stipends and they are also more likel to have stipends.[18] Stipend-holding thought to be an important determinant (integration in that (1) assistants are mor likely to be exposed to other students i the department in non-classroom contexts (2) persons who hold scholarships and fel lowships are less likely to be forced to tak jobs which would interfere with their inter action with other students. Stipend-holdin thus facilitates contact with other student in the department, and the attendant ex posure raises the probability of becoming group member, especially in the first yea of study in the department, when the grad uate student is unknown. The persons wh do not hold stipends are more likely t spend their non-classroom hours in outsid jobs, and thus less likely to become integrated. Therefore, turning the previous sentence the other way, the non-integrated students in the early years of enrolment are more likely to have experience and involvement in the part-time non-academic job market. The fact that the veteran non-integrated students appear slightly less informed about part-time non-academic jobs than their younger counterparts may be a reflection of the tendency of the older non-integrated students to move into the full-time non-academic job market.[19]

We have observed that information about part-time teaching is associated with gregariousness while information about part-time non-academic work is not. This is perhaps attributable to the fact that teaching is

[17] The importance of the factors of relevancy and involvement in the flow of communication are discussed in Festinger *et al*, "A Study of Rumor," *op. cit.*, and in Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), chap. vii.

[18] Factors in the structure of graduate education which facilitate the integration of the student are discussed in William Erbe, "Student Integration and Departmental Cohesiveness in American Graduate Schools" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961). (Microfilmed.)

[19] The occupational situation of American graduate students is described in the final report of the NORC graduate student survey (see James A. Davis, "Stipends and Spouses—The Consumer Finances of Graduate Study in America" [Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1961]). (Mimeographed.)

such a narrowly defined activity, compared to the range of non-academic work. (From the earlier tables we can see that knowledge about part-time teaching is the least distributed of any information about financial aid.) Thus, a student with non-departmental contacts would presumably have about as good a chance as a student with extensive departmental contacts to acquire information about non-academic work, but an individual who knew many other students, including the older cohort of students who are more knowledgeable about part-time academic opportunities, would have a slight advantage in the matter of teaching jobs.

Our final task is to examine the effect of the structure of the department on knowledgeability about these financial matters. The hypothesis advanced here is that there is a contextual effect[20] created by the social organization patterns of the graduate students; that the conglomeration of knowledge associated with the presence of many groups in the department creates an atmosphere more conducive to the obtaining of information than the atmosphere of a department in which relatively few groups exist. Specifically, we are interested in whether the integrated and non-integrated students in "high-cohesive" departments have an advantage in the gathering of information over their opposite numbers in "low-cohesive" departments.

When our students were asked whether they belonged to informal groups, they were also asked whether the students in their departments tended, on the whole to form such groups. Departments in which a majority of the respondents said that the students did tend to form groups were classified as "high cohesive," while departments in which a majority of the respondents said that the students tended not to form groups were classified as "low cohesive."[21] Table

TABLE 6

INABILITY TO ANSWER TEN INFORMATION AND OPINION QUESTIONS, BY DEPARTMENTAL COHESIVENESS AND INTEGRATION WITH FELLOW STUDENTS

(Percentage Unable To Estimate)

	HIGH-COHESIVE DEPARTMENTS		LOW-COHESIVE DEPARTMENTS	
	Integrated	Non-integrated	Integrated	Non-integrated
Availability of:				
Teaching assistantships	3 (1,116)	11 (792)	16 (103)	30 (449)
Research assistantships	8 (1,094)	18 (785)	20 (101)	35 (440)
Scholarships and fellowships for tuition "plus"	10 (1,108)	19 (792)	15 (102)	37 (451)
Scholarships and fellowships for full tuition only	19 (1,098)	25 (787)	21 (101)	35 (448)
Scholarships and fellowships for part tuition	25 (1,082)	25 (778)	24 (100)	33 (445)
Part-time non-academic jobs	29 (1,108)	26 (789)	24 (102)	27 (445)
Part-time teaching jobs	35 (1,103)	37 (787)	31 (101)	37 (446)
Importance for allocation of stipends of				
Grades	11 (1,117)	20 (803)	20 (102)	34 (446)
Faculty personal impressions	15 (1,116)	25 (790)	25 (101)	40 (441)
Financial need	26 (1,110)	34 (793)	24 (101)	46 (440)

[20] Cf Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in Robert K Merton and Paul F Lazarsfeld (eds), *Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1950), pp. 195–96; and Peter M. Blau, "Structural Effects," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (1960), 178–93, esp 190 ff

[21] As is the case with integration, the information taken from our respondents is here used at face value The rationale of using a majority vote on the existence of groups in the department as

6 shows the effect of integration on the possession of information when departmental cohesiveness is held constant.

One may make three types of comparisons in Table 6. First of all, comparing the relationship between the likelihood of being informed and integration status, controlled for departmental cohesiveness, we observe that the difference between integrated and non-integrated is preserved in both types of departments except in the cases of part-tuition scholarships and part-time employment. The integration effect (influence of individual groups participation) does not disappear when cohesiveness (influence of the density of group interaction) is held constant. We have already speculated on situational reasons why integration is not associated with information on the three items in which the effect does not appear. Table 6 adds only the following facts: (1) that non-integrated students in low-cohesive departments are less likely to be informed about all kinds of fellowships (including those for part tuition) than are the integrated students, and (2) that integrated students in low-cohesive departments are slightly more often informed about part-time teaching jobs.

In the second set of comparisons from Table 6, we note the differential information level of the integrated students in high-cohesive departments as opposed to low cohesive departments. Five of the ten comparisons show no advantage for the group members in highly cohesive populations, and the integrated students in the low-cohesive departments may even have a slight advantage with respect to non-departmental opportunities.

Previous speculations about relevancy and involvement in financial-aid markets may be relevant here. We have indicated that stipend-holding is an important predictor of student group membership. We also find, and are not surprised, that aggregate stipend-holding is related to departmental cohesiveness, since the distribution of many stipends makes greater numbers of students available for fraternization.[22] Thus, students in low-cohesive departments are less likely to get stipends of all kinds, more likely to be involved in the market for non-departmental financial aid. They are also more likely to be interested in the less remunerative types of fellowships, and in the possibility of cases of financial hardship providing the basis for the award of a fellowship or assistantship.

The foregoing speculation might also be used to account for the greater probability of information among students in the highly cohesive departments, because these students are more accustomed to basing their financial plans on the expectation of a tuition "plus" scholarship or an assistantship. However, though part-time work and low-value scholarships are more important to the students in low-cohesive departments, the types of financial aid about which the high cohesive students appear to be more

an indicator of the cohesiveness of that department takes into account the fact that the "objective" reports given by the respondent-informants will be colored by their own group experience. We reason that asking whether or not groups exist among the student body of a student's department is equivalent to asking him if he has seen or heard of the existence of such groups. The more groups in the department, the more likely the respondent will know of their existence, and the more likely he will report so. The majority vote is here used as a measure of the density of group interaction in the department. The fact that more than half the respondents from a department did not report the existence of groups should not be taken as evidence that there are no groups in the department, but that groups are so few and far between that less than half of the students sampled had observed, directly or indirectly, their existence. We have no other information on the cohesiveness of the department, other than that given by the respondent; however, the classification correlated highly with response to a question which asks the respondents whether they spend a majority of their leisure time with other graduate students in their department, an item from the graduate-student survey which might be considered similar to the sociometric analyst's index of in-group choices, a traditional measure of population cohesiveness.

[22] Erbe, *op. cit.*

informed are the most common, in both high and low cohesive departments,[23] so that we observe a real information advantage for students who are group members in populations characterized by the presence of many groups.

A cohesiveness effect suggests the operation of a communications network among the graduate students. The more densely the grapevine grows, the more likely one is to be informed. The existence of a relatively larger number of informal groups in the department facilitates the possession of information. Among the integrated students, the explanation for this advantage would seem to lie in the fact that a department in which there are many groups raises the probability of overlap in the social circles of the individual. The existence of a plurality of groups provides the individual with more chances for multiple group affiliation. Previous studies of patterns of primary group membership have shown that individuals who belong to primary groups at all usually belong to several of them.[24] If the analysis presented above concerning the facilitation of information diffusion by the group is correct, then it would seem that the multiply integrated student brings to the interaction vortex of any one group not only the fruits of heterogeneous dyad contacts but also the accumulation of information provided by heterogeneous group contacts, with all the benefits of number and continuity referred to above. Thus, the groups which exist in high-cohesive departments are made more productive of information when they are part of a larger network of communications.

The contextual effect of high density of group interaction is best illustrated in the third set of comparisons from Table 6, between the non-integrated in high- and low-cohesive departments. Here we observe the association of high cohesiveness with knowledgeability in the response to all questions except those on part-time employment. Whatever may be the case with the integrated students, high cohesiveness contributes to the information of the non-integrated. It is with respect to the information of the non-integrated that we observe the function of the "grapevine," and perhaps also an unanticipated function of gregariousness. We know that the integrated students are also the more gregarious students, and we reason that the social contacts of gregarious group members are not confined to other group members. Therefore, the explanation of the information advantage held by non-integrated individuals in high-cohesive departments may be that the accumulation of information within the group is made available to non-group members as a result of outside interaction by group members. The high-cohesive departments are, by definition, the departments in which a relatively large number of groups exist. The more groups the greater the likelihood that non-group members will engage in interaction with group members. Since the group represents a repository of financial information, therefore, the more likely even the non-member to be exposed to informed communication.

In conclusion, our data would seem to support three general assertions about the effect of interpersonal relations on the flow of information:

1. Integration with a peer group is conducive to the possession of information, even on a highly salient subject, compared to non-integration.

2. High gregariousness, the maintenance of extensive acquaintanceships with other individuals in the referent population, is also associated with the possession of information, but this effect seems to be caused mostly by the fact that highly gregarious persons are also more likely to be group members.

3. High density of group interaction in the population of reference is, in and of it-

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] P. H. Fisher, "An Analysis of the Primary Group," *Sociometry*, XVI (1953), 272–76.

self, conducive to the possession of information, especially among non-integrated students, although the integrated students within such a population are more likely to be informed than the non-integrated.

The explanation put forth for these findings was that the group, by bringing together persons whose collective resources of information were greater than those of any individual, and by providing a continuously operating market in which information could be exchanged and verified, constituted a node of such information. Departments in which relatively large numbers of these groups exist constitute a network, such that the integrated individual brings a greater quantity of seemingly reliable information to the group, and the unintegrated individual, through dyad contacts with such persons, is more likely to possess information than his counterpart in a department which is not served by such a network.

The significance of social structures as communication networks will continue to be a matter of concern to researchers in this field. Especially wanting are coding and analysis techniques with which to apply quantitative social structural concepts to the findings of survey data on individuals. But along with this quantitative refinement must come the development of such descriptive and analytical conceptual apparatus as will enable the researcher to go beyond the depiction of social structure in communication processes, to develop systematic theory specifying the conditions under which these effects hold or do not hold. When these refinements are added to existing procedures, it will be possible to make more subtle analyses of communication processes.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN CLIENT AND PROFESSIONAL[1]

CHARLES KADUSHIN

ABSTRACT

The effect of social distance between client and professional on the stability of their interactions is studied from reports of the former clients of ministers, physicians, and psychotherapists who are now applying to a psychiatric clinic. On the four dimensions of social distance—normative, interactive, cultural, and personal—ministers are closest, physicians are more distant, and psychotherapists are the most distant from their clients. Stable interaction between client and professional is most likely when internalized norms, common expectations, and optimum cathexis exist among the role partners These conditions are best met by the physician-patient pair, less well met by ministers and counselees, and least of all by psychotherapists and patients. Social proximity and distance each have advantages and disadvantages in maintaining the conditions of stable interaction. Mechanisms which bridge the social distance gap yet keep professionals from too high an involvement with clients are described. For psychotherapists, a community of "friends and supporters of psychotherapy" serves this purpose The majority of patients are left out of this community, however, and therefore have difficulty in obtaining adequate treatment.

When Simmel first introduced the notion of social distance he commented: "Interpersonal relationships, which constitute the very principle of small groups, conflict with the distance and coolness of abstract norms without which the large group cannot exist." He continues in a footnote: "Only when we can approach a situation as equals, when we are close to a situation or inside of it can we have adequate knowledge and understanding; yet good judgment also requires objectivity and perspective, qualities which can be achieved only when distance precludes direct contact, in every sense of that word. This dualism of distance and nearness is necessary for our behavior to be consistently correct. It is inherent, so to speak, in the fundamental forms and issues of our life."[2]

Closeness and understanding, on the one hand, and objectivity and detachment, on the other, are essential to satisfactory client-professional relationships. In the distant relationship understanding is lost; in the close relationship the professional loses his objectivity. The instabilities which result when these dual forms are instituted in the very same relationship will occupy us in the following pages. Attention is confined to professions in the mental-health fields; the nature of their clients makes the problems of distance and instability more dramatic.

Specifically we shall suggest the following:

First, when they deal with the emotionally disturbed, Protestant ministers are nearest to their counselees, physicians are more distant from their patients, and psychotherapists the furthest.[3]

[1] This may be identified as Publication No A-337 of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. The study was conducted under a grant from the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry and Grant No M-3028 from the National Institute of Mental Health The author wishes to acknowledge the co-operation granted by the Religio-Psychiatric Clinic in the conduct of the research, and the valuable comments of Peter M. Blau, Mary Jean Cornish, Robert K. Merton, and Samuel Z. Klausner

[2] Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), p. 97. The present translation represents a slight revision.

[3] In view of the conflicting claims in the mental-health professions, the following convention is adopted in this paper "Psychotherapist" refers to all persons who practice psychotherapy, psychoanalytically oriented counseling, or psychoanalysis Professions here represented are· psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and "lay analysts" without professional degrees. We include visits to a social agency as visits to a psychotherapist Actually, 75 per cent of the visits reported under the heading "psychotherapist" are visits to private psychiatrists The word "physician" or "doctor" is

Second, although all these professional-client relationships are somewhat unstable, physicians are most likely to meet the conditions for stable interaction, ministers less likely, and psychotherapists least likely.

Third, both ministers and psychotherapists can satisfy the contradictory requirements of distance and proximity by being members of the same community as their clients. The minister's parish of religious believers makes him readily available, a friend of the family, yet still a professional. Psychotherapists and clients form common norms through membership in the community of the "believers in and supporters of psychotherapy." This interstitial group does not require clients and professionals to meet in face-to-face situations which might destroy the objective detachment lent by great social distance. Physicians meet the problem in quite a different way. By specifically treating only physical diseases, physicians can generally avoid the necessity of being socially near.

Fourth, these arrangements nonetheless have costs which account for unstable interactions with clients. Ministers know their parishioners too well to counsel extensively with them. Membership in the psychotherapists' interestitial group is in fact confined to an elite, thus excluding many of those who need psychotherapy most. The physician's specificity is not suited to mentally disturbed patients who cannot be treated by conventional physical means.

In the following pages we shall explicate the concepts of social distance and stable interaction and attempt to develop a theory which links them. Empirical evidence suggesting these hypotheses will be presented. The data are drawn from a pilot study of 110 applicants to a religio-psychiatric clinic in New York City. Interviews were conducted by a sociologist immediately before or after the applicant's first intake interview.[4] Seventy-five per cent of the applicants had been to at least one minister, physician, or psychotherapist with the same set of problems they now presented to the clinic. This proportion of persons who had first been elsewhere is not unusual for New York City clinics. The applicants are unusual for New York clinics in that they are 70 per cent Protestant (rather than 50 per cent Jewish) and encompass all divisions of social class (rather than the impoverished professional or the lower-middle or working class applicants to other clinics).

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance is a well-worn sociological concept whose meaning and application are often obscure. The concept must therefore be explicated before it can be applied.

In the passage with which we opened, Simmel noted that social distance is an objectively observable quantity which varies from one social structure to another. He also implied that consciously expressed norms concerning social distance were much in evidence in his German society. Apparently, there are both social-structural and cultural elements in social distance as he describes it.

Later writers, including Talcott Parsons,[5] have used distance in approximately the same social-structural sense as implied by Simmel. There is a difference, however, between feelings about social distance which represent individual attitudes and those which reflect norms about interactions between statuses. In addition, there are aspects of social distance, such as rates of interaction, that are inherent in a social

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here restricted to mean a person who is an M.D. but who does not practice psychiatry. "Minister" here means Protestant minister seen in a counseling session. In view of the special orientation of the clinic, no other clergymen were represented.

[4] For other findings from this study and a description of the clinic see Charles Kadushin, "Individual Decisions To Undertake Psychotherapy," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, III (1958), 379–411; and his *Steps on the Way to a Psychiatric Clinic* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1960).

[5] *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 279.

structure but about which there may be no conscious norms. Through the writings of Park and Bogardus, social distance entered the terminology of American sociology and became fixed as a social-psychological, rather than as a social-structural, factor. Park's essay, "The Concept of Social Distance," written in 1923,[6] was the foundation for Bogardus' social distance attitude scale published two years later.[7] Bogardus made Simmel's notions of social distance more concrete and substituted an operational continuum for Park's informal observations. Yet social distance became firmly intrenched in the guise of an attitude scale and was thus largely removed from consideration as an element of social structure.

Bogardus' scale itself is only indirectly an attitude scale, for the respondent is tested chiefly on his willingness to indorse some prescriptions about role relations, although other aspects of social distance are also measured.

> For each race or nationality listed below, circle each of the classifications to which you would be willing to admit the average member of that race or nationality. . . . To close kinship by marriage; To my club as personal chums; To my street as neighbors . . (etc.)[8]

From these responses an attitude is inferred. Bogardus' scale "works"—that is, it generates the now familiar cumulative pattern analyzed by Guttman—because, in common with many non-trivial cumulative scales, the steplike pattern is generated by a normative structure which specifies the priorities of the items.[9] To say that a set of items "scales" usually means that the normative structure under investigation (or "universe," in Guttman's terms) is well instituted. Certainly no one expects a Catholic who says that he goes to confession once a week to deny believing in Jesus.

The concept of social distance has thus been used both as an element of the social structure itself and as a norm about that structure. A return to Park's essay will help to respecify the concept in a more systematic fashion.

Four dimensions of social distance are implicit in Park's presentation: normative, interactive, cultural, and personal aspects of distance.[10] Two dimensions result when distance is considered both as an aspect of role prescription and as role behavior. *Normative distance* refers to the manner and degree of interaction which *ought* to hold between two or more persons or statuses. *Interactive distance* is the degree of *actual* interaction and need not match the normative prescriptions. For example, the actual rate of Negro-white interaction in any given situation may surpass the normative rate.[11]

Park also alludes to distance in the cultural and personality realms. *Cultural or valuational distance* is the degree of value homophyly that exists between two persons

[6] In the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (1923), 339–44.

[7] *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX (1925), 299–308. Curiously, neither author mentions Simmel, although Simmel's "The Sociological Significance of the 'Stranger,'" in which the concept of social distance occupies a central role, appeared in a "reader" edited by Park and Burgess (*Introduction to the Science of Sociology* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921]).

[8] Adapted by Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart Cook, *Research Methods in Social Relations* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960), p. 371, from two very similar instructions in Bogardus, *op. cit.*, and his "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociology and Social Research*, XVII (1933), 265. All three instructions are equivalent in calling for an indorsement of a norm.

[9] Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), Vol. IV, chaps. i–xi.

[10] Goode and Hatt (*Methods in Social Research* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952], p. 243) distinguish between social distance toward a social group, a value, or an individual, but our point is somewhat different.

[11] See Robert K. Merton, Patricia S. West, Marie Jahoda, "Patterns of Social Life" (MS). Also see John Harding, Bernard Kutner, and Harold Prohansky, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 1031–4[illegible].

or statuses.[12] The norms of diplomacy, for example, specify congenial interaction. Indeed, there is a fairly high rate of interaction in the diplomatic community, but there is presumably little agreement on basic values between diplomats of East and West. *Personal distance* or empathy is the degree of understanding and unspoken communication that takes place between two persons or two statuses—what Simmel had in mind when he wrote of "personal" relationships. He suggests that the intimate revelation which a person makes to a stranger, a situation of empathic understanding, may occur precisely because the stranger is distant on other dimensions of social distance.[13]

Distance becomes true social distance when it is measured between social statuses, such as citizen and stranger, rather than between individual persons. Social distance is thus composed of four dimensions, two of which directly capture important aspects of social relations—role prescriptions and rates of interaction, and two of which derive from the ways cultural values and personal empathy impinge upon the social structure. Over the long run, the various dimensions of social distance probably cluster so that there is but one dimension of social distance. Whether this coalescence of dimensions actually takes place over the short run, however, is a matter for empirical investigation.[14]

CONDITIONS FOR STABLE INTERACTION

A high degree of social distance between client and professional impedes stable client-professional relationships. At the same time, great social proximity in the professional relationship leads to instabilities. Since stable interaction is almost as vague a notion as social distance, the meaning of stable interaction must be clarified before these assertions can be documented.

Professional-client relationships are a special case of two-person groups. In any two-person group, each partner can act as a brake upon the other; each can also support the other in their respective or mutual endeavors.[15] If the partners both control and lead each other in such a fashion that the status quo is maintained, then the interaction is said to be in a state of stable equilibrium.[16] Should the activity in which they are engaged or the norms about that activity be changing in a given direction or according to some pattern and the rela-

[12] In a well-known paper on friendship patterns, Lazarsfeld and Merton traced the relationship between distance in the social system and distance in the cultural system. See their "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis," in M. Berger *et al.*, *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1954), pp. 18–86.

[13] Simmel, "The Sociological Significance of the 'Stranger,' in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, *op. cit*, p. 404. Edward Bullough, "Psychological Distance as a Factor in Art and as an Aesthetic Principle," *British Journal of Psychology*, V (1912), Part II, 87–118, also speaks of a personality-system aspect of distance, but one which is not social. His "distance lies between our own self and such objects as are the sources or vehicles of such affections." These vehicles may not necessarily be confined to social objects and indeed may be various works of art. Yet Bullough's distance partakes of the same mystical union of objectivity (that which makes one able to see things in a new light) and a subjective play on one's affections which characterizes Simmel's distance. Thus, distance has a "negative" aspect—the cutting out of the practical side (as in a fog), and a "positive" aspect—the elaboration of experience on the new basis created by the inhibitory action of distance.

[14] Lazarsfeld and Merton, *op cit*, show the relationship between value homophyly and interaction, and ask about the extent to which homophyly leads to interaction, and vice versa Since Bogardus' scale essentially measures normative social distance but also implies the other three dimensions, a satisfactory analysis of discrepancies between dimensions of social distance in race relations is difficult if his scale is used.

[15] The interpretation of dyadic processes presented here leans heavily on Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–154; and Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, chap. viii. If interaction is a mutual process, then breaking off interaction is also mutual, no matter who is held "responsible" for the break.

[16] For a similar definition, see George C Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), p. 113.

tionship still continue, then the partners are said to be in a state of moving equilibrium. Either static or moving equilibrium will be considered stable interaction. For example, under most conditions, consensual unions are less stable than marriages,[17] and master-servant (slave) relationships more stable than the contemporary housewife-maid relationships.[18] As might be clear from these examples the stability or lack of stability of these relationships, however, neither implies moral efficacy nor absolute efficiency. While these qualities may be empirically related to interaction stability, they must be considered logically separate.

What conditions, then, make stable dyadic interaction more likely? First, a condition in which the norms governing the relationship are clear and internalized. Second, a condition in which the partners agree on what the norms are and how the situation is to be defined. Both internalization and congruency of expectations are enhanced when the role relationship between the partners is instituted.[19] As we shall see, some professional-client relations, such as those between physician and patient, are highly instituted, while others, such as those between psychotherapist and client, are less well instituted. Finally, since both static and moving equilibrium demand mutual sanctioning by the partners, an optimum degree of emotional involvement with one another makes stable interaction more likely. This last condition calls for some explanation.

With the possible exception of excessively rigid norms, stable interaction thrives on high congruency of expectation and highly internalized norms. Not so with cathexis, however. An interaction can be so emotional as to limit its stability. The same can be said for too little cathexis between partners. If neither one cares about the other, then mutual sanctioning is difficult and the interaction is less likely to be stable unless there are additional power factors. Each type of interaction has a normatively governed acceptable range of cathexis of the partners. A level of cathexis that falls outside of this prescribed range will probably destroy the interaction. For example, the mutual cathexis between grocer and housewife is presumably less than that between lover and lover. Under most circumstances, for the grocer to love or to hate his customer is felt to be "embarrassing." Even among lovers, love and hate have their limits. If one's involvement is too high, then he is likely, in Parsons' terms, to have "biased" reactions to the other's deviations and lack the "resiliency" to sanction him effectively.[20]

Within the normatively set limits of an interaction, to sanction the other effectively, one must have some degree of objectivity. The level of objectivity varies from one type of interaction to another and need not be symmetrical. If a relationship requires one visibly to sanction the other more frequently and more negatively, then the other is likely to be institutionally endowed with greater "objectivity," or, in our terms, with a lower level of cathexis. Doctors, for example, may be less emotionally involved with their patients than their patients with them; mothers may have a lower level of cathexis to children than children have to their mothers.

The actively sanctioning partner acts in a dyad much like Simmel's mediator, for "the diminution of this personal tone is the condition under which the understanding and reconciliation of the adversaries can be

[17] William J. Goode, "Illegitimacy in the Caribbean," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (1960), 21–30.

[18] Vilheim Aubert, "The Housemaid - an Occupational Role in Crisis," *Acta Sociologica*, I (1955), 149–58.

[19] As Durkheim points out in *The Division of Labor* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1947), pp. 206–19, a dyadic relationship which is instituted is actually one in which a third party—society—intervenes (see also Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–32, for a similar point about monogamous marriage and business partnerships).

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 274.